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THE NEW

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SAMUEL COULING

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The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS not accepted for publication.

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THE PHILOSOPHER SÜN-TSZ

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

Some remarks from Sie Yung's 謝 墉 preface of 1786 may serve to clarify this obscure subject. He calls attention to the fact that whilst the historian Sz-ma Ts'ien gives special paragraphs or chapter-heads to Mencius and Sün-tsz, minor philosophers including Mêh Tih or Mêh Tsz are relegated in a body to the concluding words of the paragraph. Our present subject was a Chao man, and like most of his kind was a sort of peripatetic diplomat, somewhat after the fashion of the Pope's nuncios and agents in the middle ages, who endeavoured to work upon the consciences of the Italian, French and English rulers amongst others in Europe. Accordingly he first tried his hand in Ts'i (Southern Shan Tung), and then found his way to Ts'in (Southern Shen Si and Northern Hu Peh), where the celebrated chancellor Li Sz 李 斯 was his pupil. He is unjustly blamed for holding that men's disposition is naturally inclined to evil, contrary to Mencius' view that it is naturally inclined to good: what he really meant was to bewail the tendency of man to evil 疾人之爲惡, whilst Mencius was all for persuading men to be good 勉人以爲善. The oldest commentator is Yang Liang of the T'ang dynasty (楊倞), but the preface writer shows that his own view of the controversy has other support. During the so-called Fighting States period when the princes of China north of the Yangtze were fighting amongst themselves and against the great power of South China 楚 for a universal or imperial crown,

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Confucius' *tao* (i.e., principles) was in abeyance, and the peripatetic diplomats held the field; that is why Mencius and Sün-tsz came to the rescue: orthodoxy 正道 may therefore be coupled with the four names (1) Duke Chou (practically the moral creator of the Chou dynasty), (2) Confucius, Mencius and Sün-tsz. It will be noticed here how the word *tao* had a definite and at the same time indefinite use both before and after the philosopher Lao-tsz gave the word a new meaning: it is somewhat like the use of the word Catholic, i.e., "universal," now appropriated alone to and by Roman Catholics, and occasionally by "Catholics" of the Church of England. The reason why Sün-tsz has been neglected for well over a thousand years past is that the texts are nearly all corrupt or defective. The first volume of the writer's copy contains three chapters on: (1) The importance of study and personal character; (2) due care and the ups and downs of life; (3) rash judgments from appearances and faults of the so-called "Big-Twelve" 十二子.*

He points out that the babies of the uncivilized south 于越 utter the same sounds as orthodox-born babies, but their environment decides their future; the most enduring bliss is the absence of ill, just as the most spiritual man is he who persists in self-culture: take nature as it is, therefore, and improve wherever possible. A wren's nest is ingeniously woven with feathers and hair, but unluckily always unfirmly attached to twigs, which snap with the breeze and break the eggs. The earthworm without claws or teeth persists in his own way to get food and drink both above and below the soil, whilst the crab with all his legs and claws hard at work tries to get into the blindworm snake's hole; that is to say, no work, no result; study till you die; the highest expression of cult 道德 is the attainment of propriety 禮. The field covered by the Odes is as broad as the Spring and Autumn Annals (i.e., history) are insignificant, nature ranking before criticism, which latter is like measuring a river's depth with your finger or pounding millet † with a spear. A man who really respects *li*, even though with limited intelligence, is none the less a man of culture 法士, whilst a man who does not, even though a sharp critic, is but one of the crowd. As

* The Commentator observes that the *Han-shi wai-chuan* (2nd century B.C.) omits Mencius and Tsz-sz and only gives 十子.

† I have not collected sufficient evidence yet, but I am inclined to think millet and wheat were the staple foods in *old* China: the expression "so many stone man" (like the Anglo-Indian "so many rupee man") to indicate rank and apparently having reference to rice, seems to have come in with the Empire 2,000 years ago after South Yangtze China had been definitely absorbed.

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the saying* goes:—"the superior man utilizes nature, whilst the inferior is the tool of nature." The wise man despises mere rank, for poverty no more discourages him than a drought does the cultivator or a bad speculation the trader. Men's capacities differ as the shuffling tortoise does from the fleet courser, yet the former may get there first. The superior man 君子, though poor, is broad-minded; though rich, is respectful; he is nŏt lazy in easy circumstances, nor fagged out when he has to work hard; he is moderate both in anger and joy; self rule overcomes his innermost impulses. (Our philosopher here quotes the *Hung-fan* chapter of the Book of History further to illustrate the last sentences).

The second chapter illustrates Sün-tsz's disapproval of all sensational and spectacular behaviour,—such, say the commentators as that of the celebrated Ts'u 楚 statesman and author K'üh Yüan whose vexation found relief in drowning himself, as is commemorated to this day in the annual Dragon Festival. He alludes to certain incidents in the life of the equally celebrated Chêng 鄭 statesman Tsz-ch'an, so admired by his contemporary Confucius; these incidents are connected with the first written law as distinguished from what Sir Henry Maine calls "themistes," and show how, previous to the destruction of the books in B.C. 213, all Chinese philosophers, peripatetic and otherwise, rang the changes on the still existing classics and on the (mostly lost) local histories, summarised for us about B.C. 90 by Sz-ma Ts'ien. The contrast between the "superior man" and the "common or garden man" 小人 is here reverted to: the former accommodates unchangeable principles to ever-changeable circumstances; in great matters his guide is Heaven, in lesser matters the Rites: if he sees a remedy he does his best; if not, he keeps calm: if he is pleased he evinces it genially; if saddened, he quietly signifies disapproval: if he understands he says so, if not, he explains why concisely. In the case of the common individual, the exact opposite of all this takes place; in illustration, Sün-tsz makes use of the unknown character 𢜔 which seems to mean "sad." The superior man clears away disorder before he attempts to introduce order, just as you get rid of dirt before substituting embellishment. What man is willing to allow his own perspicacity to give way to another man's ignorance? A five-inch carpenter's square suffices to square off the whole world, and so the superior man's principles make it unnecessary for him to leave his own door-step in applying them universally. Do not presume on your ability, or hide your incapacity; do as

* Kwan-tsz uses these same words.

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others do in the ordinary matters of life, and stand not aloof from your fellow-men: like what others like and dislike what all dislike, but keep in view consequences and practicabilities before you indulge your natural impulses. Posing for virtue is stealing repute—worse than filching property. Politeness is the best armour, and is better than clothing for keeping the person warm. Tread warily. Pugnacity is not only apt to be suicidal, but also apt to do irreparable damage to one's family and to the State; the sucking-pig may rush against a tiger, and the puppy-dog never goes far from home; shall men, then, show themselves inferior to these in defending the State? It would be like using a tempered sword to stir up cow dung.* The risks run by traders and robbers may be compared to the bravery of pigs and dogs, but the bravery of the righteous man consists in abiding unflinchingly by the principles of right. Blame neither others nor Heaven for your dissatisfactions, but do your best. It is glorious to put right before† advantage and disgraceful to do the contrary, the one means success, the other failure; the one peace of mind, the other uneasiness; the one long life, the other early death; the one power over, the other subjection to, men. Heaven has ordained that people shall be of different status in life; the Emperor 天子 in his sphere, the vassal rulers 諸侯 in theirs, and so on with the officials and commoners. Choose your own acts and abide by the consequences. The common individual and the superior man have equal talents and desires; they only differ in environment and means of utilizing capacities. The common man—as, indeed, even birds and beasts—may be anxious to please, to be liked, to be treated well, but he is apt to be dangerous and hard to deal with; and even if he succeed so far, there is always an uncertainty as to the final result. Oh the other hand the superior man is good and loyal; he looks forward with confidence, and even after his death people revere his memory; and all feel a respectful envy of such an end. The inhabitants of Ts'u and Yüeh‡ are quite comfortable under their own systems,

*The commentators do not make it clear how this rather coarse netaphor is applied.

†Many will recognize here the opening words of "Mencius."

‡Ts'u 楚 may be defined as South Yangtze China, and Yüeh 越 or 于越 or 於越 or 吳越 originally formed part of the semi-barbarous Ts'u empire. Comparing orthodox China with Rome, first expanding over Italy, and then Helvetia, Gaul, Germany, Spain and Africa, we may say that there was no extensive administration anywhere in the Farthest East until letters were introduced, and those letters were always Chinese: moreover the introducers of lettered civilization were always Chinese adventurers who founded "dynasties."

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just as the superior man (in China) finds his happiness in refinement 雅; the human nature is always the same though methods may differ; virtue means peace and vice means danger; not always, of course, but usually so: we may therefore say the superior man is normal in his conduct whilst the common man is apt to be abnormal 怪. All men have the same inborn feelings, Yü (the founder) just as much as Kieh (the destroyer or ruiner of the Hia dynasty); they want to eat when hungry and be warm when cold; to rest when weary, to gain advantage rather than suffer loss; their eyes equally distinguish black from white, beauty from ugliness; their ears are equally sensitive to musical and other sounds; their mouths equally distinguish sour, salt, sweet and bitter; their noses the difference between fragrant and stinking; their skins are equally sensitive to cold, heat, disease, and itch: they may become Napoleons or Robin Hoods (i.e., Chinese equivalents for), workers or peasants, according to environment and habits of life: all is innate, nothing artificial or adventitious. Why is one this and the other that? It is a question of mind 性, which in the one case is mean 鄙, and the other purified by adverse circumstances: capacity is born of hardship and dies of luxury. The common man has no such education, and therefore sees nothing beyond his own advantage, while the superior man only becomes so on opportunity. How can the common man seize such notions as propriety or right 禮義? How can he know of deference and politeness 辭讓? How can he know of modesty, shame, moderation, indulgence? All he thinks about is gobbling and swilling to his heart's content. Suppose a man were born without knowing what chickens, pigs, rice, 稻 and sorghum were, and that his knowledge were confined to yams, nettles and a mess of grain: his idea of abundance would go no farther: but lo! and behold some one comes along with chickens, pigs, rice, and sorghum; in genuine wonder he says what strange objects are these? How delicious! Of course he abandons the one and tries to get the other. Just in the same way does the *tao* 道 or methods of the ancient kings 先王 and civilizing governments generally differ widely from the *tao* or methods of the robber chiefs. Why? Want of education, which is the great evil in the State. Hence charity 仁 should be inculcated on every possible occasion, when the boorish will soon become smart and the stupid ones clever. Otherwise what advantage in having T'ang and Wu (founders of the second and third hereditary dynasties) above us, and conversely, what harm in having a Kieh or Chou (ruiners of the first and second dynasties) above us? Men eat,

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men drink, men go gadding about, never content. Always increase of luxury and want of foresight; this soon leads to beggary: there is nothing for it but to go on persistently improving yourself; as the saying goes, "with a short rope you can't draw water from a deep well." Hence with a charitable ruler 仁人 above us the agriculturalist works his best and the trader exercises prudence, whilst officials and others upwards to the ducal and other titled personages will do their best in the public service: this is true democracy 至平. As the Odes have it 受小共大 "From small beginnings unite in one greatness." *

The third chapter gives some notion of phrenology, but declaims upon the unreasonable practice of judging by a man's looks; if the workings of the mind are good we may ignore the external features. The Emperor Yao for instance was tall, but his successor Shun was a small man (both previous to the three first hereditary dynasties). Wên Wang was tall, but his brother Chou Kung was short (both joint founders of the third dynasty). Confucius was tall, but Tsz Kung 子弓 (also known as 冉雍 and 仲弓) was short. The philosopher author then goes on to give instances of other distinguished historical personages, one of whom was seven feet in height with a face three feet in length and three inches broad; † another bald, with one leg longer than the other; a third so short and crippled that he could hardly carry his clothes; a fourth who could not stoop forward. Confucius' face was like a rumpled square. Chou Kung (already mentioned) was stumpy. Kao-yao's ‡ complexion was like a skinned melon or squash. Hung Yao 閎夭, an officer of Wên Wang, had a face so hairy that you could not see the skin. Fu Yüeh § 傅說 looked like a fish 鰭 standing erect. I-yin 伊尹 had no eyebrows. Yao and Shun (both already mentioned) both had double or mixed pupils in their eyes. Yü and T'ang (both already mentioned) suffered from serious bodily defects.

What then differentiates man from birds and beasts? It is the faculty of discernment and not simply because he has only two legs and no hair. A chimpanzee has two legs *with* hair, and can utter grins, but the superior man knows how to make

* Curious students who desire to argue about this "democratic" idea may refer to the 殷頌長發篇 of the Odes, over the precise meaning of which commentators naturally squabble interminably: still republican ideas have always been in the germ amongst the Chinese.

† I believe it is now well established that the ancient foot was considerably shorter than the modern.

‡ A minister of the Emperor Shun.

§ Minister at the close of the second dynasty.

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soup and carve his meat ("instead of eating it anyhow," says the commentator). Birds and beasts have also fathers and sons, but are unaware of it by any family feeling; they have males and females, but without any discernment of sex, and no discernment is more important than that of status or degree, which, again is entirely a matter of rites or propriety 禮, none of which is independent of our Sacred Rulers 聖王 (who, says the commentator, fix the rites 制禮); but there are a hundred Sacred Rulers: which is the standard? Answer: obey the *present* rulers, who presumably base on their predecessors; otherwise you might as well forsake your own ruler and obey someone else's ruler; you must judge the past by the present, just as you arrive at millions by counting up units. If you want to know what antiquity was, then examine the *tao* of the (reigning dynasty of) Chou; and if you want to know what that *tao* is, see what sort of superior men are valued under it. You cannot argue *tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis*, for fools are no competent judges, how much less successive generations of fools? The Sacred Ruler 聖人 neither deceives nor is deceived; he exercises his own judgment on the ancients; he is human and judges humanly, his basic nature being common with the man in the street 塗之百姓; ancient horses and cows were like the present ones. Why not men too? No traditions exist beyond the Five Emperors * 五帝, but they were there; it is only the lapse that fails us in records of their undoubted activities. Yü and T'ang (founders of the first and second dynasties) have transmitted accounts of their government, but not in the same detail as Chou (the third dynasty); the farther back we go, the fewer particulars there are, hence it comes that lapse of time has obscured or discontinued the old forms. All language irreconcilable with the former kings 先王 and not conforming to propriety and right is heretical 姦, and, however much you may argue, † the superior man 君子 will not listen to it; on the other hand, those who base on the former kings should love to disseminate what they know: everyone likes to speak of what he admires, and therefore presents of words or looks are more treasured than presents of jewels, finery or music. Hence the superior man never wearies of words, whilst the common individual 鄙夫 ‡ on the contrary prefers plain truth regardless

---

*i.e., previous to the first three hereditary dynasties.

† These remarks have special reference to the men hinted at in the first paragraph of the second chapter (commentator).

‡ The Confucian biased commentator thinks proper to add "he means fellows like Mêh-tsz," but this suggestion seems biased and gratuitous.

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of elegance, for which reason he remains stagnant and vulgar to the end of life. It is difficult to impress the degenerate rulers of to-day with the noble attitude of their ancient predecessors; the remote is too vague, and the modern too commonplace; the best way is adopt a medium course, and accommodate yourself to individuals as you see them, just as we bank in a pond or prop up a building according to the position or circumstances of the water or house: bend, but don't break; moderate yourself, but drag others along; conceal rather than exhibit superiority; this is an art suitable to all requirements, an instance of which is given in the Odes where an Emperor by tact gained over a foreign province.* It is better to be silent than to show want of tact and charity. † Hence the superior man is unwearied in charitable practice; his arguments are always as full of charity as the common man's are of malice. I say you must not necessarily revert to the extreme ancient rulers for your models, and I cannot see the use of going back to Yao and Shun (before the three hereditary dynasties) to Wên and Wu (founders of the third dynasty) in order to tackle with more modern conditions; Mencius and Tsz-sz (Confucius' grandson) hold the contrary view, and assert moreover in the most blameworthy manner that this was what the former superior man 先君子 (Confucius ‡) himself had maintained. If rulers had agreed to adhere to the old teaching 古教 there would have been no room for the six schools of thought 六說 and the twelve disciples § 十二子 would not have been on affectionate terms; these would have books and professors of antiquity; their reputation would have been greater than that of vassal rulers; Confucius and Tsz-kung would have been nowhere as saints 聖人; it would always be what the two saints Shun and Yü (the last of the non-hereditary and the first of the hereditary Emperors) said. To doubt what is doubtful is as much faith as to believe what is believable; garrulity and terseness are both equally good in their proper places; to know when to keep silent is as much knowledge as to know when to speak. ¶ Vain labour is bad; schismatic industry is also bad; smart talk

* Between B.C. 900 and 700 northern Kiang Su was beyond the pale.

† Sün-tsz here alludes to the defects of certain philosophers of his day, but few readers will see his points.

‡ In one place the scholar Tung Chung-shu alludes to Confucius as the 大君子.

§ A note says "十子 (omitting Mencius and Tsz-sz) according to the *Han-shi Wai-chuan*" (2nd century B.C.).

¶ The commentator here cites Confucius' well-known aphorism 知之爲知之不知爲不知是知也

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is bad, reckless bravery is bad, as the man who drowned himself because he was not listened to.* Don't use your superiority to others' disadvantage; condescend to learn, and, when you acquire capability, then be modest; be kindly 愛 all round in your bearing whether to prince, to elders, to your village, to friends, inferiors, juniors; always polite, no striving with them; none but the silly will fail to appreciate this. In ancient times the educated aspirants to office 士仕者 were social and charitable; in modern times they are violent rogues; nowadays those occupying posts 處士者 are very different from what they were in ancient times. The genuine superior man 君子 possesses all the virtues but does not insist on their recognition; hence he is ashamed of being bad, not of being reviled; he covets no praises and fears no blame. (Here follows a minute account of the proper deportment, shape of the hat, etc. etc., of the genuine gentleman 士君子, and it will be noticed how wide the range of term is, from the specific "Confucius" to the generic "gentleman"). Young fellows also have a correct deportment suited to their age and position (hat cocked forward, etc. etc.) Tsz-chang † made himself rather ridiculous 賤儒 by imitating the supposed walk of Yü and the shuffling gait of Shun, as did Tsz-hia† by his silent self-satisfaction (and so on with other prigs). On the other hand we have the magnificent manly figure 天下之大節 of the first of the Five Tyrants of China, Duke Hwan of Ts'i (Northern Shan Tung), who murdered his elder brother, had seven unmarried aunts, cousins, sisters, etc., in his household, squandered untold millions on his harems, appropriated half the public revenues to his extravagances, made surreptitious attacks upon his fellow vassal rulers; and yet was notwithstanding all this universally admired; why? because he was frank and unenvious, irresistible, and unhateable; and yet we have this pack of five-foot high boy-pupils abusing the characters of the Five Tyrants:‡ In the case of the illustrious first of that ilk, it was no mere luck, it was his due; he did not pretend to be a professed statesman 本政教, nor was he extremely elevated in character, nor yet

* Alluding to Chwang-tsz's story of 申徒狄.

† 子賤氏, also known as 顓孫師, celebrated in Confucian circles for his humble diligence: 子夏氏 also known as 卜商 was a smug stickler "of sorts."

‡ It is interesting to note that two centuries later the Confucian statesman Tung Chung-shu, in advising the Emperor Han Wu-ti, quotes these words of Sün-tsz, and says that the "five-foot boys" only meant that the Five Tyrants were to blame for preferring cunning and treachery to the disinterested charity and justice of ancient times; they in no way abused the men, only the methods.

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very learned, nor impelled by any great sense of right. It was rather strategy, foresight, the right use of men, cunning, dissimulation, the capacity for collecting and preparing the means for overturning all his enemies. Talk of treachery indeed! Why, would courtesy and charity alone have achieved all this? * Even Wên, Wu and Chou Kung (the founders of the Chou dynasty, father and two sons) had to take life sometimes (to protect dynastic interests), whilst Kieh and Chou (ruiners of the first and second dynasties) in spite of their vast empires perished like ordinary individuals. The rest of this chapter consists of maxims for statesmen, but, as the commentators point out, Sün-tsz at this point seems somewhat confused and self-contradictory, probably, they suggest, because his pupils were serving in rival states, and he had to trim his words in order to meet possible exigencies.

The fourth chapter on 儒效 purports to deal with the efficacy of what in later times became identical with Confucianism, but previous to Confucius' time rather meant something like what Charles II, 2,000 years later called "the religion of a gentleman." Sün-tsz evidently considers imperial China, as he found it in B.C. 300, to have been reborn with the Chou dynasty which, 900 years earlier than that, had established 71 vassal states in the Yellow River valley, of which 71 no fewer than 53 were administered by rulers bearing the clan name 姬 of the new Emperor or King 王 as he was then called. The *fainéant* monarch had in Sün-tsz's days conceded the title of King to several of the nominally vassal powers who were still contesting supremacy after 400 years of incessant intrigue, fighting, colonizing, and (it must be granted) general development; two of these powers had indeed in the year B.C. 292 for a few weeks arrogated to themselves the ancient title of *Ti* 帝, or Sacred Emperor; but it was not until the year 255 that the King of Ts'in (Southern Shen Si and Northern Hu Pêh) captured the famous tripods that for a millennium had formed the visible symbol of "empire." The rest of China now had no alternative but to submit, and

* Mencius goes so far as to say "The Five Tyrants were criminals when compared with the 三王 or Ancient Rulers"; but Confucius in his Analects hesitates to condemn Duke Hwan—a sort of cross between Alexander and Caesar—and explicitly admits that "had it not been for him and his adviser Kwan-tsz, we should all now be wearing Tartar attire." In fact, in Sün-tsz's time one Chinese vassal prince did for warlike handiness, actually adopt Tartar attire a century and a half after Confucius' death, just as the Roman Emperor Gratian did the attire of the Scythian Alani (the A-lan of the then contemporary Chinese dynastic histories) six centuries later.

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in the year 253 the Ts'in ruler sacrificed 祠 to The Emperor on High 上帝 in the suburb of his own capital. *

The year 255 † was the 52nd year of the Ts'in King Chao-siang's long reign as fighting vassal king, and it was thus the first year of what may be called the Ts'in dynasty: his son and grandson between them only reigned three years; but his great-grandson, the far-famed destroyer of literature, was the first to make use of the new combined title of *hwang-ti* that subsisted without break from B.C. 221 to the revolution of A.D. 1911, and also he was the first to establish a complete and effective empire over both North and South China. Accordingly we find our philosopher (who had already been in the service of two other vassal kings) in the service of King Chao-siang, and this somewhere between B.C. 300 and 260, just at a time when the great conquests were beginning, and when the Ts'in generals were whipping off from 50,000 to 400,000 heads from the rival armies every month: evidently Sün-tsz was sowing the seed of scepticism which led to his friend the conquering king's grandson making a holocaust of both rival books and rival "writing fellows." The opening words are "King Chao 昭 of Ts'in asked the philosopher Sün 孫卿子‡ saying: 'The educated are of no advantage to one's State?'" The answer was: "The educated classes 儒者 take the former kings 先王 as their models, and venerate sociality and charity 隆禮義; they are scrupulous subjects, and evince the utmost esteem for their superiors; so that if the ruler 人主 makes use of them things go on well at his Court 本朝." After listening to further encomiums and allusions to how Confucius improved the tone of inferiors 人下 the King asked: "Yes, that is all very well, but how about the effect on rulers themselves 人上?" Sün K'ing replied: "The rulers would be magnanimous; their resolves would be settled at home, and their bearing 禮節 would be polished at Court: the laws and the correct administration thereof would be manifest in officials, whilst honesty, good faith, kindness and advantage would be apparent in those below. Never an injustice, never an innocent

* Mr. Eric Teichman's recently published "Travels in North-west China" (Cambridge University Press) throws much light upon these ancient sites and doings.

† These dates vary by one year in some books of trustworthy reference owing to some authors taking the view that 1 B.C. should be succeeded by the year 0 and not by the year A.D. 1; but these abstruse astronomical questions in no way affect our narrative.

‡ Often written 荀況; it is really not a question of *Talu*, but of local dialect: even to-day the Cantonese pronounce 孫 as *sün* instead of *sun*: the best commentators have proved this point.

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man punished." Following the practice of the time in all the Chinese states Sün-tsz quotes one of the Odes—the Bible of China—in support of his thesis, and asked "the effect upon inferiors and superiors being as thus set forth, how is it possible to say that the educated are of no advantage to a State?" King Chao simply said "Good!"

Our philosopher then proceeds to develop his theories as follows, but it is not clear that he is still continuously addressing the King; he is apparently "letting himself go" generally for the public reader's instruction. He begins by showing that the *tao* 道 of the ancient kings was purely human; there was nothing supernatural about it: the superior man 君子 has no pretension to universal ability, wisdom or discrimination; his business is *li* and *i* (sociality and charity) as above described, and he simply recommends these on all occasions, just as humble cultivators and traders know best the ins and outs of their own special requirements and chances, of which the superior man may be ignorant. The same thing may be said of carpenters or joiners, legists or lawyers, such for instance as Hwei Shih and Têng Sih.* Opportunity is taken here of disapproving the communistic doctrines of Mêh-tsz, who seems to be one of our author's special bugbears, and of Shên-tsz†, another of the peripatetic philosophers of the time. Over and over again Sün-tsz reinforces his arguments by references to the Odes, and it appears from the detailed histories of the several Chinese states that this was a universal diplomatic practice: in modern times we have had by way of comparison a striking instance in the case of President Kruger, who (set going by an ingenious Yankee pressman) kept up quite a protracted "diplomatic" correspondence by telegraph (answers prepaid), in which verses from the Bible were exchanged without comment to illustrate the daily vicissitudes of the Boer war. It must be repeated here that there is no edition of Sün-tsz at all approaching in perfection of style the polished work of Hwai-nan-tsz (2nd century B.C.), or even the partly rough and partly polished reconstituted re-

*惠施 or 惠子 a contemporary of Chwang-tsz, who mentions conversations with him: Hwai-nan-tsz also alludes to him several times; he was minister in the state where Mencius did most of his speechifying. Têng Sih 鄧析, who is also mentioned by Hwai-nan-tsz. was executed by the celebrated local premier Tsz-ch'an 子產 on account of his legal innovations, but even Tsz-ch'an himself went farther in the direction of written law than Confucius (his junior and his admirer) could approve: Confucius plumped for the *themistes* of Sir Henry Maine.

†愼到 A Taoist of the Lao-tsz school, like Sün-tsz born in Chao (North Shan Si), but adviser to the King of Ts'u (South China) about B.C. 300.

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mains of the first articulate philosopher, Kwan-tsz: it is not at all clear how far the work of Sün-tsz escaped the holocaust of B.C. 213; still less is it clear in what written character the earliest collection was written; and whether on bamboo slips, on silk, or on paper: finally there are the vulgar 俗本, the Sung dynasty 宋本 and the Mongol dynasty editions 元刻, all of which at times differ hopelessly.

Having described the various qualities that go to form the perfect man 聖人, Sün-tsz goes on to say that this perfect man's *tao* emanates from one single thing, i.e., holding firmly to his soul 神. What *is* this soul? It is perfect goodness and amiability; it isindestructible, and the perfect man in holding on to it, becomes the pipe or conduit of *tao*, which is the refrain of the Odes, History, Rites and Music.* The Odes represent the mind, the History the facts, the Rites the behaviour, the Music the harmony.

A visitor (says Sün-tsz) on occasion observed to me that Confucius once said: "What a success the Duke of Chou was! With personal distinction he only became more humble 恭; with riches he only became more economical; with victories he only became more cautious." My reply to the visitor was: Probably the Duke of Chou never acted thus, and Confucius never said so. When Wu Wang was overthrowing the last ruler of the Yin dynasty, he was warned that Jupiter was in an inauspicious position in the north †; but he deliberately faced east, and marched on to meet the planet; moreover it was the Duke of Chou who encouraged him to take this risk, and in completing his task he needed no one's further assistance. The celebrated charioteer of history 造父 ‡ needed horses and chariots to gain his fame, just as the great archer of history 羿 needed bows and arrows; in the same way the highly educated personage 大儒 needs territory and population whereon to operate, even though he possess not a yard of land of his own. Confucius and Tsz-kung 子弓 are instances given by Sün-tsz, whilst Mêh-tsz is once more cited as a specimen of defective educated men: any way, doing is better than knowing, knowing than seeing, seeing than hearing, hearing than being deaf to high principles: doing is proof of clear comprehension and characteristic of the

* It is noteworthy that only four of the classics are named, nothing is said of the Changes, and not the slightest hint is given of what *we* call "religion."

† "North" also means "defeat."

‡ Careful students should read the excellent papers of M. Léopold de Saussure, who effectually destroys some of Chavannes' theories about Muh T'ien-tsz's travels in Tartary: they are published in the *T'oung Pao*.

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perfect man, who bases on charity and justice, takes a true view of what is and what is not, brings his acts in accord with his words, never swerves and follows the one *tao*: hence it is absolutely necessary to have a standard guide 師法, and the accumulation of experiences forms new habits and customs, just as the accumulation of days forms a year, and just as north, south, east, west, zenith, and nadir form distant theoretical space: the perfect man is the mass of human experiences, just as the cultivator, carver, trader are the mass of agricultural, artistic and trafficking experiences: when you are at "Rome" 楚 do as the Romans do; when at "Athens" 越 do as the Athenians do; when you are a pure Chinaman 夏 do as the Chinese do; it is not born in any man what he *is* to do; he goes with the multitude (a suitable Ode text here follows as usual); you may be ignorant; how unjust, indecent, and silly you are when you see others do not take you at your own valuation; your mind, your temper and your knowledge require schooling before you can pretend to justice, refinement and ability.* In searching for natural truth 道德 you cannot go beyond the later kings; back beyond the three family dynasties B.C. 2205-250 三代 all is vague.

The fifth chapter of Sün-tsz treats of the science of personal rule 王制, and first of all it should be understood that high capacity may exist without training in the humblest individuals, and even the deaf and dumb, the lame, maimed and dwarfs may have suitable work found for their natural genius, as, for instance, blind musicians, deaf cooks, etc. The former kings established the principles of (1) courtesy and equity 禮義, (2) rich and poor, (3) noble and common in order to obviate unseemly struggles for the good things of this life. When the horse shies under control the charioteer is uneasy; when the commoner shies at restraint, the superior man is uneasy; in both cases a quiet soothing treatment is required. Confucius said that the highest class of ruler was careful in both great and small points of propriety, whilst the medium class might admittedly fail in small points; but there was little to be said for a ruler who was particular in small points whilst neglectful of the larger.† Tsz-ch'an‡ was

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* In the course of this dissection of the various educated 儒 Sün-tsz once more uses almost the exact words of Confucius, Sün-tsz's version being 知之曰知之不知曰不知, and he adds, any way the 大儒 is preferable to the 俗儒, who again is preferable to the 俗人.

† I have not been able to identify this 孔子曰 unless Analects VIII, 6 and XVIII, 5 are meant.

‡ Mentioned a few pages back; Kwan 仲 is of course our old friend Kwantsz. It is interesting to notice how the same historical facts are rehashed by all the philosophers.

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popular but no ruler, whilst Kwan Chung was a great ruler, but no stickler for propriety: hence a cultivator of propriety represents majesty; a ruler, power; a popular man, peace; a greedy man, ruin; hence again, majesty enriches the people, whilst power rather enriches the classes: a country that enriches the higher classes only may just survive, but one that fills private pockets generally is bound to come to grief. Full granaries and starving people may be compared with an overflowing but leaky pitcher. If you cannot keep what you get in, you will not have the means to pay out for your defence, hence what you rake in to your ruin the enemy rakes out to his strengthening; witness for instance what happened to the grasping rulers* of Ts'i in B.C. 680 respectively and 280. Hence the prestige born of propriety and justice, which qualifies for either kingly 王 or forcible 霸 rule. As I have said (continues Sün-tsz), *tao* cannot be traced distinctly farther back than the three dynasties, and the methods 法 of later kings must, therefore, be assumed to be inherited from the earlier as anything inconsistent with them would be inelegant 不雅 even now; in a word, virtue at home or in privacy brings its own reward, and vice the contrary.

As to taxes on land, ten per cent. is reasonable, but inspection without tax is sufficient at custom's barriers or in markets; free fishing should not be obstructed by weirs and stepping stones too much, and the pursuit of game should coincide with the fall of the leaf; local productions and tribute should be sent in according to circumstances and distances; roads and rivers should be kept open to all, and the Empire treated as one family 四海之內若一家; for instance, horses and hounds come from the north;† hides, feathers, ivory and rare stones and mineral dyes from the south; salt and strange marine creatures from the east, carpets and skins or hides from the west; all things for man's use, which may be grouped in one as the "great spirit ‡."

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* There is very little use in giving translated particulars in the present state of European historical knowledge; however, the affair of 280 B.C. is mentioned in Mayers' *Manual* No. 930; the earlier event is well known to educated Chinese, and is shortly described in Chavannes' *Se-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. IV., p. 50. Sün-tsz merely alludes to the events casually, assuming that his readers will know the details, as well-read Chinese then did and now do.

†Yün Nan and Burmese horses were probably unknown to North China in Sün-tsz's days, as also must have been the great Tibetan mastiffs: the 紫柱 ("unknown character") may be any marine monster this or that commentator likes to imagine.

‡大神; this expression occurs in the classics, but not at all in Sün-tsz's sense, which seems to mean "transmogrification" by man's genius. The usual Ode is cited in illustration, but it requires a Chinese mind to discern the connection.

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Courtesy and right are the foundation of civilization, and the superior man is their product; nature produces him, and he manages or manipulates nature. Fire and water are instinct with afflatus 有氣, but have no life; vegetation has life, but no consciousness; beasts and birds have this last, but no sense of right 義. Man has all four, and is, therefore, the noblest product of nature* 最爲天下貴. No strength like that of the ox, no speed like that of the horse; but man utilizes, since they cannot unite, as can man; for only man with his sense of right can unite in action the various layers of humanity that right creates, thus availing himself according to season of the food† facilities which nature through man provides. The rest of chapter 5 is much in the same strain, being an "applied" form of the above science; however it is so full of borrowed and erroneous characters that even the Chinese commentators have allowed possible "renderings" to go by the board: Giles and Balfour would have revelled in this maze.

The sixth chapter is on "how to enrich the State." All men have similar aims and desires, though they may go about them by different ways and devices. It is repeated here and in fact often, that 10 per cent. is a fair percentage on agriculture, but this tax should be *used* economically and not squandered: there is enough to go round for all, and no occasion for vain fears‡ of insufficiency. Propriety fixes the question of class difference, senior and junior, rich and poor, important and unimportant; hence the Son of Heaven wears purple and a crown, and so *mutatis mutandis* downwards with his ministers, etc. The way to enrich a state is to lighten the land-tax, customs and market dues; reduce the number of hucksters§, resort to forced labour as seldom as possible; and above all do not hamper harvest operations. Class distinctions are unavoidable in aggregations of men, and the prince may be compared to a pivot round which other classes turn: expenditure, whether on buildings, pleasures, clothes, or what not, should never be wanton or excessive, but only on what is needful to attain reasonable comfort; the usual Ode is cited to stress this

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* It will be noticed what a wide range of meanings the philosophers give to such words as 天下, 聖人, 君子, 神, etc.

†In speaking of 五種, i.e., pulse, hemps, wheat and two sorts of millet it is to be noted that Sün-tsz does not include rice, which cannot have been a common product of North or Old China.

‡The chief Commentator says this is another dig at Mêh-tsz's theory of scarcity.

§ I.e., so as to have more cultivators.

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point, and in this case the verses are applicable and clear to the ingenuous foreign mind. Here is where the charitably disposed ruler 仁人 meets with approbation; the people regard him as a God 帝*, love him as a parent and are ready to die for him, actually rejoicing in his individual wealth and splendour: an apt Ode is here again cited to reinforce this comfortable sentiment. How painfully, Sün-tsz goes on to say, all this contrasts with the present cruel levies on personal and real property, the exaction of tolls and customs, and so on, to the hindering of free dealings. Hence the causes of modern revolts and massacres: as the Ode says, "No word unavenged, no kindness ill-requited."

Sün-tsz a few pages further on proceeds in his own words to ridicule Mêh-tsz† as already above outlined: he says "Mêh-tsz was openly bewailing the Empire's 天下 scarcity, but this supposed scarcity was really no public danger, it was only a danger unnecessarily created by Mêh-tsz's own imagination." Heaven and earth (he proceeds) create enough food and clothing for us all; Mêh-tsz's joylessness is calculated to stir up discontent, as his exaggerated economy would simply create poverty, and discourage all desire for rewards: he thinks there should be fewer officials and scientists; also that the upper classes should work with their own hands just like the lower classes do. If this were so, there would be no imposing of awe and dignity, and punishments would thus be practically impossible. Without rewards or punishments how would the able and virtuous be distinguished from the worthless? The world would be topsy-turvy, and Mêh-tsz himself, in munching his pulse and sipping his cold water, would be hard put to it to feel content.‡ No! the ancient kings had character wherewith to unite and magnificence wherewith to manage the people; without the apparatus of power, evil-doers could not be suitably dealt with. The world will get along in perfect comfort so long as educational methods 儒術 are earnestly followed; as the Odes say, "Tipsy and with full bellies, bang go the cymbals, happiness all round." Mêh-tsz's way would lead to a wearisome and drab existence,—as another Ode (quoted) puts it. To dole out favours and sing lullabies to the people is a sneaking sort of *tao* or praise-earning; on the

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* 天 帝 is here meant, says the Commentator-in-chief.

† Mêh-tsz's strict economy and communistic principles are alluded to by Dr. Eitel on p.334 of the *China Review*, Vol. VI. He was evidently a bit of a "Bolshevist,"—a word, by the way, which simply means "majority" party.

‡"Sufficiency" and "content" are both 足 in Chinese.

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other hand don't pamper rogues in order to gain their favour. Don't overpress the people with labour demands; either pampering or bullying is equally bad: the ancients took care to allow for summer heat and winter cold; there was no overstraining and no slacking*, and thus superiors and inferiors were both gainers; first look to your own acts and then impose duties upon others; then you cannot but be wise; here Sün-tsz shifts from his Odes and quotes for once in a way from the Book of History to support his doctrine of good example. Whilst it may be tyranny not to warn first†, still it is laxity to warn and then not punish; whilst again punishments without rewards are discouraging; punishments and rewards should be regular, or else the people will be at sixes and sevens: hence the *li-i* or propriety and justice of the ancient kings enabled them to unify; their good faith secured love; their discrimination secured good service; their titles and rewards gave weight to their behests; the relation of rulers to ruled may thus be compared with the relation of trunk to branches and leaves. You may judge a state by what you see of the popular manners and the officials' behaviour; i.e., whether all is well or the reverse; whether the people are content or groan under exactions. Under Yü‡ there were ten years of flood, and under T'ang§ seven years of drought; yet the country on each occasion recovered: on the other hand, full granaries and empty stomachs signify bad rule; in seeking wealth you may ruin a state, in seeking gain you may imperil your own ruling person.

Most hostile attacks of one state upon another are either brought on by ambitious desire to punish or subdue, by lust for gain, or by eagerness for revenge. A benevolent ruler will aim at high things, purify his aims, and be scrupulously correct as to his acts; be perfectly true and loyal, and in everything orderly¶: if he is all this, it matters not if his raiment is poor and his housing coarse; he is as good as any duke in his palace and in his bedizenment; if set to rule a state, the Empire itself cannot ignore him; no one would venture to attack him from

*No ca' canny

†A colloquial saying even to-day.

‡Founder of the 1st regular dynasty.

§Founder of the 2nd regular dynasty.

¶期文理; the first character stands for 綦, which last *Sün-tsz* habitually uses as 極. The two next characters have nothing to do with "composition" still less with the purely foreign "literary speech," which is not a Chinese sanctioned expression at all.

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ambitious desire to punish; no army would prevail against full granaries and general content; any vengeful attack upon him would be driven off like so much chaff: proper diplomatic behaviour towards superior states coupled with politeness and liberal tribute will secure such an administrator against ambition, covetousness, or spite; his government will be as firm as a rock, and as enduring as the constellations. He will be at peace whilst others are at loggerheads, and he will arise from the ruins of others; hence a benevolent man not only keeps his own but adds to it. (Here follows the usual fortifying Ode).

Sün-tsz then draws a picture of the faithlessness and greed of tyrannical suzerain states, more especially regarding cessions of territory. Neither a Yao nor a Shun as subordinate rulers could have escaped such clutches; you might as well send a virgin with jewels across the path of a mountain brigand. The only thing is to be blameless yourself; it may be difficult to serve a tyrant, but you may make it easier to force the tyrant to serve your purpose.

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THE NYI TSYE-CH'UNG MEDALLIONS OF ANHUI

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S.

There has been during the year of grace one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one, quite an epidemic of substituting one Tuchün for another in a number of the provinces of China, to wit: Yünnan, Kiangsu, Hunan, Chihli, Hupeï, Shansi, Kansu, Chêkiang, Kuangsi, etc. In this list must be included Anhui if we go back a few months of 1920. Nyi Tsye-ch'ung who had been Tuchün of Anhui for several years, gracefully resigned in 1920 to make way for younger blood in the person of General Chang Wên-sung, but his exit was marked by the issue of several special pieces of interest to numismatists.

In vain have I searched for an extended native biographical sketch of Nyi Tsye-ch'ung.* Investigations into Chinese literature and persistent inquiries in Anhui province, have remained fruitless. A very small note of ten lines in the 中外名人歷史大觀 (Chung Wai Ming Jên Li Shih Ta Kuan)† is the only material coming under my notice, and from these ten lines, hardly two or three sentences can be availed of. The rest is couched in such absurd terms and shows such lack of veracity, that it can well be ignored here.

This work only states that Nyi Tsye-ch'ung was born in Yingchowfu, Anhui province, but does not give the date of his birth. His first appearance in official life was when he was made secretary to the then Governor-General of Hupei. His next appointment was as a Puisne Judge in Hupei province. A strong supporter of Yüan Shih-k'ai, he directed his efforts in

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*倪嗣沖. The Peking romanization of the name is Ni Ssŭ-chung.

†Vol. III, pp. 79, 80.

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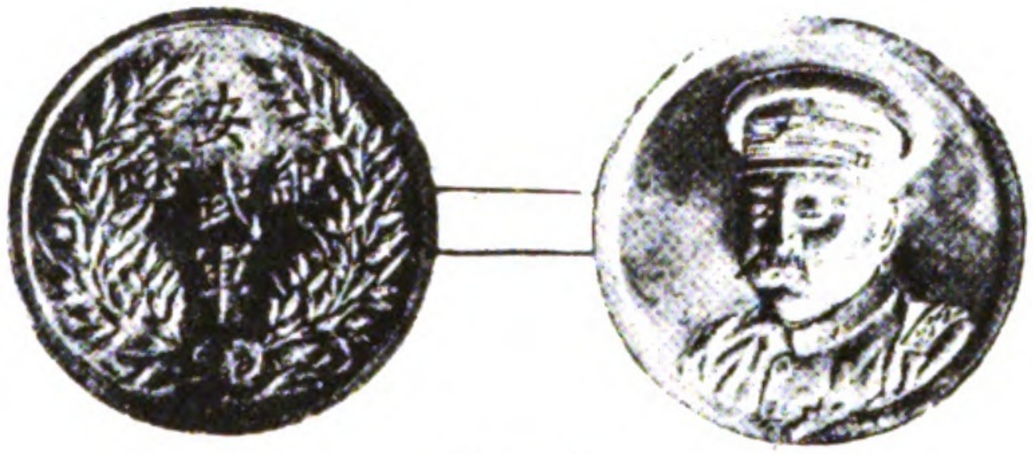

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assisting the latter to become Army Inspector of the Peiyang Troops. When President Hsü Shi-ch'ang became *tuchün* of the Three Northern Provinces, he appointed Nyi Tsye-ch'ung to a minor office in a civil court, from which position he rose to become Registrar-General of Heilungkiang province in Manchuria. In the fall of 1911, when Yüan Shih-k'ai became Inspector-General of the Army, he appointed Nyi Tsye-ch'ung Military Governor of Honan province. We next hear of him during the second republican rebellion (1913-14), when he became *tuchün* of Anhui province, an appointment conferred upon him by Yüan Shih-k'ai, then President. It would seem that Nyi Tsye-ch'ung was a great *protegé* of China's First President, for during the Hung Hsien days he was created a duke and given the office of Second Inspector of the Yangtze Valley. However, that title was short-lived, as, upon the collapse of the Hung Hsien *régime*, Nyi Tsye-ch'ung became generalissimo of the Hunan troops, and after the imperial *coup d'état* of Chang Hsün, he reverted to the tuchunship of Anhui province with the title of First Inspector of the Yangtze Valley. As already mentioned, he gave up this office in 1920, since when he has been living in retirement at Tientsin.

When Nyi Tsye-ch'ung retired from the tuchunship of Anhui province, various medallions were struck by the provincial mint at Anking as a souvenir of his rule. Strictly speaking, however, there were only two medallions made. Type I shows the first one struck; this medallion was made in bronze, silver and gold; the bronze one being the rarest of the three, whilst in silver a fair number apparently exist. The legend reads: 念武紀安軍 meaning: "Souvenir of the Military Officer of Anhui"; in bronze: weight, 9.27 grammes; size, 28mm.; thickness 2½mm.; in silver: weight, 14.35 grammes; size, 28¼mm.; thickness, 3mm.; in gold: weight, 17.63 grammes; size, 28¼mm.; thickness, 2¼mm.; the rims of all the pieces are unmilled. Type II was the second medallion struck, and so far as is known, was made only in silver. The obverse reads 安慶造幣廠造 "made at the Anking mint," with the characters 紀念 meaning "souvenir" in the centre, reposing on a groundwork of 71 horizontal lines surrounded by a necklace composed of 41 cherry blossoms. The effigy on the reverse has the characters 中華民國九年 "Ninth year of the Chinese Republic" over it; size, 32mm.; weight, 12.78 grammes; edges with reeding, but with no milling on the rim. There exists besides this piece, another of exactly the same type but which is slightly smaller, being 31½mm. in

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size with a weight of 12.83 grammes; it is easily recognized by the rim which in this instance is milled. There are also several less glaring differences between the two pieces. The three stars underneath the collar of blossoms are slightly rounded off in the unmilled piece, whereas in the milled one the points are more sharp; also, the diameter of this collar is 12mm. in the milled piece, but in the plain rim one it is 12½mm. It would be difficult to ascribe as a reason the existence of a separate die, the rest of the design militating against such a conclusion, but it is quite within the bounds of credence to assume that a new centre piece was used, much in the same manner as the Ssŭch'uan republican coins were treated. In the certificate which accompanied the medallions of type II, it is stated that the piece was made under the following officers: Superintendent (or Mint Chief) of Mint, Woo Fang of Kweichihsien (Chihchowfu), province of Anhui; Moulder (or the one who casts) Keng Ch'ao-t'ai, of Hofeihsien (Luchowfu) province of Anhui. In a letter to me on the 20th of March last, Mr. Woo Fang says that the dies of these medallions have been melted.

The gold piece is of type II, and measures 31½mm. in diameter; weight 21.84 grammes; rim ungrained. The design is identical to the silver piece with the one exception of the three stars underneath the collar of blossoms encircling the characters 紀念. Whereas in the silver piece these stars are of the ordinary five-point variety, thus: ★, in the gold piece they are of the hexagonal pattern, thus: ✱, the characteristics of which lie in the single points directed in a horizontal position, instead of in the usual vertical one.

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CHINESE DITTIES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED)

(*Continued from Vol. III, p. 450*)

兩把頭大拉翅光緒錢改十字鬼子有點不得勁

[At the time when] the two top-knots [of earlier times expanded into] the large wings widespread, and the figure 10 on the [earlier] coins in the reign of Kuanghsü was changed [into the larger form], the foreign devils became a little weaker.

[Current in Peking in the 24th and 25th years (1898-9) of the reign of Kuanghsü, 兩把頭大拉翅 refers to the changed head-dress of Manchu women. The use of this head-dress is of early date, but formerly it was small and made of their own hair in the shape of two top-knots tied together. Later it became larger, was more generally made of false hair, and assumed the shape of two wings, one on each side of the head. The change on the coins was due to the dislike, during a period of strong anti-otreign feeling, to the resemblance of the Chinese character for ejn to the Christian cross, and it was accordingly changed from 十 to the larger form 拾.]

掀鐵路拔線桿看看洋人難不難

Dig up the rails, pull up the telegraph poles, and see whether the foreigners won't be in difficulties!

[From the Sha Ho and Yung Nien districts, Chihli. Both this and the last originated in the same anti-foreign sentiment.–this in Boxer, the former in pre-Boxer times.]

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要命的饊果救命的扁食

The fatal preserve ; the life-giving mince-pies.

[From Lung-p'ing Hsien, Chihli. 糖果 in the North are called 糖瓜. 扁食 are 餃子, pastry containing mince-meat. By the custom of that *hsien* 糖瓜 are used in sacrificing to the Kitchen God. At that time (23rd day of the 12th moon) dunners for overdue debts begin to appear, so the 糖瓜 are termed "fatal." But on the 1st day of the 1st moon 餃子 are eaten, and being associated with a happier time when dunners can come no longer are termed "life-giving." The adjectives are supposed to be used by the debtors themselves.]

三尺長的辮子五尺高的漢子娶過老婆的大漢子

A queue three feet long, a man five feet high :—a fully-grown married man !

[Also from Lung-p'ing. Refers to the very early age of marriage in that district. When married a man, though very young, is already known as an adult, but is not considered as such before marriage : even if he remain a generation unmarried he is still looked upon as an infant !]

紅 綠 對 打 男 婚 當 家 門 男 好 會 讀 嫁 望 男 門 家 當 婚 男 打 對 綠 紅
雞 尾 門 親 大 女 嫁 莫 戶 家 好 男 書 讀 會 好 家 戶 莫 嫁 女 大 親 門 尾 雞
公 巴 戶 家 當 女 大 望 莫 大 女 會 賠 莫 大 望 女 大 當 家 戶 巴 公
娃 生 夫 管 書 男 好 家 戶 莫 嫁 女 大 親 門 尾 雞
娃 幾 好 會 讀 嫁 望 男 門 家 當 婚 男 打 對 綠 紅

A red cock with a green tail ! If the status is equal they [the man and maid] may be married. When a man is grown up he should marry a wife ; when a girl reaches womanhood she should have a husband. The girl's family should not look to the husband's status ; the husband's family should not reckon on the wife's dowry. If the husband is a scholar and the wife can manage her household it will be a good match and they will have fine children !

[From Hsi-ch'ung Hsien, Ssŭch'uan. A red cock with a green tail is a very fine looking bird (a fine man) though perhaps the green tail indicates the wife !]

一个媳婦姑到過兩个媳婦動家伙三个媳婦壞家窩

With one daughter-in-law the family may be tranquil ; with two daughters-in-law quarrels will take place ; but with three daughters-in-law the family will be broken up.

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[From Nan-chang Hsien, Hupei. Indicates the improbability of harmony between the wife and an increasing number of daughters-in-law, 務 and 寓 are interchangeable sounds.

要得南津安除非殺去董聘三要得南津不窮除非除了張書農

If we desire to make Nan-chang safe, we must kill Tung P in san : if we desire to make Nan-chang rich, we must drive Chang Shu-nung away.

[Tung, at the end of the Ch'ing dynasty, was Collector of Education Fees, by appropriating which he made himself and his family rich, so the people of Nan-chang hated him to his very bones. In the 辛亥 year (1671), when the 革命 revolutionaries arose, he was killed by the people of his own village, who cast his corpse into the mountain stream. Chang also was a corrupt member of the gentry class and a man of capital, which he loaned to merchants at great profit. He constantly resorted to litigation to enforce his claims, so also was hated by his own villagers. This is a good type of the more modern style of ditties.]

南津南津勝地甲荆襄東有徐庶里西有水鏡莊

Nan-chang ! Nan-chang ! It is the best place in Ching-hsiang. To the East is the native place of Hsŭ Shu ; to the West there is the village of Shui Ching.

[Nan-chang is to the west of Hsiang-yang, a *fu* in the An-Hsiang-Yün-Ching circuit, Hupei, and known in the Chin dynasty as 荆. Hsiang-yang is a very productive district, 800 *li* in area, and an important place on the road to Ssŭch'uan and Shansi. 水鏡 or 水鏡先生 is the style (taken from the name of the village) of Ssŭ-ma Hui, whose other style was Tê-ts'ao. Both he and Hsü Shu lived in the time of the Three Kingdoms (A.D. 220-65). About two *li* to the east of Nan-chang is Hsü Shu's hall of ancestors, marking the site of his native village. To the west is the village of Shui Ching, which was Ssŭ-ma Hui's favourite resort for walking and fishing, and now noted for its historical associations and fine scenery.]

家有幾田莊畝定要上地上衙門裏有一日事臨頭當乾賣並盡下獄

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When a man has a few acres of agricultural land, he [being purse-proud] is fond of litigation. But the day comes when a catastrophe happens [he meets one more powerful than he] and he has to sell all his property and is put in prison.

[Also from Nan-chang. 有之一日 generally = 有朝一日.]

年成好嫌麥黑年成不好樹皮也喫得

When the harvest is good we grumble at the wheat being black; but when the harvest is bad we even eat bark.

[In the Chang district droughts are frequent. In the worst times, the bark of the 榆 elm tree is ground up, boiled, and eaten to stay hunger. The ditty preaches contentment and economy: if all classes economized, there would be no scarcity and no complaints.]

明末無青草清末無白丁

At the end of the Ming dynasty there was no green grass; at the end of the Ch'ing dynasty there were no ignorant people.

[From Fêng-t'ien Fu. According to the Chinese saying, in the Ming dynasty the people suffered from heaven's fault, not from their own; in the Ch'ing, from their own, namely, allowing bad officials to be employed in the government of the country. "No green grass"—very much impoverished. "No ignorant people" means that members of even the lower classes could be appointed officials and so belong to the "scholar" class.]

胡攪漢漢攪胡胡漢相攪二百秋

The Mongols trouble the Chinese; the Chinese trouble the Mongols. The Mongols and Chinese have troubled each other for two hundred years [lit., autumns.]

[Also from Fêng-t'ien. The reference is to the chronic animosity between the North and the South. How this idea obsessed the native mind was illustrated in the reign of Ch'ien Lung. As that monarch was going through the Tung-chih Mên of Peking on his way to Jêhol, the wind blew his hat off. As the wind blew from the north, it was taken as an omen of trouble from the Mongols, the prediction being fulfilled in the person of Chang Ko Erh, the Mongol Prince who rebelled against China during his reign. After peace had been arranged, Chang came to Peking to bring tribute, but was treacherously murdered by the Chinese—an act which led to further Mongol revolutions and wars.]

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翻 漢 地 黃 加 來 八 九 九 春
手 子 走 牛 一 九 九 河 頭 打
就 窮 遍 九 九 雁 開 七 六

The Spring [sacrifice is] at the beginning of the sixth nine At the seventh nine the river opens. At the eighth nine the wild goose comes. At the ninth nine plus one nine the yellow ox everywhere ploughs [lit, walks] the fields, and the poor *han tzu* [native, Chinese] can then make a living.

[From Fêng-t'ien, but varies in different parts. From the winter solstice (11th day of 11th moon) to the beginning of spring (generally the 26th day of 12th moon) is 45 days (five nines), the spring sacrifice being on the first day of the sixth nine, *i.e.*, on the 46th day after the winter solstice. The seventh and eighth nines are 63 and 72 days respectively after the winter solstice, the ninth nine plus one nine being 90 days after that epoch. 翻手 *lit.*, to turn (use) his hands.]

頭 神 斗 十 把 雞 十 化 腐 十 寫 天 灶 年 臘 別 小
初 三 九 麵 二 七 豬 二 五 對 二 皇 二 八 餓 娃
一 十 糊 發 十 事 肉 十 做 紙 十 爺 十 就 過 娃
叩 祭 香 二 八 年 二 六 豆 二 四 上 三 是 了 你

Little baby, don't be greedy! After the 8th day of the 12th moon the [new] year [will soon be] here. On the 23rd the Stove God goes up to heaven; on the 24th we write [New Year] couplets. On the 25th we make bean-curd. On the 26th we melt pork. On the 27th we kill the year-fowl for sacrifice. On the 28th we raise [with yeast, i.e., make ready to be eaten] the vermicelli. On the 29th we paste [new paper round] the rice-measure. On the eve of the 30th we worship the gods. On the first [day of the New Year] we *k'ou-t'ou* [kowtow: offer New Year congratulations.]

[Fêng-t'ien in winter is a very cold land, where pork freezes as soon as killed and has to be thawed before use. This is done by heating over a fire or by soaking in hot water. In poor villages, bean-curd is not usually eaten except at the New Year, for the sake of economy. Pork is bought before the 23rd day because it is then cheaper, and is kept in cold storage until the 26th. 香斗 is a rice-measure made of bamboo splints and pasted on the outside with paper. It is filled with rice, in which incense sticks are stuck. The rectangular ones are called 斗, the round ones 燈.]

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寡 的 十 下 的 來 夫 哭 滿 葫
小 七 的 磚 房 多 的 街 蘆
守 八 瓦 地 上 嗐 丈 白 花

Calabash flower! making the whole street white! I weep [wondering] when my husband will come [return.] Tiles on the roof; bricks on the ground; [but I am] a perpetual widow at [only] seventeen or eighteen years of age!

[Current among young people in Shên-tsê Hsien, Chihli. Tiles and bricks are complementary to the roof and ground respectively; similarly a husband should not be without a wife nor a wife without a husband. "The whole street white" conveys the idea of uniformity and completeness, which should also be the case in married life, but the young widow, having no husband, is by contrast incomplete.]

有閨女不開菜園子有小子不棰燒餅籃子

Where there is an unmarried woman [in the family] do not have a vegetable garden; where there are young boys do not carry a wheat-cake basket on your arm!

[Same district. The first sentence implies trouble from the young men who come to buy vegetables and may flirt with the girl; the second refers to wheat-cake selling being a poor business and the sellers notorious liars and cheats, so that it is to be feared the boys will follow in their father's footsteps. 摊 more correctly 摊.]

哦哦娃瞌睡奶奶去地切穀穗切一籃打半升夠你娘們過一冬

So! so! baby is going to sleep! While she sleeps grandmama will go to the field to cut some ears of corn. When she has cut a basketful she will beat out as much as half a pint [of grain]—enough to enable you ladies to pass the winter.

[Current in Honan. This is sung by the grandmother as she lulls the baby to sleep, the mother being engaged on other business. The half-pint of grain is of course a daily supply. "You ladies" are the mother and the baby. 够 should be written 夠.]

小 穀 奶 鶴 腿 制 肉 奶 近
白 讀 奶 我 我 圪 喫 說 嘴
雞 水 殺 拽 說 增 奶 小

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["Grandmama says:] 'Small white chicken [clucking like] the sound of bubbling water!' [I say:] 'Grandmama, you kill the crane; I will hold its legs.' I say [further:] 'Cut some top-knot meat for me to eat.' Grandmama says: 'Little glutton!'"

Also from Honan, 殼讀 onomatopœic, sound of boiling water. 拽＝拉. The chattering child is compared to a clucking chicken. The crane is a household pet, not to be killed. Its top-knot is said to be poisonous, on account of its feeding on scorpions, snakes, etc. The crane is usually found only in the homes of wealthy families. Young girls' foreheads (sometimes their ears or arms) are stained with blood taken from the top-knot. This is done at five or six years of age, and if it remains it is regarded as a proof of virginity (known as 守宮砂)].

排	排	上	到	紅	念	讀	上	小
塲	塲	你	咱	旗	文	詩	學	學
		不	看	門	插	章	書	堂	生

Little scholar! going to school to learn poetry and study literature! When the red banner floats over our door see if we shan't be *distingué!*

[From Honan. If a member of a family passed the Palace Examination (under the old system) and became a 狀元, *Optimus*, a red banner was displayed at the street door and glory was reflected upon the whole district 排塲 = 榮耀. The old name for 紅旂 was 錦標.]

幹	稼	這	夥	掌	細	粗	打	一	好	南	上	拍
	眞	個	契	概	羅	羅	兩	畝	收	坡	南	豆
	難	莊	看	爽	斷	羅	石	地	田	南	坡	荚

Crack the bean-shells [and rake the shells] onto South Hill. Go and reap the crops on the south side of South Hill. One acre yields two bushels. First use the coarse sieve to sift the black wheat flour; then the fine one to sift the white wheat flour. The manager eats [the cakes]; the labourers look on! Truly this agricultural business is hard to manage [the lot of us labourers is hard.]

[Also from Honan. 斷 is especially fine. 夥契 is better than 夥計, the usual character in colloquial expression.]

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油	此	頭	十	七	飼	滾	百	頭	寶	子	到	生	地	大	元	新
上	快	置	斤	十	豬	到	廿	存	滾	整	雞	意	小	元	寶	春
頭	快	脂	頭	斤	大	豬	樓	穀	到	畚	舍	元	元	寶	滾	大
	一	油	用	油	如	欄	元	存	樓	斗	頭	寶	寶	買	進	發
	年	此	鉢	八	牛	頭	寶	米	梯	元	雞	滾	做	田	來	財

At this Spring-time in the New Year [we, the singers, wish you, the lord or master,] great riches. May the gold "shoes" roll in! With the large ones you can buy real property; with the small ones you can open a business! May the "shoes" roll as far as your hen roosts and you have rice measures full of eggs! May they roll up to your lofts and your storerooms be full of husked and unhusked grain! May they roll to your pigsties and you rear pigs as big as oxen, [yielding] 70 catties of fat and with heads 80 catties in weight! As the fat dissolves in the large iron pan, hissing and spluttering, may the year make you rich as quickly as the oil melts!

[Current in Wu, Lü, and other districts of E. Chêkiang. 此此快快 is the sound of oil frying. Sung as a New Year carol by children to get cakes and dumplings.]

房先生 (書吏) 小隊子 (衙役) 花眼圈 (地痞) 大八旗 (旗人)

Mr. House (a clerk); small "copper" (an office constable); "painted-eyes" (vagabonds); Great Eight Banners (Manchus).

[Dates from the reign of Kuang Hsü of the Ch'ing dynasty; prevalent in Fêng-t'ien Province, in Hai-Ch'êng, Ying-k'ou, and other *hsien*. The four classes mentioned were those especially dreaded by the people.]

裏	各	吃	哭	寂	娘	賣	肚	賣	婆	光	賭	漫	漲
	在	各	要	哇	受	了	子	婆	娘	棍	博	城	大
	那	尋	奶	哇	孤	婆	饑	娘	不	賣	的	牆	水

The great flood overflows the city wall. The gambling vagabonds sell their wives. If they do not sell their wives their stomachs will be an-hungered. If they do sell them they are then solitary and sad. The babies cry, wanting milk to drink. Each party seeks the other, but where are they [to be found?].

[From Sui Hsien, Hupei. Wives are commonly called 婆娘, 哇哇 should be 娃娃 to make the sense consistent.]

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那說趕嫂要媽與未說爪喙家咬過賣賣尖
裏看出拿咬說媽咬爹與犬雞回狗到燈嘴
跑你來棍妻還說好說爹也也到子河草老

Old Pointed-mouth! selling lamp-wicks! In selling them he goes as far as the river-bank, where the dogs bark at him. When he returns home the chickens peck him and the dogs claw him. He tells his father. His father says: "It were better for them not to bite you." He tells his mother. His mother says: "They will probably bite you again!" His wife and his sister-in-law take sticks and drive him out, saying: "We'll see where you'll run to!"

[From Hsieh-ma Ho, Pao-k'ang Hsien, Hupei. An example of want of sympathy shown to the poor in China.]

人背時鬼推磨黃鼠狼爬到雞罩上坐

When one's luck is bad, the devil turns the corn-mill, and the yellow marmot climbs up and sits on the hen-coop.

[From Pao-k'ang, Hupei. Refers to the ruin of families in that district from war and looting. There being no one in the house the devil does not fear to enter, and the marmot sits on the top of the empty hen-coop instead of going inside it, as it would if it contained something for it to steal.]

(*To be concluded*).

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THE TEN THOUSAND BRIDGES OF QUINSAI

BY

A. C. MOULE

All students of Marco Polo or of Odoric know that in Hangchow long ago there were 10,000 or 12,000 or 10,002 great bridges of stone. Students of the cold-blooded native topographies (e.g., the *Shun-yu Lin-an chih*, c.7, of a little before Marco Polo's date) know that there were 100 bridges inside the city and 105 in the suburbs. Nowhere that I know of does any native author remark on the wonderful number of these bridges, or say that they were all guarded by Mongol troops.

Now in the second edition of the second volume of Ramusio's *Navigationi e Viaggi*, 1574, appeared a shortened form of Odoric's travels which Yule called the *Minor Ramusian version*. Yule knew of two old MSS. which gave more or less this *Minor Ramusian version ;* there is another at Berlin, a fourth (an early 19th century transcript of an old MS.) at the British Museum, and no doubt others ; all resembling the *M.R.V.* in general outline and in some details, but also (as regards the three of which I have some knowledge) differing from it no less remarkably. And so, as far as I know, the source of the text of 1574 remains an absolute and very curious mystery. And it is a very interesting text when it comes to what it calls Guinzai.

In the *New China Review* for April, 1920, p. 208 is a passage from the *Tu ch'êng chi shêng*, of which (as is pointed out on p. 209) some sentences of Odoric are a close paraphrase. Both begin with the vast size of the place, expressing it in terms of population :— "the population has increased until it approaches about a million families." *Odoric*: "The place is very full of people, and there is not a foot of ground which is not inhabited"—later giving the population as "890,000 hearths" and 'the rest," in defiance of the census. After describing the suburbs, as large as provincial towns ("larger than Padua"), about which one may walk for

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several days without having seen them all, the Chinese and Odoric go on to speak of the water-ways ; the former saying "And inside the walls, inside the Pei-kuan water-gate, there are several tens of *li* of water-ways." The length of the city canals was in fact about eight miles, and several tens of *li*, or ten or twelve miles, is not a serious exaggeration. I cannot at this moment find out the length of the canals in Venice, but I do not suppose that ten miles of canal would have struck a person familiar with Venice as anything very miraculous, and Rustician, who wrote Marco Polo's story, and William who wrote from Odoric's dictation, were undoubtedly bent on the miraculous and extraordinary. Now with the Chinese and the ordinary Odoric, as given in April, 1920, I propose to compare the *Minor Ramusian version*, translating as nearly as I can the rather difficult old Italian.

"The city has vast suburbs, in which dwell many more people than in the city ; which city has 12 principal gates (*porte*), and each gate has a straight street of eight miles (*miglia*), and at the end (*in capo*) of the 8 miles (*miglia*) is a city larger than Padua, so that each gate of the 12 leads by its straight street to a city of the size I have said. We wandered about for 7 [days] walking through these suburbs. Here the people have dug out and made passages for certain canals like those at Venice,—and they are so many and so great, with gates (*porte*) at either end of the canals or passages, that as surely as God is true ! they are certainly of more than ten miles (*miglia*). And at all [the gates] are guards, who are set there by the Great Khan*."

Here are no *bridges* and no *thousands* ; but change *porte* to *ponti* and *miglia* to *migliaia* or *mila*, and it becomes "with bridges which are certainly more than ten thousand."

Before going further let us take two other cases in which the *Minor Ramusian version* shows a superior knowledge of Hang-chou. Compared with the 10,000 bridges, the 100 miles circuit of the city walls is no doubt a puny exaggeration, but still it is an inaccuracy which has no support, as far as is yet known, in native usage or books, and certainly none in fact. It appears in Marco Polo and in the ordinary text of Odoric, but the *Minor Ramusian* is better informed and leaves the statement out. Secondly, Odoric ends his account of Hang-chou with the story of the feeding of strange beasts at a monastery which was almost certainly Ling-yin. In the monastery garden, he tells us, was a little hill. The majority of the MSS., including at least two of the so-called *Minor*

* This version has been carefully considered and on the whole approved by Professor T. Okey, who regards an exact grammatical translation of the passage as almost impossible.

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Ramusian texts, say that the hill was full of pleasant trees. One class of MSS., that which was used by Hakluyt, adds very curiously that it was "like a bell-tower," reminding us that a small pagoda stands at the foot of the Fei-lai fêng, which is no doubt the little hill intended. But the thing that is unusual, though of course not unique, about that hill is that it is full of caves, one of which is still named " the cave where the apes were called." And the *Minor Ramusian version* has " a little hill all full of caves, and surrounded with fruit trees " (*un monticello tutto pien di cauerne, & intorno intorno d'alberi fruttiferi*) ; and says that the beasts came out of and returned to the caves.

All this seems to make it possible at least that the compiler of *Navigationi e Viaggi* (Ramusio himself was dead) had access to notes, either by Odoric or perhaps by some much later traveller, based partly on the regular stories which would be told to travellers and partly on actual observation. If Odoric stood alone it would be fairly easy to believe that a small slip in copying, helped by a desire for marvels, had changed gates and miles to bridges and thousands from the first. But he does not stand alone. Marco Polo and Marignolli have 12,000 and 10,000 *bridges* respectively. Marignolli is of little importance. When he says " writers write that there are ten thousand noble bridges of stone," it means, we may suppose, that he had read his Marco Polo and Odoric. Marco Polo is more serious. A copy of his book which was actually written several years before Odoric left Italy for the East is preserved, and therein are the 12,000 bridges of stone so high that boats can pass under them. First we notice that this is not a case in which further research may justify Marco, unless it may be by the discovery of some such conventional hyperbole as " the myriad bridges " of Hang-chou in poetical literature. No such phrase seems to come in the *P'ei wên yün fu* or in the *Tz'ŭ yüan*, and meanwhile the number of bridges is accurately known. Secondly, this is one of the details derived professedly from a Chinese document, and it is extremely unlikely that even a poetical Chinese document would have *twelve* thousand. *Ten thousand* is a known equivalent for "innumerable" or "all," but not twelve thousand. Thirdly, the context, while not the same as in Odoric, is very similar to that; the bridges come in close connection with the canals and just after the general statement of the great size of the city. It is, no doubt, very improbable that in both writers (Odoric and Marco Polo) *gates* and *miles* should have been corrupted from the first, and almost universally, to *bridges* and *thousands* in the way I have suggested, but it is equally improbable that the two travellers should have hit upon the same exaggeration quite independently ;

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and one of these alternatives we are almost bound to accept. Yet not quite bound, for, granted the mistake (whatever its origin) in Marco Polo, it may have had great influence on the exact form of the text of Odoric and have encouraged such a corruption as I have supposed, though no one will think that Odoric is simply copied from Marco Polo. Nor shall we be so foolish as to suggest that *bridges* is merely a copyist's error for *gates* in the text of Marco Polo as it stands and as we have reason to believe that it was approved by the traveller himself. For not only the number of the bridges is given, but their height, their use, the material of which they were built, the gradient of their approaches and the number and equipment of the guards stationed upon them, are all described.

With reference to the guards it may be remarked that their outfit of a "hollow instrument of wood, a metal basin and a time-keeper," is curiously like that of the guards at a city-gate, and that there is no trace of guards on the bridges to be found in the Sung dynasty, as far as I know. Marco Polo refers, of course, to the early days of the Mongol occupation; but when Odoric saw Hang-chou about fifty years after its capture, it is probable that the walls and gates were far gone in decay, and that neither gates nor bridges were very strictly watched. But no official description of Hang-chou in the Mongol dynasty is extant, so that a denial of the travellers' statements is not easily proved, though I do not think guards on bridges are mentioned among the forces employed for sentry and patrol work, in the *Yüan shih*.

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LIAO-YUAN FO-YIN 了元佛印

BY

PROFESSOR H. A. GILES, LL.D.

The Buddhist priest, whose designation is given above and who was mentioned by Mr. L. C. Arlington in a note on p. 305 of last volume, was an interesting personage. He was a Kiangsi man, and his name seems to have been 林 Lin. At his birth, the candles were auspiciously bright, and he was found to possess a beard, hair, nails and teeth. As a boy, he was a prodigy of learning, and received the usual title of "Divine Child." On the verge of manhood, he had so cultivated his memory that, like Macaulay, he never needed to read a book a second time. His bias being towards religion, he put himself under a teacher and took leave of the world and joined the *ch'an* or "Meditative School." His reputation soon reached the Court, and the Emperor Shên Tsung, 1067-1078, bestowed upon him a Korean cassock and an alms-bowl of gold.

On one occasion, being questioned as to what Buddha was like, he replied, "He cannot be manifested by carved wood." "Then," retorted the questioner, "he must be an empty fiction." "The gospel of Brahmâ is profound and far-reaching," said Fo-yin, "and causes men to rejoice when they hear it."

Again, asked why Buddha failed to make the Law clear to everybody, he said, "Ants seek putrid spots, flies fly to stinks." Asked why study had not brought this knowledge, he replied, "The rukh which rose up 90,000 *li*, started from the ocean (Chuang Tzŭ). The crane of a thousand years, goes back into the distant heavens."

Asked why Bôdhidharma sat for nine years with his face to a wall, he said, "In order to keep his mouth shut and his tongue concealed." Asked why study had not brought this knowledge, he answered, "A word once spoken cannot be recalled by a four-horse team."

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Asked if devout persons were sent to Purgatory or not, he said, "Yes, for a little while."

Asked if those who achieved great things went to heaven, he replied, "Shrimps cannot jump out of a peck measure."

Asked if there were really all the dreadful punishments in the next world, such as boiling oil, the knife-mountain, etc., he said, "Every man will get what he deserves."

There is plenty more of this kind of teaching, sometimes delivered in verse. The above is perhaps enough to give an idea of Fo-yin's characteristic style.

His acquaintance with the poet, Su Tung-p'o, began as follows: One day, when Fo-yin had gone in to give a lecture to his pupils, the hermit-scholar walked in. "There is no couch for you to sit on here," cried Fo-yin; "what is it you want?" "Kindly allow me to repose awhile," said Su Tung-p'o, "on your Reverence's four elements." "If you can convince me," replied Fo-yin, "that you have obtained Tao (*q.d.* that you are saved), I will ask you to take a seat; if you fail, you shall forfeit that jade girdle you have around your waist." "By all means," said Su Tung-p'o with a smile. "Well, then," urged Fo-yin, "you declared when you came in that you wished to repose awhile on my four elements (earth, air, fire and water), but it so happens that these elements have become, for me, non-existent, and as I no more possess the five integrant parts of humanity (form, perception, consciousness, action and knowledge), I beg to ask you upon what you propose to sit." Su Tung-p'o could not answer, and handed over the jade girdle: whereupon Fo-yin presented him with a robe, and the poet promptly indited a couplet in honour of his host.

It only remains to say that in the year 1098, when talking with a friend Fo-yin burst out into a loud laugh, and—not died, but—was gone, with a smile on his lips, which was specially reproduced in his portrait.

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A TIBETAN HYMN

佛說二十二位佛母經

Chinese, (not transliteration) Sūtra of the twenty-one personifications of the Mother of Buddha spoken by the Buddha.

納 麻 阿 丫 打 熱 夷

na ma a ya ta ja yi (Sanskrit, not Tibetan).

拔 巴 堅 熱 色. 汪 曲 陀 既 德 納 洽 猜 洛.

འཕགས་མ་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕ་རོལ་ཏུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་སྙིང་པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཐེག་པ་ཆེན་པོའོ།།

[٩]

窩 木 吉 尊 麻. 拔 馬 卓 麻 納 洽 猜 洛.

ཨོཾ་ཨཱརྱ་ཏཱ་ར་མ་ལྷུ་ལ་མ་ཀྲྀ་ཏེ་སྭཱ་ཧཱ།

槍 猜 卓 麻 女 麻 巴 木

ཕྱག་འཚལ་སྒྲོལ་མ་མྱུར་མ་དཔའ་མོ།

堅 立 該 紀 駱 黨 詐 麻

སྤྱན་ནི་ཀུན་ཏུ་ཀྱོན་ཏེ། ཀྱོན་དང་ལྡན་མ།

[٧]

吉 熱 松 棍 區 紀 謝 吉

ངའི་རྟེན་གསུམ་མཁོན་རྩེ་བཞི་ཡི།

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格薩結娃勒立俊麻

ཀེ་ལེ་ཐེབ་ལས་རྗེ་འཕྲང་ས

[ལྷ]

猜 教 該達凹滾堵槍

ཀྱག་འཚལ་ལྕོན་གཡི་ཀྱབ་ཀུན་ཏུ

立甲娃扛 紮 貝 謝麻

ཀང་བ་བཏུ་ཡི་བརྒྱ་ལས་པའེ་ཞལ་མ།

[ལྷ]

吉 朗 巴 磋 乂 東麻嗚

ཀཱ་མ་ལྷུང་ཀག་ཚོགས་པ་རྣམས་ཀྱི།

[ལྷ]

熱堵啟外沃 饒 麻

ཐ་ཏུ་ཀྱེ་བའི་དོད་ཐ་ལས་མ།

[These verses are from a famous Tibetan hymn to Tārā (Tibetan Dölma) in a Chinese transcription. They are sent by the kindness of Mr. Johan Van Manen of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, who has heard that Chinese Buddhists have a number of similar Tibetan hymns and litanies in the sacerdotal language, which they learn by heart and read phonetically without understanding the meaning of the Tibetan words. The question of transliteration is of interest to students of Indo-Chinese phonology. The transcription of the *n* sound by *l* is curious.

Details about the hymn are given in Waddell's article on Tārā in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal*, 1894, pp. 51, 71.

Editor, N. C. R.

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THE CHARACTERS 汐 *HSI* AND 潮 *CH'AO*.

BY

L. C. ARLINGTON

In the last number of this *Review*, Professor H. A. Giles has a long and interesting note on the character 汐 *hsi* defined as "night tides" as opposed to *ch'ao* 潮 "morning tides," and quoting Mr. A. C. Moule's suggestion that 汐 means the "ebb tides." Mr. Moule expresses the opinion that 汐 is not necessarily a "suggestive compound" and that the 夕 (evening) may be a phonetic used to indicate merely the sound *hsi* of a word which was already in vogue meaning "ebb tide," and was chosen as a contrast with *chao* 朝 "morning." All the evidence possible shows that Prof. Giles' definition "night tide" is perfectly correct—although he might have added as will be explained below, "either a high or low tide." Personally, I cannot accept Mr. Moule's suggestion that *hsi* 夕 may be a phonetic. If we were to consider it as such, why not not use 喜, 昔, 兮, 奚, or any other character or symbol with the same sound? Now I submit that 夕 plays a highly important part when added to "water," meaning the "night waters" a purely "suggestive compound." As there are two high tides and two low ones in every 24 hours, or more properly, in nearly 25 hours: high tide at 10 o'clock in the morning means low tide a little after four o'clock in the afternoon, or approximately six hours later, high tide occurs again soon after ten in the evening, and low tide about half-past four in the morning. Now what I wish to try and prove here, is that 潮 refers to the day-time tides—whether high or low water, and 汐 to the night-time tides—either high or low water. That is to say, 潮 is influenced by the sun and 汐 by the moon. Apart from the quotations given by Prof. Giles, I will submit a few more. The 淵鑑類函 has the following: 方其氣升而地沉則海水溢上而爲潮 "When the vapour rises (under the influence of the sun) and the earth sinks

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(by a sort of breathing process), the waters of the sea overflow and cause 潮—high tide." 及其氣降而地浮則海水縮而爲汐: "When the vapour descends (under the influence of the moon) and the earth floats (rises), the waters of the sea shrink and cause 汐—low tide." Here we have most distinctly a "high tide" in the first sentence, and a "low tide" in the second one. In the 駢字類編 there is a line from a poem by 謝朓 of the Sung dynasty, which runs as follows: 江晚汐徐生 "In the evening, the tide (汐) of the river floods gradually." Here we distinctly have a "rising tide." The excerpts given above show clearly that 汐 refers to "night tides," either at high or low water, and that 潮—with which I will deal more fully below—is a "day tide," either high or low water. I think that the quotation given by Prof. Giles on page 425 of the *Review*, viz.: 天地湊汐 gives us an inkling as to the meaning of 汐 also. 天, I am inclined to believe—although I make the suggestion with reserve—is synonymous with "moon" when in *perigee*; i.e., "when the moon and earth draw together (earth influenced by the moon), they cause 汐, night tides." This in contrast to 潮 which is under the influence of the sun. This suggestion will, of course, join issue with Prof. Giles' contention that "潮 meant the two flood tides of each 24 hours." To make this more clear, however, we must first consider 朝 itself. Prof. Giles says "it seems as if 朝 or 朝 *cho* may have once been used with the meanings of 'morning' and 'tide,' and that 'water' and 'moon' were afterwards added to distinguish the tide, the latter when the Chinese began to notice the influence of the moon; but why 'moon' should have been added as a complement to 'morning' is not quite so reasonable." Now as a matter of fact, 朝 has *not* the symbol for "moon" but a contraction of 舟 a "boat," which is written with two *dots*, thus: 月, and not two *full* connecting strokes as in 月 *yüeh*, the "moon." The 字彙 states that 朝 was originally written 𦤲. The *Shuo Wên* states that 朝 belongs to the radical 舟 subsequently contracted to 月 (note the two *dots*, not two strokes, with which this particular character is printed in all the native dictionaries, and even by Giles in his dictionary). Prof. Giles also calls attention to the fact that Mr. Hopkins says "that 朝 is a very obscure character." There is more in this statement than would appear on the surface. Nearly all Chinese write, for example, 戟, No. 928 in Giles' dictionary; but the *scholars* such as *Chuang Yüan*, *Chih Shih*, *Hanlin*, etc., all write it 戟. The 𢦏 *seal* character as given in the *Shuo Wên*, and altered to 𦤲 in the *Li* script and again to 朝 in the *K'ai shu* (楷書) style, has probably some connection—if not the original form—of *kan* 𠦂 "the dawn," the *chou* 舟 being

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added to fix the sound, and later contracted to 月; "water" being added to express the meaning "morning" or "daytime tides."

The 攷正字彙 makes it clear enough when it says: 海潮夕曰汐 "The night tides are called *hsi*."

Supplementary to the above, Prof. Giles gives quite a few illustrations bearing out my conclusions, e.g., on page 427 of the *Review*, 潮汐三日不至 "For three days there were no morning or evening tides." Also 潮汐往來崩漲不一 "The day and night tides come and go, ebb and flow differently." And 海潮晝夜凡再至, 朝曰潮, 夕曰汐 "The sea tides come twice day and night. The morning tide is called *ch'ao* and the night tide *hsi*."

My translation is slightly different from Prof. Giles'. He is perfectly correct when he says that "汐 was specially used to denote the evening tide," but missed the principal point in saying that "*ch'ao* meant the two flood tides of each 24 hours."

As to the sentence 朝宗於海 translated by Giles "The tides originate in the sea," I much prefer his translation under No. 478 in his dictionary, viz.: "to go to the Court of the sea," adding in parenthesis that 朝 was the spring, and 宗 the summer appearance of feudal princes at the Imperial Court.

The Shuo Wên defines 潮 (=潮) thus: 水朝宗於海; "The waters originating in the sea pay Court"—to the rivers. Just as do the grandees to the Emperor—at audience. The term is in any case allegorical, symbolizing the labours of the Great Yü who drained the flooded districts by opening channels so that the waste waters could find an outlet to the sea; and naturally, when the sea rose the overflow poured into the channels thus made and caused a high tide, which paid Court to the rivers in return. 朝宗於海 cannot have any reference to 潮 (tides) unless we prefix the character for "water," and as will be seen, the *Shuo Wên* has 水朝宗於海 "the waters originating in sea pay Court" (to the river waters) just as the higher officials pay Court to the Emperor.

These historical allusions are no doubt hard nuts to crack; but if we will search out the meanings, we find ourselves tracking, by intricate association and allusion, some habit of thought consecrated by a thousand-year-old poem, or we are brought back to contemplate the deeds of some ancient hero—some clinging root still binds it to a nation's lore.

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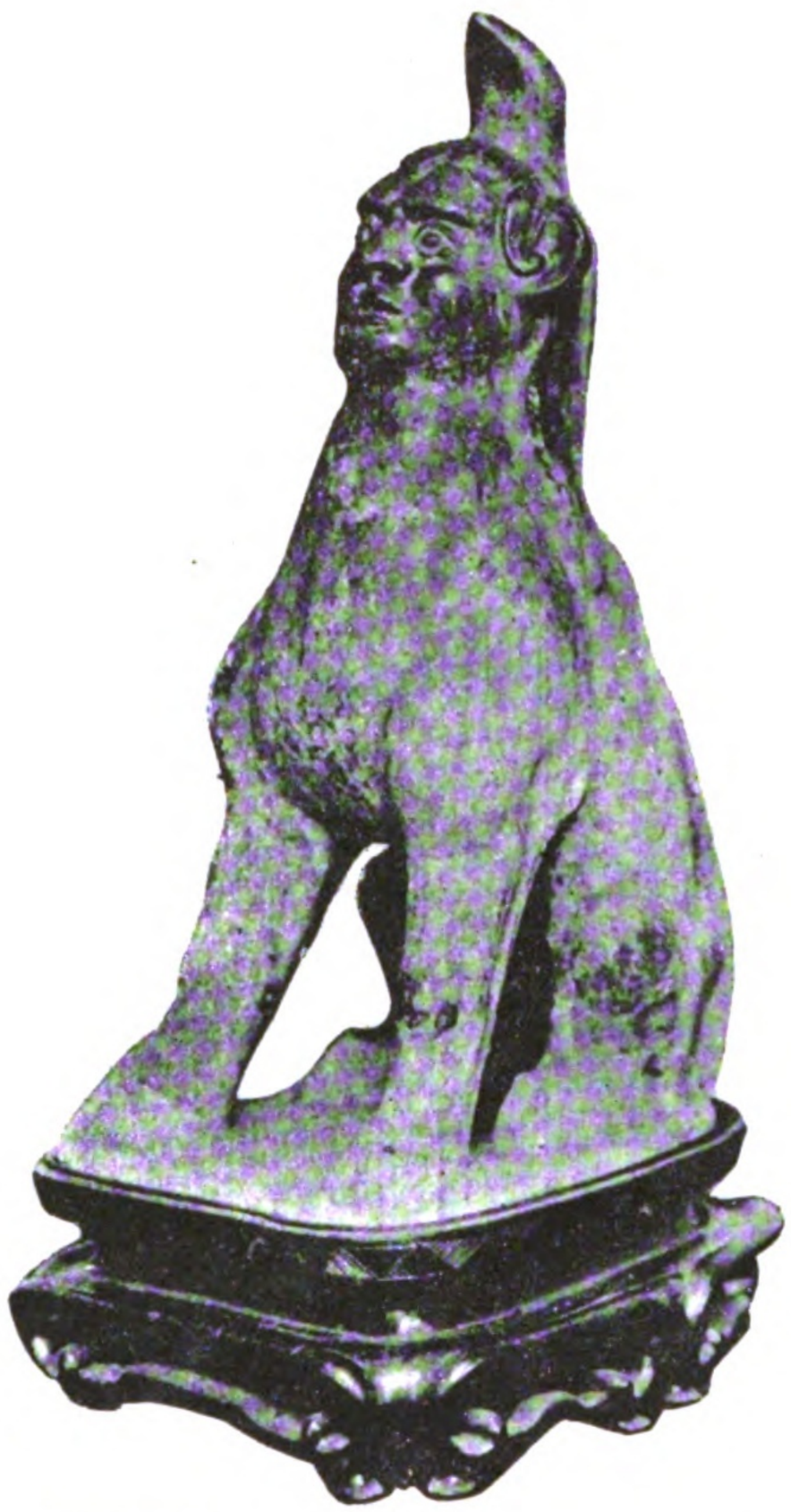
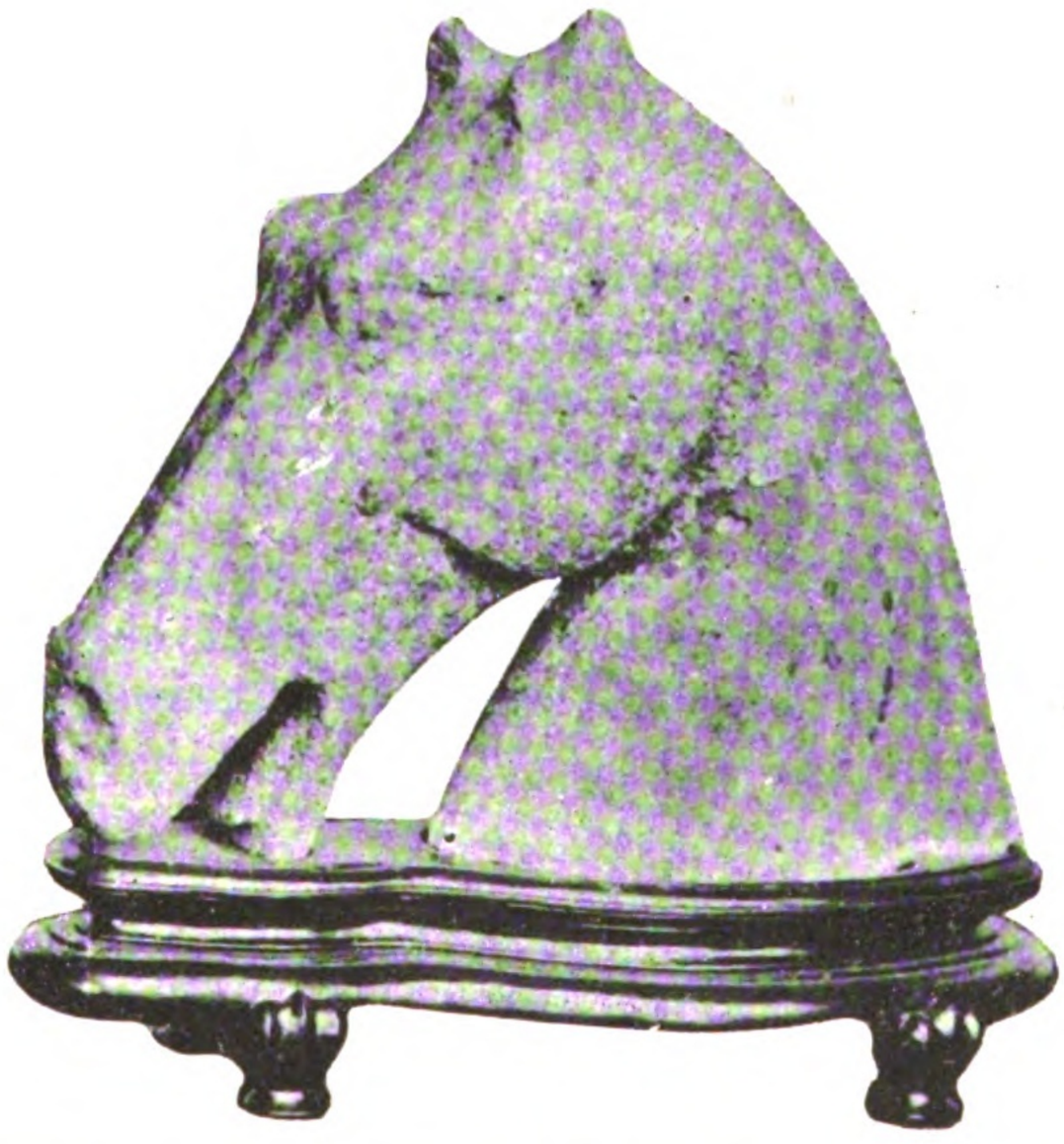


T'ANG SYMBOLICAL FIGURE. HEIGHT 14½ INCHES.



T'ANG CLAY HORSE'S HEAD. HEIGHT 8½ INCHES.

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ART OBJECTS

FROM THE

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T'ang Symbolical Figure. Height 14½ *inches.*—A symbolical mortuary figure is here represented; whether it was a guardian of a tomb or was supposed to function in any other way is not clear, and any information regarding this figure will be welcome. Looking at its head one would say that it is reminiscent of the Sphinx, the face possesses high cheekbones, protruding eyebrows between which is a deep mole, extending nostrils and thick upper and lower lips. On the rear of its body are three protuberances representing notches of the spine which ends in a tail smartly turned up and the brush flattened on the back in the shape of a broad spear. The heavy muscular legs end in cloven hoofs. The head-dress is chipped off but at the back of the head is an arrangement similar to a lawyer's wig. The ware is of light buff and the glaze is light yellow with traces of unfired black and red markings.

T'ang Clay Horse's Head. Height 8½ *inches.*—A striking example of clean-cut modelling of the T'ang Period is this horse's head of brownish earth. It is fired and unglazed. The cocked ears, dilating nostrils, and open mouth display the touch of a master hand.

A similar example is shown in S. C. Bosch-Reitz catalogue of an 'Exhibition of Early Chinese Pottery and Sculpture' (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, No. 308).

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CHINESE POETRY *

The book before us is for several reasons a difficult work to review. One might discourse on Chinese poetry, or criticize the translations, or discuss the new method on which the work has been done. One would not wish to discourage or be unfair to such a valiant attempt in such a difficult field; and then, in spite of our newest civilization, and try as we will, we cannot help being affected by the names on the title-page being ladies' names!

The task of turning poetry from one language into another is almost a hopeless one; between Chinese and a Western tongue we think it is an impossible one.

This relieves us of the question whether Chinese poetry is of value or not. If untranslatable it can only be known to an exceedingly small number of Western scholars; and these will be inclined to exaggeration, as is the case with all difficult and special acquirements. Who does not know that there is no poetry so glorious as the Welsh? And its chief boast is that all but Welshmen must for ever despair of knowing how wonderful it is.

There has never been a satisfactory definition of poetry. But it consists not in the arrangement of words but in the reaction it causes in the susceptible soul. It has magic for those who are responsive. But the mind of the uneducated peasant will not re-act to "The Lotus-Eaters" or to the "Ode to Immortality." The two re-agents are mutually necessary. In one case

> A yellow primrose 'twas to him
> And it was nothing more.

But in another case

> The meanest flower that blows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

Now the Chinese being a cultured literary people, who have greatly excelled in various branches of art, it would be absurd to

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* *Fir-flower Tablets; Poems translated from the Chinese by Florence Ayscough; English versions by Amy Lowell.* Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and New York, 1921. (Kelly & Walsh $6.)

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question that they have poetry. But the question is, Is it the same thing that *we* call poetry ? They re-act to it, but can we ? The words are there on the printed page, for both minds alike, but the ' mentality ' is not the same.

Thé Chinese undoubtedly have music to which they re-act with perhaps as profound and mysterious emotion as we ourselves find in Beethoven and Bach ; if we ask whether Chinese music produces a re-action in us we fear the answer would be frivolous. But our conclusion is that the Chinese have music and poetry which in their results are to them what music and poetry are to us ; but to us their music is not music and perhaps their poetry is not poetry.

Even English readers of English literature have very different ideas as to what poetry is. For instance, we ourselves cannot accord that term to such a class of work as the sample by Miss Lowell on p. xxii. It ends—

> "'Tickets, please!'
> And I watch the man in front of me
> Fumbling in fourteen pockets,
> While the conductor balances his ticket-punch
> Between his fingers."

We do not wholly condemn such impressionist work ; we concede that it is clever, praise-worthy and interesting ; but we decline o class it as poetry. There is no magic in it. It is ultra-modern and may be termed Futurist.

In the translations of Chinese poems we have many examples of this same kind of work, impressionist sketches, not of railway travel but of nature, by keen observers. But the closest observation of detail does not by itself make poetry.

The case for the Chinese is given away by too large a claim being made for them. It is true that myriads of scholars for many generations have wasted years of their student life in making verses ; and after student days it has been an elegant amusement, like chess. But what does that amount to ? It is all wiped out by the four words *Poeta nascitur non fit*. Millions of boys have wept over their Latin and Greek versification, but classical scholars, let alone poets, are few. Millions of girls have maddened their neighbours by their " practising scales " on the piano ; the result has been in a minority of cases an " elegant amusement " for later years ; but are we thereby made a musical people ?

We have many neglected poets, whose finer work is only now being gathered into anthologies ; but for the ordinary stuff which comes out in the Poetry Column of every local paper, let

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it perish—as it does,—like the myriad wild flowers of the meadows. And we say so still more emphatically of the infinitely great mass of Chinese verse.

It must be admitted that a century or so has not been long enough for a thorough exploration of poetical literature; but this we are sure of, that enough has been done to show what the mine is likely to yield; and our trouble is that we have not yet seen a decent nugget. Not one single phrase, as far as we know, has ever attained to current use in another tongue, or so struck the foreign mind as to become a 'tag' among the educated. On the other hand no book of translations but gives a thousand instances of the commonplace, the jejune, the bathetic. To take the first poem (literally) that we open at in this volume:—

> The Emperor commands; three times the summons. He who left has not yet returned.
> To-morrow, at sunrise, he will go out by the Pass of Wu.
>
> From the upper chamber of white jade I shall gaze far off; but I shall be able to make out nothing
> Our thoughts will be with each other. I must ascend the Looking-for-Husband Hill.

Now we will not deny that Li Po may, in the original, have 'achieved the pathetic,' but in the translation we see no spark of poetic genius; in its English form we refuse to call it poetry and we think any sensitive soul would be depressed by a few such verses.

Two answers may be given to these complaints. It may be said that it needs a poet to make a really poetical translation. That is true, but how seldom they have done it. Cowper, Chapman and Pope have translated Homer, and Dryden the Aeneid; but of dainty lyrics how many have been transplanted in their beauty from another language into ours? For hundreds of years people have tried to re-produce Horace in English, and are trying still; there must be a thousand printed translations of *Quis multa gracilis*, but even Milton's is not final; that no adequate rendering is possible seems proved by the fact that expressions have been transferred into common use without translation, and Hinc illae lacrymae, Eheu! fugaces, Dîs aliter visum, Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt, Integer vitae, Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori, and a hundred other phrases are as familiar as English to those who cannot read Virgil or Horace.

Besides this it is obvious that a poet will do best in making his own poetry, not in translating other people's; and if he began by learning Chinese *and the background* he would have no years

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and perhaps no genius left. While writing this review our eye falls on an utterance of the *Saturday Review*,—"The incommunicability of poetry makes its translation from one tongue into another the most miserable of human occupations." How ask a heaven-inspired poet to so waste his time and dull his intellect ?

But not only must a poet be used up before Chinese poetry can be given to the reader ; the reader must be familiar with or at least not be ignorant of the "backgrounds" of the poetry. Half the book before us is concerned with the backgrounds geographical, historical, social, architectural and so on which Mrs. Ayscough thinks must be more or less realized before one can appreciate the poetry.

There is much truth in this view. Those who never saw a bamboo grove, a phœnix, a dragon, a junk or a piece of jade are at a disadvantage in reading Chinese poetry ; just as one who reads Gray's Elegy should first have seen a fretted vault, an ivy-mantled tower, and should know what Cromwell, Hampden and Milton did. But there are limits to the truth of such a view. Perhaps most real poetry is quite independent of the concrete ; it concerns itself not with external nature but with the emotions common to mankind.

Old, unhappy, far-off things,
And battles long ago,

—lines which Matthew Arnold said could be used as a test for the presence or absence of the poetic sensibility in a man ; or such lines from the Elegy itself as

The paths of glory lead but to the grave.

Full many a flower is born to blush unseen
And waste its sweetness on the desert air,—

such poetry needs no background ; it is universal in its appeal.

We are sure there is much in Chinese of this more precious poetry, and we think translators would do better to deal rather with that class than with descriptive poems which show more of close observation than of heart knowledge. At any rate we are sure that the Western world will never take the trouble to read poetry which requires so large a knowledge of so many strange backgrounds, and such a mass of notes. When the dictionary and atlas are brought on to the table the Muse flies out of the window.

To sum up what we nave been saying, there is no doubt plenty of fine poetry in Chinese, though to speak of Li T'ai-po

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as the Chinese Shakespeare, as Sir Lo Fêng-lu did was ridiculous. What Tennyson wrote of Virgil's poems—

> All the charm of all the Muses often flowering in a lonely word,

might very well be true of the monosyllabic Chinese. But naturally that lonely word or its contained idea, though it may easily interact with the Chinese soul, can be transferred to another tongue and produce the same effect on the foreign mind only by another poet; and as there is no hope of this being done on any worthy scale the appreciation of Chinese poetry by the West must be left to the small number of those who, knowing Chinese, devote their time to the special study of that branch of literature—perhaps a few dozen or a few score in a generation.

On the whole we think the task of popularizing Chinese poetry in any degree among Western readers is an impossible one; and the work before us with its elaborate prolegomena, its notes, plans and map, is not likely to attract many new students; chess and mathematics are more enticing.

The attempt of these two authoresses is, however, a valiant one. Mrs. Ayscough's very long Introduction, some eighty pages, is a really admirable piece of work, and whether it attracts to Chinese poetry or repels the *dilettanti* it is valuable to anyone interested in China. There are a few more or less important points in it call for criticism and we shall briefly refer to some.

We do not know why 青 *ch'ing* is always translated "green." The "green sky" only makes Western readers think Chinese poetry more bizarre than it really is. The character is given in Giles' Dictionary as meaning "The colour of nature; a dark neutral tint. Green. Blue. Black." Couvreur gives "Vert, azuré, bleu." And both dictionaries give "blue heavens" or "Ciel azuré." The same character is used for the *white* of an egg, perhaps because of the blue-black-green colour of preserved eggs. But the 'green heavens' will not do.

Again, the character 間 *chien* as applied to buildings seems wrongly explained; though flat contradictions must be avoided since meanings are often different in different Provinces. In the North a building is made by erecting posts which support the rafters and roof, the spaces between the posts being filled in with brick or other material to form the external walls. The divisions in the length of the building, as counted by these posts, are called *chien*, and most buildings are three *chien*. In a *house* there may be any number of such buildings, and the size of the house will be given as 20-*chien*, 50-*chien*, etc. The statement that the

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homes of the people, rich or poor, are of three or five *chien*, and that each of these *chien* consists of several buildings is therefore strange to us.

The character 樓 *lou* also seems somewhat misunderstood. It means generally the 'storey' of a house, or a building with storeys, that is, with more than the ground floor.

When we are told that "learning always follows trade" we are filled with sudden hope for Shanghai. But perhaps this is mere optimism, as when the author denies that the poets got as tipsy as their reputation tells. The reason given is hardly conclusive—"from the character of the men and the lives they led." Nor can we agree with the sweeping statement that "no nation is more passionately fond of nature." We did not know that gibbons were "a *small* species of tailless ape." "The T'ien River in Chêkiang, famous for its bore" surely means the Ch'ien t'ang River. And we think there was no need to describe a clepsydra in such detail. A reference to Richard's *Geography* or the *Encyclopædia Sinica* would have prevented the rendering of Yang-tzū-kiang 揚子江 as "Son of the Sea."

The book is published in America but the writing of the *Introduction* is unmistakably English, and excellent English too. But we may note as a blemish the use of "connotation" instead of "meaning;" as in the strange sentence "All words have their connotations, but this is connotation and more." It seems a pity that the word should not be kept more strictly for its scientific use as the correlative of "denotation." To tell us that a nomadic people moves from place to place in search of fresh pasture for their herds is surely superfluous, and 'vigil' should be reserved for *night* watches.

We should have something to say regarding the theory that the analysis of Chinese characters is necessary to a full understanding of the poetry; but since we are told that the theory has only been applied a few times in the volume we leave the subject alone.

As to the poems, they give us far less pleasure than the Introduction. Mrs Ayscough gives a bold challenge: "If a translation of a poem is not poetry in its new tongue. . ." "Not merely are these translations extraordinarily exact, they are poetry, and would be so though no Chinese poet had conceived them fourteen hundred years ago."

This encourages a bold reply. We have said that there must be in Chinese literature what functions to the Chinese as our poetry does to us; further that much of the best has that universal spirit which makes it poetry to human nature everywhere in-

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dependently of backgrounds—except that the Tower of Babel destroyed our power to hear it. We have read some free renderings which showed this quite plainly. But we assert first that it is *à priori* impossible these translations should be " extraordinarily exact " and at the same time be poetry. And next we appeal to the pages and look for poetry in vain—or let us say almost in vain.

To cull a few quoted passages from the notes ; for in poetry a single line or even ' a lonely word ' may move the soul :—

" I wish I could play my Shu table-lute on the mandarin-duck strings."

" The silver-white arrow-tablet above the gold-coloured brass jar of the water-clock marks the dripping of much water."

" I suggest that men meditate at length on Hsieh Hsüan Hui."

" Really, one cannot help laughing to think that, until now, the rapid current celebrated by Yen

Has usurped all the fame."

" From the beginning of things, the Ox Ledge has been more dangerous than the Standing Horse Hill."

" The rushing whale squeezes the Yellow River ;
The man-eating beasts with long tusks assemble at Lo Yang."

" If floods should come I also would not leave.
A bear might come and still I could protect."

If we took whole verses instead of single lines the result would not be much different. Our point is merely this : since almost every poem has lines as unpoetic as those quoted, and many are wholly on that level, it is surprising that it should be claimed " they are poetry." We readily believe in the extraordinary exactness, but as they stand we cannot accept them as Poetry.

We have noted one or two places where over-exactness is a fault. On p. 16 there is the line

" The many-coloured clouds make me think of her upper garments, of her lower garments."

Now, ' lower garments' may mean *inner* garments ; the *dessous*, as advertised ; or it may mean the Chinese feminine trousers, clothing the lower half of the person ; but neither notion is poetical ; neither is the separation and the repetition. It is true that the

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two characters regarded separately have the meanings here given; and in a business document they probably would be taken separately. But, as Mrs Ayscough knows, characters of opposite meanings are in common speech combined to express the combined ideas. Thus 買賣 are the words "' buy ' and ' sell,' but combined they form the dissyllabic word meaning ' trade '; 來往 separately mean ' come ' and ' go '; together it is the common word for ' intercourse.' Similarly 衣 means the garment covering from neck to waist; 裳 is the skirt or what not from the waist down; but 衣裳 together is the ordinary expression for ' clothes,' as Couvreur says, ' nom générique des vêtements.' Then the lines would read

"The many-coloured clouds remind me of her garments,
Flowers make me think of her face;"

which is an improvement and nearer to the poetical.

The title chosen for the work is not a pleasing one for several reasons. It is merely pretty, which is not what was wanted for so serious a study. Then the fir blossom is so inconspicuous that one is tempted to say the poetry is as hard to seek. Further it smells of the chemists' shops; that is, it makes one think of tabloids of flower of sulphur and such things. The sole justification for its use seems that the three characters 松花箋 occur somewhere; but the story given is vague and incoherent. Moreover, we are doubtful about the translation,—whether 松 and 花 should be joined. 花箋 is the common term for florally ornamented letter paper, and no doubt even to-day Shanghai shops sell 花箋 with the 松 or pine tree design. It looks as though the lady in the story, being a poet, began by using the best brand of paper; and later, being a poet, was reduced to ordering a cheaper kind, perhaps the bamboo design! This is frivolous, but some sinologue will perhaps enlighten us.

Though we cannot accept all the views of this book it must not be supposed we do not value it highly. The Introduction should surely become an indispensable little classic on its subject, and the poems themselves, translated with such care and on such a new method, deserve to be studied by all who are attracted to that branch of Chinese literature. The one thing to make it more valuable to students is to have the Chinese text on the page opposite to the translation. We hope a new edition will soon be called for and that the text may then be included.

The book is very daintily got up and it is a relief that the proof-reading has been done so well that we have discovered only two trivial ' literals.'

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SINOLOGICAL NOTES

BY

L. C. ARLINGTON

Ornithologists tell us that there are more than 200 kinds of crows, including magpies, jays and choughs, and they may be subdivided into a large number of species; that the *corvidae* have strong and generally *straight* bills with no notch in the upper mandible; the wings are long and pointed, except the jays and magpies, where they are shorter, etc.

Applying the same method to the study of Chinese hieroglyphics, we find that hundreds, if not thousands, of characters may be subdivided into a large number of different shades of meaning, all of which depend upon whether they have "long," "straight," "short" or "hooked" strokes. Therefore, just as the *corvidae* are distinguished by ornithologists, we must, to be up-to-date in our knowledge of the Chinese characters, find out by these "hooks" and "long" or "short" strokes, just what part of orthography (like the species in birds) they belong to.

A few examples are given below and may be extended almost indefinitely. Dr. Giles gives a few examples in his English-Chinese Dictionary, and it is a pity that he did not give more.

Under No. 5610, for example, he distinguishes between it and No. 11,282, i.e., between *jên* 壬 and *t'ing* 廷; and of course it is easy to see from the *jên* sounds as given in the dictionaries that all such characters as 妊, 衽, 飪, 任, etc., have the *jên* symbol in them; and the *t'ing* 廷 in such characters as 廷, 聽, 挺, etc. But unless we are told we do not know whether it is *jên* 壬 or *t'ing* 廷 that forms part of 徵, 呈, 望, 聖, etc. Giles has *jên* 壬 instead of *t'ing* 廷 forming part of 聖; but has the correct symbol *t'ing* in 望. It will be noted that the middle cross stroke is long in *jên*, but short in *t'ing* and, *vice versâ*, the lower stroke short in *jên* and long under *t'ing*. It will also help us to remember this difference if we note that *jên* comes under the radical *shih* 士 and *t'ing* under the radical *t'u* 土.

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Giles also distinguishes between *fêng* 丰 and *chieh* 丰 Nos. 3561 and 1488, but practically all the characters under *chieh* which should, of course, have the *chieh* symbol, have, instead, the symbol for *fêng!* Following the same procedure as explained for the symbols *jên* and *t'ing*, we can easily tell that *fêng* 丰 forms part of 邦, 峰, etc., and *chieh* 丰 part of 契, 挈, etc. But unless we are specially told we do not know that it is *chieh* 丰 and not *fêng* 丰 that forms part of 憲 and 害, etc.

Then *chi*^{3} 几 "a stand" must not be confused with *shu*^{1} 几 "the short wing of a bird." Note that *chi* has a "hook" to it, but *shu* has none. *Chi* 几 forms part of 凭 and *shu* part of 鳧. *Jên* 刃 and *ch'uang* 刅 also are to be differentiated, e.g., 劍 was originally written 刱; hence 刅 forms part of 梁, 粱, and 刃 part of 忍, 認, etc.

The *position* of the symbol is also of great importance: e.g., radicals *chih* 夂 and *ts'ui* 夂. The *chih* is always written at the top of the character, as in 夆 and 夆, but *ts'ui* at the bottom, as in 愛, 憂, etc. In writing them it should be borne in mind that in *chih* the right down stroke to the left should be extended, whereas in *ts'ui* it is shorter.

Note should also be taken of *shao* 少 and *ta* 少. The latter has the same meaning as *tao* 蹈 No. 10,801 "to tread on" etc. *Ta* 少 is, according to K'anghsi, the inverted form of *chih* 止, thus: 丄 as written in the *seal* and *li* characters. *Ta* is used in 步, 跐, 實, etc.

Chêng 正 and *p'i* 正 also are to be distinguished: The *chêng* symbol is found in such characters as 定, 是, etc. The old form of *chêng* 正 was 是, which was probably altered to avoid confusion with *shih* 是, 正 is therefore equivalent to *chêng* 正 No. 687. *P'i* 正 is also read *ya* and used for 雅; but we are now concerned with *p'i* 正 only to show the difference between it and *chêng* 正.

There is also a vast difference between the sound and meaning of *ou*^{4} 歹 and *tai*^{3} 歹: *ou* is correctly written with four strokes, and *tai* with three. *Ou* 歹 is equivalent to 歺. Giles says "the same as *tai*": this is a mistake, since 歺 is read *ou* with meaning "to scrape the flesh off bones." 歹 is the original form as represented in 殘 and 殊.

Giles does not tell us that No. 461 暢, is interchanged with 鬯 No. 463, as well as with 申 No. 462. 暢 is mostly used in the spoken form, 鬯 in literature, and 申 in names.

No. 4589 貴 is also written 貴. *V.* 正字通 and 韓非子.

The original form of 貫 No. 6378 was 毌, but to distinguish it from *wu* 毋, the 貝 was added. The 毋 symbol is used in 摜,

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嘮, 撈, 橑, that is, in all *lu* 勞 characters that have the symbol *li* 力 in them.

Pa 犮 (commonly, but wrongly written 乏) the "appearance of a dog moving" should be distinguished from *yu* 友 "friend." It has similar meanings to *pa* 拔. It appears in 跋 and *fa* 髮. 犮 is really an old form of 犬 *ch'üan*, a dog.

There is also a difference between *pên* 本 "root," *chi* 本 "to stop," equivalent to *chih* 止, and *t'ao* 本 to proceed, advance, etc. *Pên* is used for *kên* 根; *t'ao* 本 forms part of 臬. *Chi* 本 does not appear in any other character.

Ho 禾 grain, and *chi* 禾 (also read *ai*), a bend or crook at the end of a stick, should be noted; 禾 as in 稼, etc., but *chi* or *ai* as in 穊, 穉, etc. As a matter of fact, 禾 was originally written 禾 to distinguish it from 禾.

The *Shuo Wên* makes a clear distinction between 禾 and 禾; but says nothing about 禾.

Hsi 西 also written 覀 and read *ya* and *hsia*, although forming the same radical, are really differently used in various characters: 覀 is used in such characters as 覃, 覆, 覈, 要: but 西 in 堇, 茜, 洒, 栖, etc.

No. 10,047 殳 should be distinguished from *mo* 歿 No. 8015. 殳 is used in such characters as 殺, 毆, 毄, 殺, etc. But 歿 in 沒 and 歿. No. 10,048 投 is an old form of 殳.

There are two characters which are very similar in form but of different meanings: they are 臼 *chiu* No. 2286 and 臼 *chü* (not in Giles' Dict.). *Chiu* 臼 appears in such characters as 舀, 舁, 舊, 舊, etc., and *chü* 臼, which has similar meanings to 掬 No. 2962, is used in 臭, 學, 盥, 與, 與, etc.

There is also a difference between *k'an* 邗 (not in Giles' Dict.), the name of a place 吳城邗 in ancient Kiangsu (*Vide* the *Tso Chuan*), and *yü* 邘 No. 13,548, the name of a district in the 衛 Wei state (the present 沁陽縣 in Honan).

Giles distinguishes between 幸 4592 and 幸 4564, but says nothing about *ta* 奎 No. 10,471, a lamb, as being the old form of 羍 which is found in such characters as 羍, 撻, 羍 達, etc. 奎 is another deceptive ideograph which, from its formation, one would think had something to do with a "large sheep," but instead means a small sheep or lamb. The *Shuo Wên* defines it as a lamb; the *Yü P'ien* says it means "to be born"—of an animal; the *Chi Yün* says it has the same meanings as *ta* 達; the *Kuang Ya* defines it as meaning "good," "excellent," etc.; and the *Shih Wên* declares it to be a "male lamb."

Pi 匕 No. 8941 is correctly written 匕 as in 尼, 匙, 旨 and 鴲 (This last character is commonly written 鵯 which implies a *dark*

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saying : " ch'i-shih niao "—seventy birds, referring to a procuress). 匕 is also a dagger or short-sword ; also chop-sticks. The *Shih Ching* sentence 有捋棘匕 should be "long and *curved chop-sticks* of thorn-wood," and not "spoons" as Giles says. The 匕首 is not a "dagger" or a "spoon," but a short sword. This was the weapon that Fu Ch'a presented to Wu Yün * (See Biog. Dict. No. 2358), with which the latter committed suicide.

匕 generally (but wrongly) written 匕 should be distinguished from *hua* 匕 which is an old form of 化; Giles (and all other lexicographers) writes 化 but 花; the latter form of 匕 is correct, and not 匕 as in 比, 真, 疑, etc.

The correct reading of No. 5862 刊 is *ch'ien* although it is also read *kan* and *k'an*. Giles says it is the "correct form of 刋." The correct form is 栞 No. 5864 ; *k'an* 刊 has similar meanings to 切 No. 1552, while 刊 has the same meanings as 栞. No. 5961 尻 is *not* the same as 尻 No. 2985, which can be used for 居 but not for 尻. Chinese medical men, who are notoriously bad scholars, are responsible for writing 尻 for 尻.

It is as well to note also that the character *Mei* 美 is frequently written 羙 (*kao*) by many Chinese who are considered good scholars. 羙 is an old form of 羔 and so is 羙, neither of which has any connection with *mei* 美.

Shou 受 is also wrongly used for *tao* 受. The latter character is only used as a surname peculiar to the Hunanese.

No. 1277 斨 should be distinguished from 斨 (not in Giles' Dict.) ; this latter character is an old form of 析 No. 4040.

No. 6987 戾 should also be distinguished from 戾 (not in Giles' Dict.) "the sliding door of a war chariot," read *t'ai*,[4] *t'i*[4] and *ti*[4].

The correct form of 柿 No. 9906 is 柿. Giles does not give the latter and correct form ; 柿 is also *wrongly* written 柿. 柿 should be distinguished from *fei* 柿 No. 3504.

Another singular character is 柔, to be distinguished from *jo* 柔. It is read *hsü* and is equivalent to *hsü* 栩 No. 4751 (this latter character is also read *chu*[3] and *yü*[3] and is equivalent to 橡 No. 4229, the chestnut oak, from which a black dye is extracted.

* 員 in personal names is read *Yün*, not *Yüan*. No. 13,733 員 when read *yün* is used for 隕 No. 13,842, owing to the inauspicious meanings connected with the latter character : hence in *Shih Ching* sentence 輔隕既長, 隕 is always altered to 員. Giles should have mentioned this ruling under 輔 No. 3706 in the sentence 輔員(=隕)澄澑. The *Su* form of 員 is 帼.

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嬪 No. 9265 is also written 姘 that is, with 6 strokes. No. 8908 姘 is correctly written with 8 not 6 strokes. 嬪 when read *pin*[4] refers to the death of a wife.

姘 is an old form of 嬪. But not 姘. There is a difference of two strokes.

The modern meaning of "illicit intercourse with maid-servants" seems to be derived from the custom in vogue during the Han dynasty forbidding sexual intercourse during periods of fasting, for which the penalty was a fine of four ounces of silver; this was called 齋與女交罰銀四兩曰姘. *V.* 漢律.

There appears to be some confusion between the correct use of 姦 No. 1647 and 奸 No. 1628 in connection with 宄 No. 6449. 姦 really refers to external and 宄 to internal traitors. The *Shu Ching* has 寇賊姦宄 "robbers and murderers external and internal." Therefore 奸宄 as given by Giles appears to be more correct for a traitorous cabal than 姦, as given by Giles under No. 1647. 姦宄, really refers to criminal intercourse between opposite sexes.

An old form of 倦 No. 3147 is 劵; the latter character is frequently used wrongly for 券 No. 3159.

Chê 浙 No. 552 is also written 淛 (as originally used by the Great Yü *before* regulating the waters). After he had finished his labours it was changed to 浙 the present form. 浙 should be distinguished from 淅 No. 4044.

灋 No. 3368 is part of the ancient form of *fa*[3] 法 No. 3366. The upper part (excluding the radical for water and the 去), is the same as No. 246, 鷹, which again is equivalent to 豸 No. 245. This fabulous monster, which was able to discriminate between good and bad, is said to have been first used by Kao Yao (Biog. Dict. No. 965) for the detection of crime. If Kao Yao was in doubt as to the guilty party between litigants, he had the monster brought forth; being armed with a short and stocky horn, the monster would "charge" and "butt" vigorously the object of his "discrimination." Kao Yao was then able to dispense justice without any qualms of conscience. When this method of using the law monster was abolished, the 鷹 No. 246 was separated from *fa* 法. Giles says that 灋 is only used in reference to Buddhism. He must have been wrongly informed, as the character is commonly used in proclamations, notices, etc., concerning law cases which have no connection with Buddhism whatever. Two other old forms of 法 are 金 and 泛. What a pity that the "Discriminatory" monster has become extinct! He would be found very useful these days, as, for instance, in the Shanghai "Mixed Court."

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Giles says that 帳 No. 409 is an account book, for which 賬 No. 414 is now used. This is unquestionably an error, as an account book is correctly 帳簿 or 帳本. That it is used by shop-keepers does not prove its correctness; and in any case 賬 is a vulgar and unauthorized form as Giles should have mentioned.

No. 1376 叫 is commonly, but without authority, used for 叫 No. 1377. The latter is, of course, the correct form, since 叫 is not even given a place in K'anghsi!

An old form of 楚 No. 2662 is 楚. Also 楛. 楚 is said to be the original name for the Ch'u state. The 聞談消夏錄 states that a native of Kweichow who was a curio-dealer discovered an old flag made of hemp cloth, on which the 楚 character was embroidered.

The original form of 夢 No. 7779 was 梦. It is said to have been invented by Wang Hsi-chih's (Biog. Dict. No. 2174) wife, who dreamt that she saw the evening sun disappear into a forest.

According to Giles, 係 No. 4062 is used for 系 No. 4061. This is unquestionably a mistake, as they are never interchanged. 係 is, however, used with 繫 No. 4104.

Giles does not give the old and commonly written form of 叔 No. 10,039, viz., 尗. It is mostly used in letter writing.

Although 預 No. 13,675 and 豫 No. 13,678 may be interchanged in most combinations, such as 預備, 豫算, etc., they cannot be interchanged for "beforehand" 預先 as Giles has it, or for 豫省 (Honan).

袴 No. 6271, and 褲 No. 6280 although frequently interchanged, they cannot be so used in the classical phrase 紈袴子弟 (See No. 5067).

Characters resembling old forms of *hsi* 西, west, are many. We shall give only a few: old forms of 西 itself are 卤 and 鹵. The great seal form is 卣. But it is to be distinguished from *Yü* 卣, a wine jar, which is also written 卣. Giles says that 卤 No. 11,108 is an old form of 卣 No. 13,440. So it is, but it is then read *yü* with the same meaning; but when read *t'iao* (or *tiao*) it means clusters of fruit or grain. 卤 should not be confused with *Ch'in* 卤 a surname.

It is unfortunate that Giles does not give first place to the correct form of a character, when there are several ways of writing it; that is, the the proper form first and the vulgar form second place. One is often at a loss to know which is the correct way of writing a character unless it is specially mentioned.

All educated Chinese—especially scholars—know which is the 正 or 俗 *su* form; and indeed, would be "plucked" at the

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examinations if they did not; and foreign students of Chinese should know them too.

Giles does give many of the correct forms first place in his Dictionary, but in quite a number of places he gives it to the *su* or vulgar form and relegates the 正 or correct form to the back ground as it were. No. 12,197 骰, e g., is the correct form of No. 12,184 腿. 澁 No. 9613 is the correct form of No. 9610 澀 (Giles omits the radical for water). 綁 and 袴 Nos. 6270-1, the correct form of 褲 No. 6280, are interchanged, excepting in the phrase 紈袴子弟 when 褲 cannot be used for 袴.

No. 1363 腳 is the correct form of No. 1362 脚; 穐 is an old form of 秋 No. 2302, but 穋 is the form commonly used by all educated people. As for 泪 No. 6857, although this form is neither *su* nor *chêng*, it is what is called 承用字, i.e., sanctioned by long practice. It is therefore more frequently used than 淚 No. 6856. No. 7859 玅, or 妙 is the *li* script of 妙. 帋 No. 1885 (authorized but seldom used, invented owing to the development of paper manufacture) although used for 紙 is neither *su* nor *chêng*, but the 帖寫 style of writing used by 黃山谷 a famous calligraphist and painter of the Sung dynasty (See No. 11,149).

Although 茅 No. 7689 is interchanged with 茆 No. 7696, the latter cannot be used for 茅土 a clod of earth surrounded by grass given by the Emperor to the grantees of a fief. Neither can 笔 No. 8978 be used for a *foreign* pen or pencil. 筆 No. 8979 may, however, be so used.

No. 200 察 is much less frequently used than 詧 No. 211, which latter is the 鐵書 style, first used by Chung Yu (Biog. Dict. No. 521). He was also the inventor of the *k'ai shu* style of writing.

Nos. 4372 斜, 4394 衰 and 4395 邪 are all interchangable. 衰 is to be distinguished from *mao*^{4} 衰 meaning the "length from North to South," as opposed to 廣 No. 6397 East and West, e.g., 廣袤千里 a vast area of territory.

Old forms of 嗔 No. 644 were 謓 and 瘨. Giles does not give the correct sound *t'ien*^{2} nor the original meaning "deep roll of drums." Also the R. 先 should be added. 填 was substituted for 嗔 in the classical phrase 填然鼓之, Mencius, Book I, Part 1. 闐 may also be used in the same sense, as in the *Shih Ching* sentence: 振旅闐闐. The 字學舉隅 states that 填 and 闐 were substituted for 嗔 because the latter did not give sufficient force to the meaning. I.e., the sounds were "muffled" rather than "loud and crushing" as represented by the other two characters. No. 645 瞋 is also read *t'ien*: it is strange that Giles did not notice this when giving the R. 先.

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In Biog. Dict. No. 1986 : Dr. Giles should have added that Ts'ai Yung was the inventor of the 飛白書 style of writing, i.e., characters showing white streaks on black lines.

No. 10,394 隋 was, it is true, originally written 隨, but the Emperor 開皇 because of the symbol 辶 in it considered it unlucky to have a ideograph meaning " to run " or " flee " and ordered the symbol 辶 to be eliminated. Unfortunately for him, even after the alteration it turned out unlucky, the entire reign of the dynasty only lasting for 29 years, because, as it is alleged, the elimination of the symbol separated the original meaning of the hieroglyphic " to accord," " follow," etc., and left it without any solid foundation. *V.* 留青新集.

According to the 說文 *Sui* 隋 means " Minced meat."

There is quite a difference in writing the characters 賣 No. No. 7608 and *yü* 賣 (not in Giles' Dict.) ; also written 儥 as under No. 13,697 " to sell." It is to be noted that 賣 and not 賣 is found in all such characters as : 瀆, 讀, 牘, 櫝, 匱, etc.

Under No. 4487 閉, Giles states that it is " to be distinguished from 閑 No. 4494." And under the latter character he says it is " used for " 閉. I do not know what authority he has for this statement, but there is not a single entry that he gives under 閑 that 閉 can be used for. There are, however, a few instances where they may be interchanged, e.g., one may write 閒暇, or 閑暇, but one cannot write 防閒 for 防閑 nor 閒習 for 閑習.

No. 4683 袖 is also written 褎 to be distinguished from 褒 No. 8718. This latter character, as well as 褒 No. 8717, are also read *p'ou* with similar meanings as 裒 No. 9453 " to praise." No. 8717 褒 is also written 襃. 褒, however, is the commonly written form of 褒.

Under 歸 No. 6419, Dr. Giles refers 三歸 to No. 6429 and says it is used for 歸 by the Buddhists, i.e., the three refuges of the Buddhists. But he says nothing about the *Lun Yü* sentence 管氏有三歸 which formed the subject matter of dispute between Chu Hsi and others as to its real meaning. Chu Hsi and several others claimed that it referred to the name of an extravagant tower built by Kuan Chung, but it was declared by other commentators to refer to " three wives," and Dr. Legge himself favoured the latter meaning. Han Fei Tzŭ tells us that in a conversation between Kuan Chung and Huan Kung, the former said, " I have an honourable position (Prime Minister), but am very poor " ; to which Huan Kung replied, " You have three families " (that is, three separate establishments) : 管仲相齊曰臣貴矣然而臣貧桓公曰使子有三歸之家. And Mao Ch'i-

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ling (Biog. Dict. No. 1496) has left us the following: 毛西河論語稽求篇或謂三歸臺亦因三娶而築臺以名之古凡娶女多築臺如詩經衛宣公築新臺娶齊女左傳魯莊公築臺臨黨氏娶孟任.

These extracts would tend to show that it was the custom in olden times for Princes to erect a tower for each wife taken. That is why Confucius said that Kuan Chung did not know the rules of propriety; because such towers were the prerogatives of Princes only.

It is rather singular that Giles under No. 11,171 (坫) omitted 反. *Vide* Analects, *Pa Yih*, book 3, chap. XXII, 3. Giles gives 壇坫 under No. 10,705 and says it means "the platform or stand in an exhibition where exhibits are on view." It *does* mean a "platform," but *not* in the sense that Giles says. The platform was a sort of "diplomatic stage" on which the Princes in ancient times met to discuss terms of peace, etc. The *Tz'ŭ Yüan* quoting the 史記 has the following: 曹子以一劍之任枝桓公之心于壇坫之上.

This incident occurred during the peace parley between Ts'ao Mei (曹沫) and Duke Huan of the Ch'i state. Ts'ao Mei had already lost three of his principalities to the Duke, and at the conference above mentioned, demanded the return of the lost territory at the point of the sword; hence 壇坫 signifies, in a metaphorical sense, "diplomacy" or "diplomatic affairs," e.g., 壇坫之交. For Ts'ao Mei see Biog. Dict. No. 2006, where *Mo* 沫 is wrongly given for *Mei* (沫). That is, his name was Ts'ao Mei not Ts'ao Mo. No. 7734 沫 is an old name for the modern 淇縣 in Honan. It also means "faint light," as of dawn. It is also the name of a star in *Ursa Minor*. To further confuse the meaning of this character, K'anghsi says that it is an old form of 湏 No. 4718, and that it is read *Wei* 沫 the name of a river, and when read *Hui* has the same meanings as 靧 and 頮 (Nos. 5209 and 5221) "to wash the face." No. 4718 湏 is commonly used for 須 No. 4716, which according to K'anghsi is absolutely wrong and not read *hsü* at all! K'anghsi also says that 沫 is used for 妹, and quotes the *Shih Ching* as authority; whereas the latter work says that 沫 is read 妹. V. *Shih Ching*: 桑中—"沫(音妹)之鄉矣."

Under No. 13,630 玉, Giles translates 玉樓 as "the shoulders" and the line following 赴召玉樓 "to go to Hades," "to die," etc. Taken in its metaphorical sense all this is quite true, but unfortunately it does not help the student very much, and is, in fact, confusing, as he simply cannot connect the "shoulders" with "death." 玉樓 is said originally to have referred to the shoulders of a Taoist monk; Su Tung-p'o in one of his poems has

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the following stanza: 凍合玉樓寒起栗 "Shoulders shrunk with the cold"—goose flesh. Probably he meant any one's shoulders and not simply those of a monk. The 十洲記 has the following: 崑崙山之一角有金臺五所玉樓十二所 "On one of the slopes of Kunlun th.re are Five Bronze Towers and Twelve Jade Pavilions." As to "赴召玉樓": this phrase is taken from Li Ho's adventure (See Biog. Dict. No. 1132) with the dragon, as Giles says. But another version of the legend is, that Li Ho met a man dressed in red carrying a wooden tablet on which was inscribed in "tadpole" characters the following: 帝成白玉樓立召君爲記 "God has finished His White Ja·e Pavilion and has sent for you to be His Secretary." As Li Ho died young (in his twenty-seventh year), the phrase 赴召玉樓 (a variant of which is 玉樓修記) is applied euphemistically to the death of young men, more especially students, and not to old men or women.

No. 7866 藐, is also written 藐. It is also the name of a plant yielding a red dye, and is in this respect equivalent to 茈草 No. 12,395. 藐 is also used with 邈 No. 7998.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

Mappa Mundi. By A. C. M.

The British Museum possesses a beautifully written and unique book entitled *Insularium illustratum Henrici Martelli Germani* and dated 1492 (Add. MS. 15760). Near the end of the book is a two-page Map of the World (fol. 68v°, 69r°), which has been reproduced in some modern book, but is not mentioned, apparently, by Yule either in *Cathay* or in *Marco Polo*. In a very hurried inspection of this map I made the following notes of the eastern coast, which may be of interest as showing, as it seems to me, the influence of Marco Polo or of Odoric or of both of them.

At the extreme north of this coast is Cathaio. Just below is a picture of a fortified city with one specially lofty red-roofed tower, and below is the inscription

hic dominatur
cham maior tartarorum
Imperator

Flowing north-eastward between the first *a* and *r* of tartarorum is the river coramora. Just below Imperator is the name quinsay surmounting a battlemented wall which has six or seven gate-towers. The river oman enters the city from the west, a nameless river from the south, and two nameless rivers leave it from the north-east. The space enclosed within the walls is coloured bright blue to represent water, and the maker of the map must surely have read Marco Polo who says that there was a lake *inside* the city, or Odoric who says that the city stands in lagoons as Venice does. *South* of quinsay and coming from the far south-west is the river quian. Going down the east coast, I noted the following names in order, interspersed with many blue rivers and brown hills: prouincia mangi, India orientalis, prouincia Ciamba, prouincia moabar. The only other note I made was that Serica Regio is written near the centre of Asia and due north of Taprobana or Ceylon.

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A propos of the lagoons in which Quinsay or Hang-chou stood, Odoric, as printed by Hakluyt, says "This city is situated in the water which is always stagnant, neither flowing nor ebbing, but it has a rampart (*vallum*) because of the wind, like the city of the Venetians. Yule has somewhere (though I cannot just now find it) a note to the effect that this rampart was probably a wind-screen. In noting this reading of Hakluyt, he adds (*Cathay*, Vol. II, p. 313) *Mus. to same effect. Mus.* is the manuscript, now in the British Museum, which Hakluyt used, and it reads not *vallum* but vu or vn with a mark over the second letter. *u* and *n* are often very difficult to distinguish in such MSS., and vn with a mark is the regular way of writing *unde*. There is another similar but quite independent MS. of this particular form of Odoric's story in the Museum (Arundel, 13), and two more at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (Nos. 275 and 407), and all three read not vallum or unde but vndas;—"they have however *waves* on account of the wind." Yule does not suggest that any other MS. has *vallum*, and the whole clause is missing in three of the four chief varieties of Odoric's narrative. It seems then very probable that undas, *waves*, is the true reading, and if the sentence is due to Odoric himself at all, it may be an attempt to reproduce what he had been told, but had not quite understood, of the contrast between the tideless waters of the West Lake and the violent tides and waves of the river on the east.

* * *

西天 *Hsi t'ien.*

Giles (1912) gives no meaning but "the paradise of the west . . . *sukhâvatî*." Couvreur (1911) does not give the phrase at all. Eitel has it only as part of a title of Amitâbha, 西天教主 *Hsi t'ien chiao chu*. The *Tz'ŭ-yüan* gives no meaning but India (印度), explaining it as a contraction for "India in the west" (西天竺), and quoting an example from the *Yüan Shih*. The 唐三藏取經詩話 *T'ang san tsang ch'ü ching shih hua* gives us some colloquial examples from the Sung dynasty as 莫不是再往西天取經否 "Is it not that you are going again to India to collect books?" (c. 1, fol. 2). Facing the gate of the Ling-yin ssŭ near Hang-chou used to be the four words 西天咫尺 "It is but a step to the western paradise" or, considering the traditions of the place, "to India." The phrase does not seem to be in *K'ang-hsi* or the *P'ei wên yün fu*; nor in the *Fa yüan chu lin*, nor (under India 印度) in the *Fan i ming i chi*.

A. C. M.

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A Correction

On p. 312 of the last year's volume I stupidly quoted the *Shih chi* as saying 始皇出游左: "Shih Huang set out and travelled to the east." But 左 of course begins the next sentence (左丞相斯 . . .), and "to the east" must be omitted. It is some consolation to me, though no excuse, to find that the *Shun-yu Lin-an chih* c. 10, fol. 1, quotes the passage as 始皇東游 "Shih Huang travelled to the east."

A. C. M.

* * *

Notes by Prof. E. H. Parker

It is a remarkable thing that the character 惇 does not appear in Giles, though Williams gives it as partly an equivalent of 敦. The remarkable feature lies in the fact that Prince Tun, who died in 1889, was a well-known character in the Peking streets when Giles was there about 50 years ago. Prince Tun's personal name was Yih-tsung 奕誴 and after his death he was canonised as 惇勤親王. The 'Boxer' Prince Twan was one of his sons (pers. name Tsai-i).

* * *

Under No. 10,814 掐花兒 Dr. Giles makes an error which is neither William's nor K'ang-hi's, but purely his own: the character in this combination is not *t'ao*[1] at all, but *ch'ia*[1] 掐, written certainly in a somewhat similar way: in fact under No. 1,191 Dr. Giles repeats (but correctly) the phrase. It may be added that 掐 and 淘 are often confused, as in the old "Wadean" phrase 淅溝的味兒狠不好.

* * *

Williams, and also Giles, does not give the character 嵇 (*chi*,[1] Cant. *k'ai*[1]) a not uncommon 姓. The Economical Commissioner of Hu Nan is at present 嵇炳元. Nor does Giles give it in his list of surnames or 姓. Williams' Tonic Dictionary gives it correctly under *K'ai*, and describes it as originally the name of a mountain in An Hwei: certainly the surname is often written 稽 as well, but (query) its correctness is doubtful.

* * *

The character 鮡体 or 鮡本 (*k'iao*, or Pek. *ch'iao*[2]) is omitted from Williams' Index, and therefore from Giles. Both, however, give it under the character 胠. It occurs in Sün-tsz, whose commentator (1,000 years ago) says "there is no such character in the dictionaries"; but the Ming dictionary *Tsz-hwei* does give it, and so does K'ang-hi. Williams mutilates Sün-tsz's text, (which

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is correctly given by K'ang-hi), whilst Giles copies Williams and adds a further mutilation of his own. It has never been decided what fish it is; possibly a kind of sturgeon. The original text runs:—"The *ch'ou k'iao* is a fish that basks in the sun, going on to the sand, and then trying in vain to get back to the water" (figurative of those silly folk who blame fate for their own rashness).

* * *

As to Mr. Waley's and Dr. Giles' dispute about the exact meaning of Sien-pi (p. 597 of December number), it may be recalled that T'an-shih-hwai, King of the Sien-pi Tartars (probably Kitans and Solons of later times), was the man who (about A.D. 150) introduced Japanese (汙 or 倭) fishermen into Mongolia (捕魚兒海). The girl's neck in the poem had nothing much, if anything, to do with "gazelle," and 王逸's commentary (Wylie, p. 181) on the ancient Ts'u poem explains that the real meaning is "lucky beast's head," because (derivatively) the Sien-pi Tartars used rhinoceros-hide girdles, the buckle of which was a figure of the head of the said lucky beast, and the girl's slim neck was as though "girdled tight." I have a vague recollection of having explained this 35 years ago; but the above-named two learned poets may perhaps be able to explain what a 郭洛 girdle was, *kwolo* perhaps being a Sien-pi word for "rhinoceros."

M. Léopold de Saussure whose portrait we have pleasure in presenting to our readers is well known for his studies of Chinese astronomy and chronology. He belongs to a French family which fled from persecution into Switzerland in 1555. He has been to the Far East more than once in the French Naval Service.

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Fir-Flower Tablets, etc.

A notice of this important work will be found on p. 44. It seemed too long for a place under "Recent Literature."

La Chine, par Henri Cordier. Payot & Cie., Paris, 1921; fr.4.

This is *multum in parvo* indeed! A description of China and her whole history down to the present, all in 130 small pages! None but an inveterate worker with all the knowledge lying quite ready in mind and memory would dare to attempt such a task; but to Professor Cordier it was perhaps mere pastime.

We note a few trifling things omitted from the general fulness; 'Fleuve bleu' is not mentioned as a name of the Yangtze; and the Hakkas are not referred to. The Rites controversy included more than the Rites question, but the term for the Deity is not spoken of. In the account of the currency we are told "La seule monnaie réelle de Chine est le *ts'ien*"—that is, the copper cash with the square hole; it is strange the minting of so many myriads of copper cents should be ignored, and the abundant silver coinage. To the ordinary reader it must be deceptive to learn that Shanghai was 'ouvert en 1854', Foochow in 1861, and so on, in virtue of the Treaty of Nanking, 1842. The 'ouvert' refers to the establishment of the Customs, not to the opening as usually meant. Rockhill's and d'Ollone's interviews with the Dalai Lama are recorded, but M. Cordier ignores the reception of R. F. Johnston, narrated in this *Review*, Vol. I, p. 153. In a French work one can hardly expect Protestant missions to be treated as fully as Roman Catholic, yet a dozen lines, the same as is given to the Russian mission, is absurdly inadequate.

But in spite of a few blemishes or omissions the little book is a marvel of compression, without clearness or correctness being sacrificed.

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Chinese Shadows, by Juliet Bredon. Pei Kuan Press, Peking, 1922.

Of making of books of minor poetry there is no end, and they cumber the shelves of the second-hand booksellers. This little volume, however, deserves to be appreciated and especially by those who know Peking. The poems are not translations but original, with a Chinese flavour. Miss Bredon loves her Peking and sees it with a poet's eyes. Its palaces—

" Out of their noblest dreams Kings wrought these palaccs ;
Now empty, useless, they dream deep
In golden melancholy
Radiant ghosts against the sun,
Filled with dead memories
Of high festivities
Memories that drift, and pass, and pass,
Until the daylight fails,
And night and all the stars sweep over them."

We should like to quote the verses on the Altar of Heaven, and several other dainty poems about the Temples of Peking. But not all are about Chinese subjects ; for example,—

" A spider's web of dainty opal gauze
Glittering with dew,
Is just a spider's web and nothing more
To me or you.
But to knights errant, like the blue-winged fly,
Adventuring free,
It is a fairy palace that allures
Most temptingly.

The whole collection is marked by that restraint which is so necessary to poetry, and which was not sufficiently apparent in Miss Bredon's prose. We are sure the pettily got-up little volume will give a great deal of pleasure to a wide public.

The Japanese Myth of Amaterasu, Goddess of the Sun retiring to the Celestial Grotto and the Magic of the Sun.

(Essay by N. P. Matsokine. Edited and printed by the Far Eastern State University, Vladivostok, 1921. In Russian).

Japan has remained a land of mystery, for many centuries secluded from the rest of the world, and the secret springs that moved the life of the nation were carefully concealed from the curious eye of the stranger.

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But now that the Land of the Rising Sun has become a world power the hidden soul of the Japanese is gradually being revealed ; scientists, historians, sociologists, philologists are making Japan and the Japanese a wide field of research.

We have before us a booklet by N. P. Matsokine which is an essay on Japanese mythology. The subject of the author's research is the interesting myth of the Goddess of the Sun Amaterasu. When frightened by her brother Susanoo, god of the Winds, she withdrew to the Celestial Grotto, whereupon the world was thrown into darkness and misery. The gods then held a meeting to discuss how Amaterasu could be lured out of her hiding place and light and warmth restored to the world. Their preparations were very elaborate, every god doing his part. Finally a fire was kindled, a mirror prepared and one of the goddesses performed a comic dance which made the other gods' roar with laughter. Amaterasu's curiosity was aroused and she peeped out of her seclusion to inquire about the reason of the gods' merriment. Thereupon she was told that a substitute for her and her sun had just been discovered. This excited her curiosity still more and she came out of the grotto. Her image in the mirror was then shown to her and a rope thrown over her back so that she could not retire again into the grotto.

The author deals with his subject from the point of view of a learned philologist. He reveals a thorough knowledge of the Japanese language and by going into the roots of the nomenclature of Japanese mythology and the denominations for living creatures and dead nature he makes some very interesting deductions, which throw quite a new light on the origin of different words as well as on rituals and folk-lore of the Japanese, which are built on this mythology.

The subject of the goddess of the Sun Amaterasu becomes the more interesting when we remember that she is supposed to be the protectrix of Japan's might as an Empire. The legend is that Amaterasu sent her grandson to rule Japan, and that it was her great-grandson who conquered the whole country and was the first Mikado and founder of the present Imperial dynasty of Japan.

It has been noticed more than once by philosophers of different countries that while we Europeans find ourselves in constant contradiction between our religion—Christianity, which condemns warfare and capitalism—and our doings, which consist of endless political and economic strife and struggle for conquest and supremacy, Asiatic nations are living their lives in full agreement with their religious creed. So in Japan patriotism is a logical sequence of the cult of ancestors. Warriors killed in action are

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considered divine heroes and their souls are worshipped in a special temple in Tokio. The adoration the Japanese have for children, especially boys, is also connected with the worship of ancestors which requires that every man should first of all consider it his duty to produce an heir to his name. Full freedom of religion exists in Japan: Shinto, Buddhism, and Christianity all are preached peacefully side by side. The Shinto Pantheon includes hundreds of gods. Japanese life is full of superstitions which are all based on animal worship and animistic philosophy.

Mr. Matsokine tells us of many curious Japanese superstitions and compares them with identical superstitions among different nations and wild tribes. In most of these superstitions a magic power is invested in stones, trees, flowers or animals and this power is supposed to be partly transferred to those who believe in these fetishes.

Mr. Matsokine's essay will prove of special interest only to the advanced scholar of Japanese—the linguist and philologist. The reader must not expect to find in it any more or less exhaustive study in Japanese mythology. The legend of Amaterasu is simply chosen and explained from a purely linguistic point of view, so that there is even no reference to the place this legend occupies among others in Japanese mythology. Therefore those interested in a closer investigation of the path the Japanese mind has trodden through myth and folk-lore up to its present state will have to refer to other works on this subject.

C. SH.

Peking: A Social Survey. Conducted under the auspices of The Princeton University Center in China, and The Peking Young Men's Christian Association. By Sidney D. Gamble, M.A., assisted by John Stewart Burgess, M.A. New York: George H. Doran Company. pp. 538.

Large volumes about Peking are coming to us at the rate of at least one a year. But there is a sameness about other works which is revealed to us when we read the present one. Juliet Bredon's "Peking" and Mennie's "Pageant of Peking" present the famous old city historically, pictorially, artistically,—Peking to the eye and the memory. Such books treat of the high lights and they hit only the high spots. If humble life is depicted at all, this is for a special purpose which leaves out the odours and throws a sheen of romance over the evidences of poverty and suffering. The picture is not untrue, but the reader is

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practically told to look with an artist's eye; and the better for him if he be not a resident of the Northern Capital.

And yet the proper study of mankind really is man, and not buildings or books or jade or bronze or city gates. The artistic and historical treatments are important, and we are grateful for them. But the social treatment, which fills out the picture and tells the facts about the whole life of the city, which the artist purposely omits as not germane to his object, this we must have too; otherwise we go back to the conscienceless slave-markets of Athens, and claim kinship with the Borgias. It is just this treatment that Mr. Gamble has attempted to supply, and with a large measure of success. His volume is primarily an exhibition in well-ordered array of facts, facts, facts, and then more facts. At times sociology threatens to become indeed the dismal science, though not just for Carlyle's reason. And yet it was hardly possible to put into order so many facts about living men without unconsciously making picture which the reader would see; and however rigidly emotion was excluded from the manner of utterance, emotion of some sort will be the effect of such a book in the mind of any who count nothing human as alien to themselves.

The chapters treat in sober procession of history, geography, government, population, health, education, commercial life, recreation, the social evil, poverty and philanthropy, prisons, an intensive study of the Têng Shih K'ou district, churches and religious work, and the Peking community service group and its first labours. There is also a striking chapter entitled "My nearest neighbours in Peking," prepared by a woman missionary, who describes in striking fashion, with clear head and warm heart, the life of a street only a few yards long, and the families which reside there. This is an ambitious programme, to say the least, and of course not everything that could be said on these subjects is included. Also the sources of information in some cases were much too scanty; while in others they were surprisingly full. The hardest thing to find out in China is the inner life of the Chinese. One may live many years among them and at the end be obliged to confess that while they may not be a riddle, as some would insist, they are a secret at all events, and a very well kept one. This book will help to change that opinion, for it proves that if the matter is properly undertaken, the important facts for the student of society may be found out. As a study both in ethics and sociology this book stands alone. Many an old resident like Nevius and Huc has attempted to reveal the Chinese to us as they are; it remained for a young stranger student to come with methods and training acquired in city study in Am-

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erica, and by enlisting the help of those who had been long on the spot, to obtain results that make a clearer and completer picture than we have ever had of any section of China. The effort to get the whole truth has very evidently been unremitting, and the authors have relentlessly laid upon themselves the duty of following facts and leaving theories to take care of themselves.

But it is at that point, if anywhere, that the book fails. It is all foreground; the background of China as a whole is missing. The resident in other parts of China will find many things strange to him here, and will be driven to think that if the book had been undertaken by someone who had a good general knowledge of China, the gain would have been great. Hangchow is referred to several times by way of comparison, but hardly any other place. It may be ungracious to play Oliver Twist when we read such a work, but the book itself tempts us to do so. Moreover, it is too much a snap-shot by an extremely fine lens, of an active, busy, changing scene. China is altering with great rapidity. Twenty years have made a new city of Peking; in another twenty this book may read like ancient history. Its justification is that it is the proper prelude to some concerted activity that shall attempt to shape the history of that coming twenty years in useful fashion; and that it is a fairly complete cross-section study of one of the world's great cities during one of its important periods of change. As a historical document its value will increase just as its sociological value dwindles.

It is a book for reference rather than for steady reading, though long stretches of it are very readable. It is not a guide-book, and the ordinary tourist will feel badly cheated if he attempts to make it one. Yet there are numerous maps to illustrate the facts, as well as many excellent graphs in which the facts are tabulated vividly; also there are many excellent photographs taken by the authors, which truly illuminate the text. The appendices are voluminous, and the index is well done. The errors in printing and of fact are very few; the only one of the latter sort we have noticed is on page 158 where it is stated that the literary language of China is "no longer" spoken. Of course it never was spoken, in the ordinary sense. On every page are the marks of care in arrangement of sober repression, of conscientious intention to be accurate. We wonder whether a series of such surveys of the important cities of China would not be more to the point among the Westerners who wish to lend a helping hand, than the immediate expansion of educational facilities which is so much urged.

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Chinese Mettle. By E. G. Kemp, F.R.S.G.S. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921.

All those who enjoyed Miss Kemp's former books, "The Face of China," "The Face of Manchuria, Korea and Chinese Turkestan" and "Wanderings in Chinese Turkestan" will open "Chinese Mettle" with pleasurable expectations; and let us say at once that they will not be disappointed. The letterpress is brightly written and interesting; and the illustrations little or big, black-and-white or coloured, are dainty and delightful. It is true that the authoress in her views of things Chinese, sees somewhat *couleur de rose*, but as she charmingly pleads in her preface to "The Face of China," "There is a use for eyelids as well as for eyes;" and if as an artist she has learnt to ignore on the one hand, and to brighten on the other, the process will be gratifying to the Chinese, and perhaps will not hurt the foreigners, to whom she is not always quite just.

The plan of the book is not altogether happy, we think, as it is lacking in continuity; but we are not ready with a better one. The first chapter gives a summary of the journey of which the book is the outcome; and with those on Yünnan, Kweichow and Hunan, very specially seems to illustrate *British* mettle as shown by the English aunt and niece who positively enjoyed the hardships of the long, long road, which often led them through brigand-infested country.

Chinese mettle is shown in the chapters describing three great personalities, Governor Yen of Shansi, "the Christian general" Fêng Yu-hsiang, and Miss Tsêng, B.Sc.

Miss Kemp claims that "the mettle of the (Chinese) race is changing." New ideas and new circumstances, are certainly causing the Chinese to act in new ways and on new lines; but of their mettle or spirit itself, long residence in China inclines us to think, "Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose."

It would not in any case be fair to the Chinese to suggest that General Yen and General Fêng are instances of China's *changing* mettle. In every age she has had noble and earnest men, capable of the utmost devotion to the general good; the present age, one has to fear, is singularly poor in them. Why, among one-third of the human race are there so few like "The Model Governor" and "The Christian General"? It is to be noted, moreover, that neither of these does his good work with the aid of Republican or democratic ideas; both are soldiers, and issue commands to be obeyed; they are in fact, benevolent despots, just as the good Chinese Emperors always were. For our part, if we could see one such at the helm in each province in the land, and a super-

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such at Peking, we should not care what became of this so-called "Republic." Confucius said: "What is necessary is to rectify names." Here certainly is one which clamours for rectification!

Perhaps the greatest change in China is the attitude adopted towards women. Such women as Miss Tsêng (Chapter VIII), Dr. Mary Stone and Dr. Ida Kahn were impossible in China till recent years; that is, women with a sphere of usefulness beyond the home. Yet if we mistake not, Chinese women have often by sheer force of character and native ability greatly influenced their country's fortunes indirectly, through their sons and their husbands; now they are becoming liberated and enlightened, and while the few work in public ways, the many it is to be expected will in private life have a greatly increased influence. Even while the men are playing with their Republic (or should we say, Republics?) the new women are building the better China that is to be, within the limits of that potent institution—the Chinese Family.

The writer and her niece went from one mission station to another, and needless to say, report warm receptions.

Whatever faults the missionaries may have, they are not generally accused of inhospitality. A strange white face is often a great treat and these two visitors belong to a family which has given greatly in many ways to China missions and so would be doubly welcome. The authoress makes it clear that she is true to the family traditions, and is heartily in favour of missions when carried on on broad and sympathetic lines. Indeed, "the use of the eyelids" in this matter may be thought by some readers both Chinese and foreign to have a good deal of scope.

Miss Kemp tells us in her preface why she wrote the book; first, because she was "consumed with a desire that people should know what is happening in China," and second, because she wished "to summon the Chinese themselves to their great task to act as true patriots," and so on.

In the first desire, if we allow for the *couleur de rose*, she has been to a large extent successful; but when she says that "the self-seeking, ambitious, unscrupulous Chinese . . . are dragging China to the verge of the precipice, *through their fear of foreign foe as well as home treachery*, this is something more than rose-colour; it is a splash of crimson lake. (The italics are ours).

There are a number of mis-statements of fact in the book as distinguished from opinions for and against which much might be said. The "beautiful golden-roofed temple" (p. 152) visited at Changsha was the Confucian temple, and not that of the statesman Chia I, which though interesting is obscure and seldom visited. Again, it is misleading to translate Kweichow as the

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"Land of Demons." Its present name 貴州 means the Honourable or Valuable Territory. The province has only been incorporated with the Chinese Empire for two centuries. If before that it was called "The Land of Demons," this was in accordance with very ancient usage found for example in the *Shih Ching* (see Legge p. 141), where Chung Kuo (China) is contrasted with the Demon Regions (foreign countries). The same ancient usage is responsible for the once universal epithet "foreign devil." Once more, on p. 24, the Shantung Christian University in Tsinanfu is credited with having (in 1920) a teaching staff of about twenty-six and about one hundred students, in addition to those in the pre-medical course. The twenty-six professors did not have such a good time as all that, however, as there were at that very period between three and four hundred students.

But a much more curious slip occurs on p. 31 anent the native city of Shanghai. We read, "The old native city, just the same picturesque, dirty, crowded spot that it was hundred of years ago, surrounded by its three-and-a-half mile wall, of which the gates are still shut at night." Now the facts are that these walls and gates all disappeared shortly after the Revolution of 1911; and that the whole city is so much improved as not to be worth visiting, its former attractions of Stench, Squalor and Dirt having been so toned down as to be no worse than in the adjacent parts of the foreign settlements.

These examples will suffice to show that not all of the statements in the book are by any means final: but alas! whenever the sad truth is rubbed in that the British share in modern educational work in China is utterly unworthy of the British name, the authoress is only too correct.

Chapter IX on "The Youth of China" is one the English-speaking Chinese—probably a student and almost certainly young—will turn to with lively interest, though the best words of all on this subject occur in the Preface. They are, "The vital need of to-day is for honest, incorruptible, educated Chinese." In this admirable saying the weighty adjectives are in the proper order: the Chinese (whom we wish Miss Kemp would not call Chinamen) constantly put "educated" first,—with lamentable results.

All who teach the youth of China know what a tremendous amount of fine raw material there is among them. Their glow over high ideals, their quick response to what is noble in them, their gratitude for faithful teaching and even faithful rebuke, make them good pupils. The problem is how these high ideals and noble impulses are to be conserved in the environment into which the young people are plunged when their student course is ended.

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Too often what happens is like the bringing up of a plant from the tropics into a Chefoo winter. The environment wins.

We do not know how far a cultured English lady's book of exquisite pictures (in the Western mode) coupled with a kindly and generous estimate of things Chinese will help the situation, even when it has a Foreword by H.E. the present Chinese Minister to Washington; but it ought to encourage and stimulate all the Chinese who read it.

The Psychology of Progress, or the thirty-seven Principles of Bodhi. By the Anagarika Dharmapala. Calcutta, the Maha-Bodhi Society.

We hardly know why this little book has been sent us. We open it and read that "Where the skandhas operate there is dukkha." This gives us no joy, nor are we helped by the warning against tanhaic desires. In fact the 30 pages of more or less unintelligible matter would put us off from Buddhism if ever we had been inclined to it.

The International Review of Missions. London, Jan. 1922.

We call the special attention of our readers to this number, since it contains a valuable bibliography of missionary literature of the last ten years. The price of the number is raised to 5/- but the subscription for the year is 10/6 as before, so that to annual subscribers the bibliographical supplement comes as a free gift. The number has several other important papers.

We have received *Harvey's Annual* full of Christmas stories, and the Christmas number of the *Maritime Bulletin* (No. 4) issued by the Maritime Co. of the S. V. C. In the avalanche of Calendars, etc., for 1922 the *Review* has been favoured by one firm and one only,—Messrs. Hall & Holtz, to whom it is obliged. M. A. B. comes quarterly, telling us all about Fisher Unwin's publications, and it is well worth its shilling a year to all who love books.

Some very important works about China have been issued recently or are announced for immediate publication. Sir Charles

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Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism* and Sir Aurel Stein's *Serindia* are two really great works. New editions are ready of Juliet Bredon's *Peking* and of Mennie's splendid *Pageant of Peking;* and the second volume of the *History of Shanghai* by Lanning and Couling is in the press. The first volume of this last work is rather severely criticized by Cordier in the latest number of the *T'oung Pao.*

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THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

VOL. IV. APRIL, 1922 No. 2

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The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS not accepted for publication.

When accepted articles are printed, ten copies will be sent to the writer.

The subscription for the six numbers of 1922 is Mex. $7.50 or the equivalent, post free.

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Books for review should be sent to the Editor as early as possible.

Editor: *SAMUEL COULING.*

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THE NEW

CHINA REVIEW

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KWAN-TSZ

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

(*Continued from page 413, Vol. III*)

VI. AGRICULTURE, TRADE, FINANCE, ETC.

The cultivation of the soil must have military protection; the taxation should be light and there should be no extravagance, a fair proportion only of the produce being taken, and ill-feeling between classes reduced to a minimum. Land should not be left untilled, and care should be taken to keep down forest fires and promote the due growth of vegetation; irrigation should be secured by means of reservoirs, and special attention given to hemps and the mulberry; orderly cultivation should be carried out in accordance with the instructions [given here], and attention paid to the comparative rises and falls in the values of grain and money, the cultivation being in relation to or in proportion to the prince's commands; and remember that full granaries mean empty prisons. Unless the utmost care be bestowed by the prince upon this question of cultivation, the prince becomes a parasite. Besides hemp and the mulberry, there is the important question of domestic animals to be considered, and the economic capacity of the State must be judged by its scant years [theories given]; for there can be no solidity if people lie dead on the roads from starvation, if they have to sell their children for food, or if they have to run about borrowing a meal or two from each other. The value of economy, the evil of waste and luxury,

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the advisability of popular stores of food to fall back upon, the unwisdom of futile expenditures with only small capital resources—all these questions must be considered in judging of a country's administration. Agriculturalists should be careful not to miss their season: the people should know no idle days, and wealth should not be kept inert out of circulation. Pythias 鮑叔 was the statesman particularly charged with questions of cultivation, and under his administration it increased as litigation decreased, but forced labour rules seem to have been severely insisted upon. The principle was also insisted upon that the various kinds or qualities of land should be shared equally, and that wealth should be measured by the people's interest, too many cattle not being taken for sacrificial purposes. Under new laws the tax on grain seems to have been fixed at 640 pints (or litres) on every hundred "stone" (cwt.) weight, which would work out at about 10 per cent.; but a free range over marsh, hill and jungle was allowed, and easy octroi terms at the markets,—presumably on the game caught. Enquiry was periodically made as to what cultivation was achieved by, and for how many in, the family; what loans of grain by indenture were locally made; how long the grain stores were calculated to last, coupled with minute directions as to army stores. After his Tartar conquests (in the neighbourhood of modern Peking), the Duke carried his northerly explorations eastwards, followed the practice of the ancient kings in superintending cultivation, and introduced (into China proper) lentils and good eating onions*; at all times the two solstices seem to have been the pivot points regulating husbandry.

In one section there is a sort of religious or philosophical dissertation upon land as the nursery of all things and of all human qualities. Like Thales and Homer, Kwan-tsz, or some of his school, showed a tendency to regard water as the principle of everything, being as it is the basis of both veins and muscles; his theories of the lowliness and inexorable passive power of water as an incident in *tao* or "the nature of things" is also developed (and possibly copied) in the 8th and 78th sections of Lao-tsz's *Tao-têh King*, water being there "the house of *tao*," and "the instrument of rulers"; hence the *shui shên*, or "spirit of water," is to be found in everything. In a sense, man is also water, for the male and female distillations united "cause this water to circulate" and the fœtus to imbibe, grow, and be born. Water is also supposed to affect the breed or quality of men; and here

* Some years ago a literary man in Llanrwst invited me to examine his theory that Chinese onions were introduced from Hindu-kush regions.

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it is noticeable that, of the seven "countries" known, none were south of the Yangtze or west of the Shensi Gorges. It is only fair, however, to add that the native commentators, for sound reasons given, consider this feature of philosophy to have been added centuries after Kwan-tsz's death, so that the views reminiscent of the later Taoist philosophers Lao-tsz and Chwang-tsz may also belong to their reputed authors after all and not to the "sacred kings of old." However that may be, "the Holy Man" (*i.e.*, the heaven-born ruler) "reforms and governs the world through its waters."

There is frequent allusion to profiteering and speculation in grain: it appears to have been the practice of the people to borrow at usurious rates in order to satisfy their superiors' demands. Rich people used to buy up the grain cheap in the autumn, selling at extortionate rates in spring, thus forcing the cultivator, unable to meet his liabilities, either to take flight or to incur punishment; as a matter of fact, Kwan-tsz proceeds, there is nothing so important to the state as the widest cultivation and accumulation of grain, and the crops should be variously dealt with according to whether the year is a good one or a bad one: when agricultural implements are provided, that means also that warlike equipment is ready; when agriculture is active, every one is thus prepared for war; the duties for each of the four seasons are fixed for everyone by the courses of Nature; allotments of land and management of the River and other matters are taken in hand by the administration; and it is plain from all this that the various states in those days engineered the troublesome Yellow River under a common understanding quite as well as later generations have done under one concentrated management. Kwan-tsz mentions the well-known botanical work *Pên-ts'ao* by name: of course he means not the developed work of A.D. 1600, but the original nucleus of a work or manual on botany and cultivation universally ascribed in subsequent centuries to hoary antiquity at a time when disjointed "notes," "sayings," and ballads in primitive and inelastic script, were the highest result of literary effort, intended merely to eke out and perpetuate the pith of what was generally committed to memory only: he describes in detail the methods of cultivation, qualities of soil, and the suitable crops, with occasional allusions to itch and such maladies, together with their antidotes. The commentators agree in ascribing this dissertation to the genuine Kwan-tsz, and say that in minuteness of detail it is in advance even of the *Chou Li*, that is to say of the statutes of the great civilizing Chou dynasty of B.C. 1100 to 300. Unfortunately the style thus vindicated is so antique,

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and the nomenclature is so vague and irregular that very little botanical information can be extracted by the light of the same names as they are used in modern times : much of the text seems to be in four word rhyme or at least rhythm, which strengthens the above view of genuine antiquity.

Kwan-tsz (in this part at least) applies the terms spring and autumn "solstice" to the two equinoxes*; he says that planting should begin 25 days after the "spring solstice" and three-tenths of the gathered grain should be put by each year, thus providing a continuous five years' surplus after ten years; there are dissertations upon alternation of crops and averages, and also upon the natural level rather than the artificial rates that should exist between grain and money values; the words used for "grain" are elusive, and whether hill rice,† millet, corn, or what not is meant in any particular case is not always or even often at all clear. Heavy gold rewards were offered to successful breeders, silk-rearers and discoverers of medicinal herbs.

One chapter treats of the area of China, its rivers, metals, timber and grain, there being a sufficiency of everything for all willing to work and capable of exerting themselves, but not for the inert and stupid. Every man should till and every woman should weave, otherwise some individual must go hungry or go cold to balance the individual lack in production. Forest fires, the object of which in their inception was apparently to drive game into suitable position for the hunters, were also found an excellent preparation for the fertilization of new vegetation. Monopoly of vegetable growing in the neighbourhood of large towns should be forbidden, and measures should be taken at the same time to protect the interests of small cultivators and market gardeners. Every husbandman needs a plough, a large hoe, a bill-hook, a weeding hoe, a beetle and a sickle; every wagon should be provided with ax, saw, nave-ring, gimlet, chisels of two kinds and axle-connector. Fvery housewife requires knife, awl, needles and knitting needles. As to currency, the five grains (corn, rice, hemp, millet, pulse, etc.) count as such in part, being the people's staff of life produced by the people; whilst gold, iron-knife tokens, and cloth are the circulating currency controlled or managed by the producing people's superiors: it is simply a question of give and take; if the ruler fails to make the people's food supply go round, the people will make things

* The word *chī*, or "arrival." Usually the equinoxes are called *fēn* or "division."

† Paddy, even now, can scarcely be called a Yellow River Valley crop.

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disagreeable for him and the State is then liable to collapse for lack of fighters ; in this respect they, whether rulers or ruled, are all at a disadvantage compared with trees, which follow nature's and not human arrangements, and thus survive all tempests and stresses of weather.

Part of Kwan-tsz's country (the Yellow River delta and North Shan Tung) was then, as now, subject to sudden flood, and consequently part of the harvest frequently failed : the question was " How to balance things ?" Answer, Keep stocks tight in hand according to the time of the year, and prevent speculators from profiteering ; a plan is also recommended for conferring personal distinctions upon those who successfully gather in and accumulate for use as required large reserves of the five grains.

The following description of quasi-religious methods is interesting as displaying at the same time some scientific arrangement : 46 days from the winter solstice, winter ends and spring begins : the King or Emperor, clad in sombre raiment, sallies out due east 46 *li*, (15 miles) from his capital to the altar, there sacrificing fish to the sun, holding courts, making inspections, and delivering commands ; during this close period there is no taking of life and no punishments are inflicted ; a picture of popular life is here sketched out ; another 46 days (92 from the winter solstice) is the spring " solstice " (equinox), when the King again travels out east, this time 92 *li*, in order to sacrifice to the stars : trade and barter are active ; the whole population is now busy ; for ten days not a maid in doors, not a tramp on the roads : all are cultivating ; 46 more days and summer begins (when the King, clad in yellow, holds a court) ; *i.e.*, 92 days to the summer solstice, at which time the corn ripens and the Emperor sacrifices some of it to his ancestors : 46 days from the summer solstice autumn begins, with more sacrifices to ancestors, after which another 46 days to the autumn solstice, when the Emperor or King, clothed in white, proceeds from his capital westwards for 138 *li* in order to sacrifice to the moon ; finally a period of 46 days brings things back to the winter solstice, when the King wears black and travels out 92 *li* to the north. All this seems to be extracted from the royal *Chou* statutes which were probably current, in theory at least, in most of the vassal states ; it does not sound like original Kwan-tsz, but is probably a later interpolation, based upon the royal statutes and made to illustrate his own opinions upon local agricultural economy : at any rate 368 days seem to have been roughly estimated as an agricultural year for rule-of-thumb practical matters ; and, though the year

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was lunar,* the agricultural division of the year into working seasons was unmistakably solar: it must be remembered that Confucius also based his "seasons" upon the "small calendar" of the first hereditary dynasty (about B.C 2200-1800), and that we still have it on full record.

There is necessarily some overlapping and repetition in the inculcation of government principles; it seems that royal as well as ducal or vassal laws and calendar arrangements were publicly promulgated much after the present fashion from the Tynwald in the Isle of Man. † All passion in affairs of State is denounced—whether joy, rage, desire or hate—as being bad in principle for successful government, which always demands an equable and calm rule: the people cannot be flagellated into reforms, which should be gradual, timely and demonstrably profitable. Those in power should have definite aims, and their success must be judged by the measure in which they secure the people's respect. Elective graduated home rule seems to have been general in Kwan-tsz's duchy, but insistence is laid by him upon the necessity of certainty and good faith in executing punitory laws, and upon the evils of farming out or selling official power and emolument; failure and weakness, he says, run inseparably together, whilst divided counsels are apt to mean ruin; rank and pay should only go to those who are worthy of it; at the same time there should be a friendly and confidential feeling between subordinates and superiors, the latter not striving to shine alone, but giving credit to their assistants. Whilst laws must be punctually executed, yet it must be remembered that popular acceptance and approval is desirable, and these laws must not weigh so heavily as to terrorise. There should on the one hand be no rewards except for *bonâ fide* deserts, and on the other no punishments except under existing laws or ordinances. There were, it appears, in Kwan-tsz's time five divisional ministries, and the right of subordinates to address the prince was subsequently introduced, as also the practice of gradually making more permanent the despatch of envoys to allied states, or to states whose alliance might at any time be found useful; amongst the influential men was Yen-tsz 晏子, stated by one of the commentators to have been the ancestor of the well-known philosopher Yen-tsz of Confucius' time, himself an eminent statesman and a special envoy to other states; in fact he was present when

* M. Léopold de Saussure has recently published in the *T'oung Pao* some valuable papers on the Chinese year.

† This *Tyn* seems to be the *Ting* or *Thing* of Scandinavian "assemblies."

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his ducal master attempted an act of treachery, which Confucius defeated. It is not always easy to follow the administrative divisions into hamlets, parishes, hundreds, counties, and so on, the more so in that under Kwan-tsz's long premiership of forty years or more, frequent changes and modifications took place; apart from the fact that in order to conceal his ambitious military organization from rival states and their prying envoys, Kwan-tsz devised a double system of names* under which civilian and territorial divisions should run secretly and concurrently with military divisions, battalions and companies, so that at any given moment the effective power of the state might be immediately transformed and the ploughshare literally become the sword: the idea was to establish co-operation and solidarity between the economical and the political interests of each individual, so that every landholder or farmer might feel at once, when called upon to take arms, that he was fighting for his own purse, for the benefit of his relatives, and for the general welfare of his fellow-villagers and the whole state, and be fully conscious that the state was fighting not only for the prince's behests, but also for him personally. Hence Kwan-tsz descants upon the joys of hereditary cultivation, the beneficence of trade and exchange, the striking need of certain importations in order to fashion commodities and arms, and the necessity for "balancing" the markets.† Damon (Kwan-tsz) and Pythias (Pao Shuh) were two of the five counsellors, or ministers of state, under whose general administration the country seems to have reached its highest condition of proficiency and efficiency. The principles inculcated were compassion for the defenceless, rewards for the deserving in all ranks of life; relief to orphans, widows, etc.; conciliatory tolerance towards wastrels, failures in life, and penniless debtors; a system of circuit enquiry into individual family circumstances,—such as how much land was lying fallow, how much under tillage, what personal reputations for filial piety and fraternal feeling; what indenture loans of grain and borrowings of means were made by poor educated men; what strangers and foreigners were harboured, and by whom; what objects of public importance, such as silver and copper, were kept undisclosed; what lack of decency existed between the sexes; what special abilities were unemployed; how long the stores of grain were calculated to last; what equipments were ready and what army provision; rigid inspection of strangers; proper road and

* The Reichswehrpolizei of 1921 were thus "invented" by Kwan-tsz.

† In other words he foresaw the "exchange" troubles of 1921.

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market arrangements, with a single inclusive tax only ; toll-gates on the 16 high-roads ; controlling police over officials as well as over ordinary persons ; uniformity of weights and measures, axle-breadths and script.

It is pointed out how fatal to the public interest is any difficulty in extracting the necessary formal orders from the prince, and how further fatal is the fact of these orders being obstructed even when so extracted, and of plaints never reaching his ear. The successful intrigue of courtiers means confusion, for official appointments should be made on a strict basis, and not by favour. If the wrong way of doing things is discerned to be the fault of the highest in the social scale, then the people get habituated in their humbler sphere to ignoring orders and thus incur the penalty of resistance to what should be lawful commands ; hence even when ordinances are good, the people develop cunning habits of wilful disobedience ; thus it comes round that the fault is with the lowest in the social scale, and unless the prince discerns this fact, endless complications result. Thus the prince must be an effective one if the people are to revert to natural good order ; yet an intelligent prince must not be too inelastic and conservative, but must allow modifications according to the circumstances of the times. It must be remembered that the people are impulsive, and often require checks as well as encouragements ; thus, without extravagance or caprice, there should be firm prohibitions as well as liberal rewards. Nothing can be better than order, and nothing is worse than anarchy. Never forget that tenderness may do more harm than good, but remember it is content that breeds respect for law and order ; however our 79 Kings or Emperors of the past may have modified their means of attaining this law-abiding contentment, their object has always been the same. There are three *sine qua non* for gaining the people's hearts, to wit, family security, homestead security and ancestral-tombs security ; sympathy, kindness, no harsh compulsion—these are all very well in their way ; but the difficulty is to do, not much, but a little well : if there be no kindness, there is dissatisfaction ; if no sympathy, then aversion ; if force be too readily applied, the people try to escape ; if harsh measures be adopted, they will not immigrate. Then be true, loyal and strict with your principles (*li* 禮) and they will love, fear and admire you. What is the first thing to do with the people ? If the elements and crops are favourable check excess and impose moderation : if the year be bad, then husband resources : in other words collect in good, dispense in bad seasons. Of the five plagues to agriculture—floods, drought, storms, epidemics, insects,—the

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first is the most ravaging ; hence every stream must be properly utilized, and aqueducts must be formed ; a water ministry must secure the water supply, and the staff of this ministry must arrange allotments of land. Follow the people's natural bent, and do not overwork them : it is only their own interest that secures the people to you : treat them properly, they love you ; improperly, they hate you ; it is the "action by night" or the "heart action" —in other words, the commentator says the invisible *intention* —that does it. Cruel rulers and violent parents produce disloyal subjects and unfilial children ; great failings in these respects will not be redeemed by minor virtues ; on the other hand, minor personal peccadilloes do not seriously affect public virtue ; it is like the unsightly irregular faces forming the grand mountain side taken as a grand whole. Secretly filched pleasures and gains only bring sorrow and loss. When you once give your consent, stick to it, and for this reason consent should never be given improperly. Small efforts produce small results ; great efforts, great results according to whether we take a family, a village, a country, or the whole empire view of action : in other words, unless rulers and people co-operate, the laws and ordinances do not run in the land. Share advantages with the people, and you will be safe.

Note.—The advice given to Sün-tsz 荀卿 or 孫況 to the King of Ts'in three or four centuries later is evidently largely based upon what Kwan-tsz said. Sün-tsz's views have been, or will be, published in the *New China Review*, so that readers can compare notes.

VII. Propriety and Justice.

One outstanding difference between the practical and administrative philosopher Kwan-tsz and the moral conservative pedagogue Confucius is the subordinate place given to *Li-i* 禮義 or "observances and right feeling" by the former as compared with the *ultima ratio* of natural law or *tao* on the one hand, and democratic equality on the other : he insists that for the prince's commands or laws (ling令) to run, you need the four essentials (*sz-wei* 四維), namely, observances, right, incorruptibility and a sense of shame, in all which respects superiors must set the example to their correlative inferiors ; decent forms secure respect, and right principles do not vary, though the application of them may : hence the need of deference and propriety, as for instance in clothing ; hence also the necessity for tact and politeness in small matters. It is significant that the commentators add : "No doubt Kwan-tsz is right on the whole, so long at least as "he is within the bounds of *tao*." If good results are expected,

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affairs must be in accordance with *li-i*; if there be no proper form (*li*), you will not master the Empire, if there be no right principle (*i*) you will not master individual men: it will be seen, after comparison with what is said of *tao*, that in Kwan-tsz's mind all three expressions seem to be aspect or phases of the same abstract notion, just as with us the words religion, right, justice, propriety, tact and law are all varieties of the "correct thing to do" according to the environment of the moment: hence Kwan-tsz counsels silence under a sense of wrong, for ill words spoken cannot be recalled, and people soon grow habituated to being good, just as (a commentator elegantly adds) one ceases to observe the special fragrance of the orchid after the nose has been persistently applied to it. There are in *tao* three invariables (*san ch'ang* 三常); Heaven or Nature has invariable manifestations (*siang* 象), Earth or the World has invariable features (*hing* 形), whilst Man has invariable *li i*. Kwan-tsz evidently had in his mind the 2,400 years later saying of Goethe :—

Ein guter Mensch in seinem dunkeln Drange
Ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst.

Great indeed and uncostly are the results of politeness, coupled with self-control; good for all times, persons and purposes, always becoming to witness, equally effective upon even the savage mind, whilst the lack of it even disgusts one's own parents; it is simply the *tao* of the former Kings of old. In chapter 12 the modern expression "Chinese people" (*chung-kwoh chï-jên*) occurs, but the commentator rightly explains that this means "that part of China in possession of *lì i*," "which in fact is the sense in which the ancient classics—*e.g.*, the Odes and the Rites—use the term; this term, like the word Rome or Roman, was gradually extended from a single city to cover all Europe under the original nucleus of that civilization. In chapter 13 Kwan-tsz presents another aspect; he says humanity is *i*, and human relations are *li*, in the maintenance of which nothing is so effective as mutual respect (*king* 敬); the civilization developed by these two (*li-i chī wên-kiao*) 文教 has a chance of success if people will only trust and follow example; but always be strict with your *li*; which may be defined as fundamental good faith coupled with deference. *Li* is the speciality of Man, just as the climbing propensity of monkeys is their speciality; and this propriety or *li* is exhibited in clothing as well as physical bearing. All rulers should desire their people to possess *li* and *i*, without which there is confusion of class (*shang-hia lwan*) and rivalry between the patrician and plebeian (*Kwei-tsien chêng* 貴賤爭): the principle of *li i* must therefore be insisted upon. The

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first crude notions of *li* were made clear to the people when an ancient Emperor distinguished his chief minister and future Emperor by giving him timber door-posts to mark the entry to his dwelling; but full granaries are the best way to encourage polite forms (*li-tsieh'* 禮節) among the people; if food and clothing are ample they will distinguish easily enough for themselves between distinction and abasement; as for the present, you Sir Duke, have only to act according to right (*i*): [it is remarkable that these last words are Mencius' opening text three centuries later, and as Sün-tsz uses them too, it is probable that both "peripatetics" borrowed consciously or unconsciously from Kwan-tsz.]

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VERSE TRANSLATIONS OF MENCIUS.

[More than one of our contributors has conceived the idea that suitable portions of Mêng-tzŭ might be turned into readable English verse. We are glad to give some examples, and hope the experiments may result in some criticisms and suggestions from our readers.—*Editor.*]

By IVAN D. ROSS, M.A.

Mencius: Kao Tsï, Part I.

CHAP. I. KAO TSÏ said:

The stuff that makes the human soul
Is like the willow-tree,
From which we fashion cup and bowl;
So human nature, by control
May train'd to virtue be.

MENCIUS replied:

From willow-trees we do not gather
The self-grown cup and bowl, but rather
We strain and bend and turn;
Pervert the willow's natural course
By using artificial force,
And such result we earn.
But will you say that virtue's end
Is followed, when we strain and bend
The souls of men to learn?
Such doctrines will mislead mankind,
Pervert the names of "good" and "kind,"
And cause of moral ruin find;
Your teachings we must spurn.

CHAP. II. KAO TSÏ said:

The stuff that makes the human soul
Is like a river's flow;

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East lies the course ? To East 'twill roll ;
Or West ? Then towards a Western goal
Th' indifferent stream will go.
The water can no contrast find
'Twixt East and West ; and so mankind
Has no instinctive power of mind
The good or bad to know.

MENCIUS replied :

The water, truly, knows no end,
That East or West its course might tend ;
But when the streams their waters send,
Will they flow up or down ?
The water hurries down the hill,
And human nature has no ill
In its original, but still
By following, like the downward rill
The innate good is shown.
You strike the water with your hand,
And o'er your head it flies ;
You dam across the sloping land,
And o'er the hills 'twill rise.
But this is not the way to show
The water's tendency to flow ;
Its course in nature we must try,
And then we find it must comply
With law of flowing down.
So men, by circumstance compell'd
To evil acts, must still be held
Original good to own.

Mencius Book IV (Li Leo I)

CHAP. I. §7. 城郭不完 . . . 粟無日矣.

Wherefor it is said :

Your city-walls may moulder into dust,
Your soldiers perish and their armour rust,
And still the kingdom's glory may abide ;
Your fields may lie unbroken by the plow,
Your gathered wealth may vanish like the snow,
And still your country lift her head in pride ;
When princes violate fair courtesy's rule,

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And lesser nobles fail their minds to school,—
Then tribes of robbers o'er the nation ride,
And not a day shall pass but woe betide.

CHAP. XIX. 事孰爲大 . . . 則可謂養志也.

MENCIUS said:

Wouldst thou serve others? First then serve thy kin.
Wouldst thou guard conduct? With thy self begin.
Who fails not his own actions to keep clean,
Can cherish those who gave him life, I ween;
Who wastes his powers in loose and violent ways,
Can never win the filial son's high praise.

For filial duty makes all service whole;
The root of conduct lies in self-control.
When Tseng Tzŭ served Tseng Hsi, his ancient sire,
He brought what wine and flesh he might require;
The meal at end, before one cleared the board,
In gentle duty, he would ask his lord
If further sust'nance the old man should need,—
Who, asking if the house could more afford,
Tseng Tzŭ ne'er failed his wishes to concede.
The old man died, and Tseng Tzŭ by his son
Tseng Yüan was cared for. Wine and flesh upon
The board were set; but, when the meal was o'er,
Tseng Yüan ne'er asked his sire if haply more
Was needed; but to his request replied,
The house could no more luxuries provide
(Fearing his father's charity would scatter
The dainties meant to fill the next day's platter).
Tseng Yüan but fed the body's grosser matter;
To serve like Tseng Tzŭ, feeds a father's heart.
In filial duty, Tseng Tzŭ chose the better part.

CHAP. XVI. 以善服人者 . . . 未之有也.

MENCIUS said:

The prince that would employ a rigid code
To force all men into a common mode
Of good, shall surely fail in his attempt;
But he who gently leads along the road
Of virtue, from such failure is exempt,—
Nay, more, the Empire shall confess his sway,
Who governs men, but rules not in their hearts,
From his Imperial station soon departs.

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CHAP. XVIII. 仲尼亟稱於水 . . . 是之取爾.

Hsü Tzŭ said:

Confucius oft addressed the flowing stream
Saying "O Water!, Water!" What might seem
To be the lesson of the flowing stream?

MENCIUS replied:

The water bubbles from its source,
Unceasing night or day;
If fills the hollows in its course,
And wanders on with restless force
To find the ocean-way.
E'en so the man whose conduct draws
Its root from nature's moral laws.
So did Confucius say.

Li Leo II.

CHAP. I. 舜生於諸馮 . . . 其揆一也.

MENCIUS said:

'T was in Chü Feng that Shun was born;
Later, he moved to Fu Hsia;
He died in Min T'iao;
An Eastern borderman was he.
Wen Wang was born in Ch'i Cheo;
He died in Pi Yin;
He was a man of the Western border.

Their homesteads lie a thousand li apart;
A thousand years divide them, age from age;
Yet one the purpose of each royal heart
To rule the Middle Kingdom, justice sage
And mild paternal government, their art.
Ye tear the covenant-recording page,
This takes the one, and that the other part,
To witness truth when piece with piece is joined;—
So does the mind of Shun agree with Wen Wang's mind.
The earlier sage, the sage of later day,
Are one in purpose, walking in one way.

CHAP. II. 子產聽鄭國之政 . . . 曰亦不足也.

In the Kingdom of Cheng, Tzŭ Ts'an was a lord
Who drove in his chariot over the ford
Of the waters of Ts'ou or the waters of Wei,

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And there from the dawn to the end of the day
He carried the wayfarers over the flood.

Said MENCIUS:

His action was kind, but his method not good.
The months of winter, by our ancient laws,
Should be employed in curing all the flaws
That spoil our bridges: in th' eleventh month
Foot-bridges need our care, and in the twelfth
The larger beams that bear our carriage-roads
Should be repaired. If these are duly mended,
Then passengers will find their hardships ended.

The Prince who rules his land with level sway,
Can safely pass his subjects in the way,
Nor turn aside to help; how should he linger
To save each single swain with his own finger?
For, busied with affairs of state,
He cannot well ingratiate
Himself with every common wight;
For such a task, his time's too slight.

By W. J. CLENNELL

[*A small portion of these translations has already appeared elsewhere.*]

Mencius visits King Hui (Mencius Bk I. i. c. i. to v.)

I.

I saw King Hui in Pienliang, and he said,
"Yo have not grudged three hundred miles of road
To pay me visit, Teacher; may I ask
If you bring ought of profit for my throne?"
And I replied;—"So please your Majesty,
Why need we speak of profit? For, behold,
Kindness and Justice,—do not these suffice?
Kings say,—let me win profit for my throne,
And nobles,—how win profit for my house?
Scholars and common folk, who ape the great,
Say,—how can we earn profit for ourselves?
Each grasps the other's gains, and thus the land
Falls into dangerous anarchy and strife.
For, in a kingdom whose embattled host
Counts chariots ten thousand, each of which
Has its attendant company, there lurks
Some lordly thousand-chariot vassal bold,

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Who will rebel and slay his prince for gain ;
And, in that vassal's thousand-chariot throng,
Retainers with a hundred will aspire
To slay their lord and break their fealty.
One part in ten is plenty, but when hearts
Harden with greed no plenty satisfies.
Treason will surely rule where gain spells right,
And none be satisfied with what he owns.
But in the realm of men benevolent
None will forsake his kindred or his prince,
But all keep peace and loving loyalty."

II.

King Hui in Pienliang stood beside his pond,
And watched the geese and deer that gambolled there ;
" Do such as strive for right find joy in these ?"
Mocking, he asked me, and I answered ;—"Yea !
'Tis not their chief joy, yet it glads their heart ;
While they who seek not righteousness, my Liege,
Though they may have these things, no ease they know.
You know the ancient ballads, where they tell
How, when King Wen of old was Lord of Chou,
He fenced a park two dozen miles about,—
(Yours, as I think, is but some ten miles round)
And built therein a lofty pleasure-tower ;
And all who planned and built that pleasance ran,
Flocking like children to some merry game,
Until he chid them for their too great zeal.
They called the Tower the "Spirits' Tower" for joy ;
They called the Park the "Spirits' Paradise ;"
King Wen lived in that peaceful Spirits' Park,
And there the stags and hinds grazed fat and sleek,
And there the white birds perched that gleamed like snow,
And there the fishes leapt for very joy !
O King, there was a reason for their mirth,
For folk of old shared their good king's delights,
And thus they joyed together, he and they.
But let me quote another ancient saw ;—
Ere T'ang o'erthrew the tyrannous Chieh Kuei,
Men cursed that monster, saying, "Let us die ;
" Our king has sworn his power doth match the Sun,
" And, till the Sun no longer lights the sky,
" He'll be our master ; let us therefore die."
Although he had a Tower and a Pond
He dwelt alone and found no gladness there."

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III.

King Hui replied : "Though I have little worth,
And less success, yet do I strive to rule.
There is no prince of all the kingdoms round
Who works more earnestly than my endeavours.
When there was famine westward of Huangho,
I moved the people to the eastern shore ;
Should there be famine eastward, I have plans
For wholesale transport to the western bank.
No sovereign takes such pains to rule as I.
And yet my neighbours grow more strong than I ;—
How is it that my kingdom lacks increase ?"
To whom I answered : "You are fond of War.
In war, then, I will find analogy.
Suppose the drums beat loud for battle, but
The vanguard cast their weapons far away,
And scatter panic-stricken from the field.
Some run a hundred paces ere they halt,
And some but fifty ; tell me, may these last
Jibe, and reproach those others for their flight ?"—
"Nay, for they all played coward," laughed the king.
"King,—if you know this, then you need not hope
By rule like yours to top the neighbour states.
I tell you ; if the tiller of the soil
Finds not his season's labour disarrayed,
The fields will give more food than men can eat.
If no fine nets be set to rake the pools
More than sufficient fish will breed therein ;
If woodmen do not strip the hillsides bare
More timber will they grow than builders use.
If grain and fish and wood surpass men's need
The living can be nourished, and the dead
Held in due honour through a happy land,
And so a Kingly Rule in truth prevail.
In every peasant's holding shall the swain
Plant mulberry and clothe his limbs in silk ;
Poultry and dogs and swine will so abound
That men of seventy will be filled with flesh.
Each season's labour orderly performed
Makes want and hunger vanish from your realm.
But where the dogs and swine consume men's food,—
Where no economy or plan is known,—
There naked corpses fester by the road,
And charity forsakes the hearts of men.

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For each declares,—" It is not I to blame,
" The fault lies in the seasons, not in me."
This is like slaying people with a knife
And saying, " Lo, it is the weapon's fault."
O King, blame not the seasons, but believe
If you ruled right, with true economy,
All under Heaven would flock to join your sway."

IV.

Then quoth King Hui : " A lonely man am I,
Such is the fate of Kings,—the King is one,—
But, if it can be that as friend to friend,
You will instruct me quietly, pray, speak !"
" What is the difference,—I then began,—
'Twixt killing with a bludgeon or a blade ?"—
" None," was the answer.—"Or, between a blade
And slaying through unkindly governance ?
" They are alike " he said. And I rejoined,
" Your kitchens, King, are filled with fattened meats,
Your stables, King, with stately steeds abound,
And yet your people have a famished look,—
Starved in the wilds their weltering corpses rot ;—
So beasts are nourished till they prey on men.
If beasts eat one another, it breeds hate . . .
What fatherhood or motherhood is there
If he who should be parent to his land
Lacks power and will to stay the beasts of prey,
And beasts are more and more while men grow less ?
My Master, the renowned Confucius,
Said,—him who first stuffed images with straw
As puppet mourners in the halls of death,
And used such puppets for their human form,
Heaven cursed that he became a barren stock.
How would my Master blast a king, my liege,
Who let a famine-stricken people starve ?"

V.

King Hui went on.—" Of all our Chinese states,
None was more mighty than the realm of Chin,
Of which my kingdom, as you, Teacher, know,
With Chao and Han are offshoots. Yet, alas,
Since I succeeded to this far-famed throne,
What has befallen ? In my eastern war,
My first-born fell amidst the hosts of Ch'i ;—
My western neighbour, the fierce lord of Ts'in,

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Has robbed me, next, of twelve score miles of land;-
While on the south,—I speak it to my shame,—
The Yangtze kingdom of o'erweening Ch'u,
With baffling humiliation, drives
My stoutest armies backward.—I could die,
Would death wash out one tittle of my shame.
Explain, good Teacher, how can all the blows
Outrageous fortune deals me be allowed ?"
To this I answered simply, "Hear me, King,
The greatness of a state stands not in bulk.
Had you but thirty miles to own your rule,
You still could set a pattern for all kings.
Show mercy to your people; tax them light;
In fines and punishments be moderate;
Plough deep the land and weed it well, O King,
And sturdy subjects, loyal to your throne,
Would dwell as sons and brothers, side by side;—
At home all household duties well performed,
Elders and chieftains duly served abroad,
Though you were only armed with sticks and staves,
Not all the mail-clad warriors of Ts'in,
Not all the sharpened swords of warlike Ch'u,
Should daunt you when the hour of trial rang.
For I know Ch'u and Ts'in;—in those harsh lands
Men are so robbed of time by warlike calls
That fields lie rank, unweeded and unploughed;
Fathers and mothers freeze and famish there;
Brother is torn from brother; sons and wives
Are scattered broadcast through their bloody jars.
Their rulers trap and drown them, and, O King,
Who would oppose you, should you punish those ?
King, I beseech you, have no doubt at all,
The man of mercy has no enemies,
And Ts'in and Ch'u would welcome a true King!"

Mencius visits King Siang (Mencius, Book I. i. c. vi)

In Pienliang sat King Siang of Wei enthroned.
I gazed far off; he did not seem a king;
Nearer I drew, yet saw not anything
To move my reverence for him,—and I groaned!
Sudden the King spoke;—"This distracted realm,

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Who is there, Teacher, that shall put it right ?"
He, I replied, for whom all will unite ;
" Who least loves slaughter, King, can take the helm."
" But who's to give it ? "—" That all can, I cried,
After long drought, when the first raincloud lowers,
Who can withhold the grass and shrivelled flowers
From sucking moisture ? The whole countryside,
Craning its neck, thirsts for the freshening draught,
Yet this flock's shepherds know but blood and craft."

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THE INFLUENCE OF YÜAN SHIH-K'AI ON CHINESE COINS

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S.

Many years ago I saw a picture of Yüan Shih-k'ai in the garb of a fisherman in rainy weather, with a suit of straws, protruding at the shoulders, placidly angling in the silvery glitter of the streams of Honan, his native province. That was long before the revolution, and little did I imagine that his destiny was to lead him to become the first man of the land, much less did he too, realize then, that he was to meet eternal rest whilst occupying the Presidential Chair. In assuming the highest office in the government, on him devolved the pleasing prerogative of having his effigy placed on national coins. It was not so much the renown he achieved by virtue of his office, as his personality, which made him popular with the nation to the extent of sufficiently ingratiating himself in their esteem to render the feasibility of placing his effigy on the coins of the realm, *un fait accompli*. For many years antecedent to the revolution, dragon dollars had endeavoured, in a desultory manner, to displace the all-powerful Mexican dollar, but with indifferent success, and it devolved upon the Yüan Shih-k'ai dollar to consummate the exertions of its reptiled cousin, and this it did with a surprising degree of success. The popularity of the Yüan Shih-k'ai dollar, however, was not attained without a hard struggle, and although it first appeared during 1914, it was only in 1919 that it became generally known and currently accepted nearly all over China.

The original design shown in Type I was one depicting Yüan Shih-k'ai in half profile to the left, and was designed from a photograph by the fertile mind of Mr. L. Giorgi, who was at the time engraver under contract to the Tientsin (or Central) mint. This

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TYPE I

TYPE II

TYPE III

TYPE IV

TYPE V

REVERSE OF TYPES I/V

ENLARGEMENTS SHOWING VARIETIES OF DIES
(Note the centre horizontal stroke)

PLATE I.

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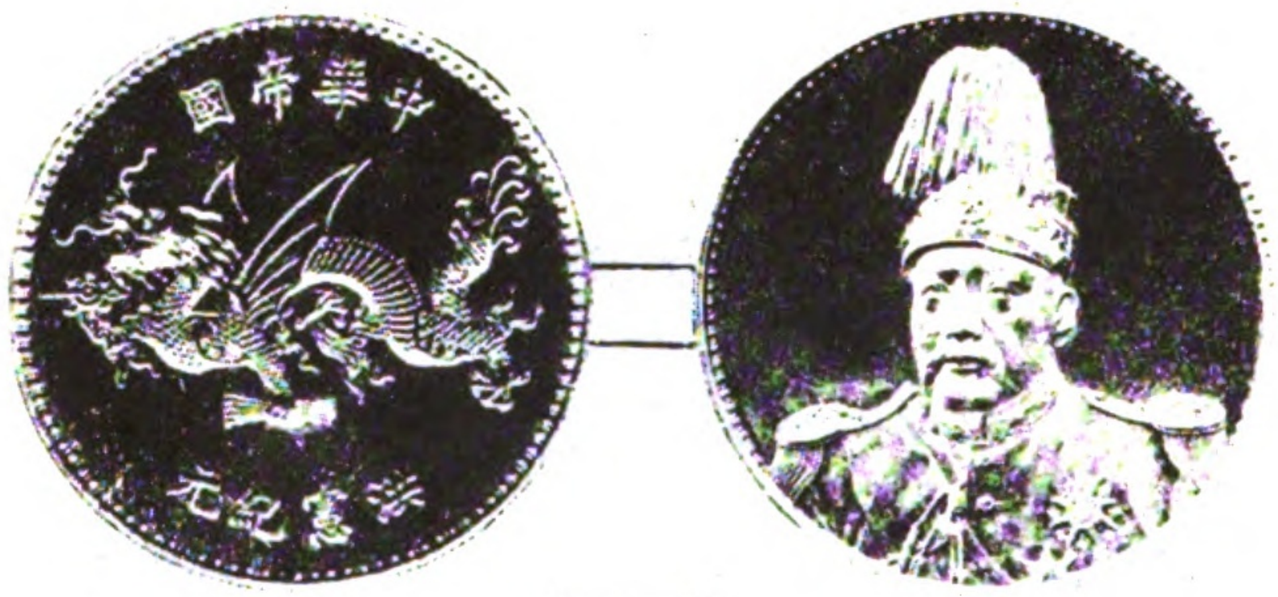
TYPE VI



TYPE VII

TYPE VIII

TYPE IX

PLATE II.

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TYPE X

TYPE XI

TYPE XII

TYPE XIII

TYPE XIV TYPE XV TYPE XVI TYPE XVII

PLATE III.

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piece exists only in proof state and was not adopted; Ros * gives as explanation therefor that the engraver upon being granted an audience by Yüan Shih-k'ai to submit to him the first specimen of the new dollar, was so struck by the unflattering aspect of the coin, that he asked and obtained permission to engrave a fresh die. Mr. Giorgi was accustomed to place his name L Giorgi on the coins he engraved, and in this instance the name is placed a little above the left epaulet of Yüan Shih-k'ai, but this was done only on proof coins; the pieces that were placed in circulation had his name eliminated. Edges: milled; Weight: 416.69 grains; Silver: 880 fine; Diameter: 39 m.m.; Metal: Silver.

Type II shows the proof which Mr. Giorgi prepared subsequently to the incident above recorded, and which was the design adopted; it was dated the third year of the Republic, all the Provincial mints were supplied with the necessary dies by the Central mint, and the flow of the coin began and continued with unceasing perseverance. To this dollar a subsidiary coinage † consisting of a half-dollar (中圓), two-tenths (貳角) of a dollar, and one-tenth (壹角) of a dollar were issued; the half-dollar bears the legend: 每二枚當一圓 implying that two pieces are equal to a dollar; the two-tenths of a dollar piece calls for five to the dollar: 每五枚當一圓, and the one-tenth of a dollar piece, ten to the dollar: 每十枚當壹圓. It was thereby intended that such subsidiary coins were to circulate as 'big money' as we understand it in China, and in the North and Yangtze valley it does possess that purchasing power, but in Shanghai, where the rapacity of the exchange shops is well known, they are only accepted at a discount, notwithstanding the Notification issued by the Ministry of Finance early in 1917 that "These coins are to be exchanged for one another upon a decimal basis of ten pieces of a lower denomination for one of the higher denomination, as well as *vice versa*, and no premium nor discount shall be allowed in exchange. Whoever shall violate this regulation, shall be punished in accordance with Article 9 regulating the execution of the National Currency Law." By their imposition of a discount on these coins, the Shanghai exchange hongs have tabooed them in the estimation of the public. As time flew past, waiting for no man, the die for the dollar denomination became worn in some of the mints, and either new ones were made, or the old ones retouched. I have found two varieties of the two-tenths

* *Coins of the Republic of China.* Reprint from the Journal North China Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1917, p. 24.

† Op. cit. Plate XX.

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of a dollar piece, and ten varieties of the dollar piece ; the differences are most marked in the character 壹, although the head and shoulders of Yüan Shih-k'ai are not absolved in this respect. The features peculiar to these coins are as follows :

One Dollar :	Edges, milled ; Weight : 414.73 grains ; Silver : 880 fine ; Diameter : 38.75 m.m. ; Thickness : 2.66 m.m.
Half Dollar :	Edges, milled ; Weight : 207.49 grains ; Silver : 800 fine ; Diameter : 31.5 m.m. ; Thickness : 2 m.m.
Two-tenths Dollar :	Edges, milled ; Weight : 82.57 grains ; Silver : 700 fine ; Diameter : 22.5 m.m. ; Thickness : 1.66 m.m.
One-tenth Dollar :	Edges, milled ; Weight : 41.09 grains ; Silver 700 fine ; Diameter : 18.5 m.m. ; Thickness : 1.33 m.m.

During the five years 1914-1919—while the Yüan Shih-k'ai dollar battled hard to assert its supremacy, the mints acted on the wise plan of leaving well alone ; but when in 1920 it became apparent that the new dollar had obtained a strong footing in the money market so as to be freely accepted as count and not as weight, changes of dates began to appear and eighth year Type III as well as ninth year Type IV pieces were simultaneously placed into circulation. These showed abundant differences in the positions mentioned above for Type II, and in the case of the eighth year dollar such variations are found also in the legend, especially the character 華. I have succeeded in classifying twenty-two varieties in the eighth year, and four in the ninth year dollars. Four enlargements of the actual characters are shown in one of the plates, showing glaring differences. The ninth year dollar was first minted by the Central mint about the summer of 1920, and when I visited that mint in November of the same year, the Vice-Governor gracefully minted two pieces in my presence for presentation to my collection. These two pieces still have their wire edges.

The eighth year dollar weighs : 413.37 grains ; Silver : 880 fine; Diameter : 38.75 m.m.; Edges : milled ; Thickness : 2.66 m.m. The ninth year dollar weighs : 413.99 grains ; Silver : 880 fine ; Diameter : 38.75 m.m.; Edges : milled ; Thickness : 2.66 m.m. The weights mentioned are averaged from a fair number scaled. During last year the tenth year piece made its appearance, but I have not yet been able to learn from what mint it emerges. So far three varieties are noticeable ; it is the coin shown in Type V.

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Weight : 414.66 grains ; Silver : 880 fine ; Diameter : 38.75 m.m. ; Thickness : 2.5 m.m.; Edges : milled.

In Type VI we find a republican coin bearing the effigy of Yüan Shih-k'ai with a military uniform ; it is generally known in native parlance as "Tai-mao-tzŭ" (帶帽子). It was first issued in 1914, and the mint officials insist that only twenty thousand were made ; they may technically be correct, in this wise, that such was the number put on the market when the coin was originally made ; but I have sufficient grounds to assert that a much larger quantity is in circulation to-day. Very few years ago the price of this coin ruled somewhere about $10.00, but the temptation of obtaining ten dollars for a piece of silver worth intrinsically only one-tenth that value, was probably found irresistible by the powers that be in Squeczeland, and a large quantity of these coins soon flooded the market, with a corresponding decline in its numismatic value to somewhere near $2.00. I have to remark that such values were only for the coin without the name of L. Giorgi near the left epaulet of the late President, coins with the engraver's name on are rarities *hors ligne*. I have succeeded in tracing five clear varieties of this 'tai-mao-tzŭ' piece. No. 1, being the original proof in silver bearing the name of its engraver : L. Giorgi ; Edges : milled ; Weight : 414.53 grains ; Silver : 900 fine ; Diameter : 39 m.m.; Thickness : 2.75 m.m. No. 2, being the piece placed into circulation after the name of the engraver had been eliminated ; Edges : milled ; Weight : 413.45 grains ; Silver : 880 fine ; Diameter : 39 m.m.; Thickness : 2.75 m.m. No. 3, the same piece as No. 2, but the thickness is 3.25 m.m. ; the diameter 39.5 m.m. and the weight 415.53 grains. No. 4 is a proof piece after the engraver's name had been eliminated ; Metal ; Copper ; Edges : milled ; Weight : 406.12 grains ; Diameter : 39.5 m.m.; Thickness : 3 m.m. No. 5 is the same as number four, but, Metal : Brass ; Edges : milled ; Weight : 440.61 grains ; Diameter : 39.25 m.m.; Thickness : 3.25 m.m. The legend on the obverse is : 中華民國共和紀念幣 meaning : Commemorative coin (of the) Chinese Republic.

Coming down to Type VII, what was at one time a republican coin has now been converted into a monarchical piece. When Yüan Shih-k'ai in 1916 made his abortive attempt to create an Inperial throne for himself, being of a temperament imbued with vanity, he had a gold coin prepared by the Tientsin mint bearing an Imperial legend which will be referred to later, but Type VII was not created at that time, indeed, it is a posthumous coin, and although regularly minted, the obverse (or effigy side) of Type VI having been employed, it did not go into actual circula-

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tion, being only prized by collectors and officials. It is essentially a commemorative coin, for which the republican *régime* is responsible for a plethoric production. The legend is 中華帝國, Chung Hwa Ti Kuo or 'Empire of China' placed over the dragon—which, like Pegasus, appears with outstretched wings comfortably indulging in aerostatics, incidentally taking away in his right fore talons Yüan Shih-k'ai's sceptre, and also perhaps all his darts in its left foreclaws, which may, perhaps, have been the cause of the failure of the late President's *coup d'état*. The characters 洪憲紀元 Hung Hsien Chi Yüan are placed below the monster, and mean, "Commencement (of the) Hung Hsien (period)." This obverse was copied from the one of Type IX, the dies of which had been destroyed in Peking, hence a fresh one was engraved. Two varieties: No. 1, Edges: milled; Average weight: 397.40 grains; Silver: 880 fine; Diameter: 38.75 m.m.; Thickness: 2.75 m.m., but it should not be overlooked that it claims to be only a commemorative coin, not "One Dollar." No. 2, the same as No. 1, but the thickness is 3.25 m.m.; the diameter 39 m.m. and the average weight 413.99 grains.

The fruitless endeavours of Yüan Shih-k'ai to establish his Chinese Empire, did not react on silver coins only, but became visible on gold and copper coins as well. In gold a Ten Dollar piece was made, illustrated by Type VIII. As already mentioned it was minted at Tientsin, and besides the legends described for the silver dollar piece of Type VII, it bore the characters 拾圓 (Shih Yüan) reading 'Ten Dollars.' There is no doubt that the coin was made with the deliberate intention that it should be placed in circulation, for which purpose the dies were kept by the mint for future use; in November 1920, when I visited the mint, these dies were placed before my view. However, after the first lot (which was distributed to various officials as souvenirs) was minted, the political horizon became gloomy for Yüan Shih-k'ai and no more were made, at least during the life of the late President. Edges: milled; Average weight: 112.442 grains; Diameter: 21.5 m.m.; Gold: 730 fine; Thickness: 1.5 m.m. The weight given of 112.442 grains represents a very fair average, although it is evident that little care was exercised in preparing the planchets, as a uniformity in weight was not strictly adhered to, the size being the principal consideration; I have met with the two weight extremes of 126.782, and 93.369 grains, certainly revealing gross irregularity. The coins are found in the two different colours of Chinese yellow gold, and American red gold.

The piece shown as Type IX is the original one engraved under the orders of him who plotted to be the future 'His Majesty.'

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This coin was struck under the very close observation of the mint governor, and only very few pieces were made ; they were all sent to Peking accompanied by the dies, which I am informed were destroyed there. Each piece was put up in a neat native satin-lined specially prepared case of Imperial yellow, being that hue with a tendency to orange, measuring $4\frac{1}{16}$ by $4\frac{1}{8}$ by $1\frac{9}{16}$ inches. The few pieces thus encased were presented only to a privileged few of Yüan Shih-k'ai's immediate *entourage*. Both the obverse and reverse dies differ from Type VII, even the cords of the epaulets are in the present case more minutely detailed than in the subsequent copy. Edges : milled ; Average weight : 694.871 grains ; Diameter : 39 m.m. ; Gold : 850 fine ; Thickness : 2.75 m.m. In connection with the unsuccessful attempt above referred to, I have been informed that Yüan Shih-k'ai had also had prepared another gold piece depicting him in the garb of an Emperor in native dress, with the hat the Chinese Emperors wore centuries ago ; but in the absence of more concise information, this rumour is only given here for what it is worth.

It is regrettable that mention should have to be made of certain pieces made with the view of defrauding the public, for the swindler has not been slow to work upon the enthusiasm of numismatists by employing the name of a popular figure in China, on a popular coin. In Type X I illustrate a supposed "coin" in gold which is nothing else but a poor forgery, with a touch of bogus tinge to it ; it is not even minted, and the incisions of the goldsmith are evident. Numismatists are warned to treat this coin with contempt ; such practice is much the more deplorable, when it is known that the production of this bogus piece was not done under the sole supervision of only Chinese. Edges : crudely grained ; Weight : irregular, from 1082.625 to 1117.041 grains ; Diameter : 39 m.m. ; Gold : 900 fine ; Thickness : 5 m.m. But the same parties were not content to rest upon their laurels, and their activities extended to another "coin" purporting to have been produced during the second year of the Chinese Republic (1913), shown as Type XI. It is not even a replica of any Chinese coin legitimately issued, but purely bogus, a chimaera as it were, savouring muchly in its finish of brotherhood with some Austrian coins. The legend on the obverse is 中華民國弐週紀念, Chung Hwa Min Kuo Erh Chou Chi Nien, i.e., Commemoration (of the) Second Anniversary (of the) Chinese Republic (*sic*) above, and below, 金幣 (Chin Pi) meaning : Gold coin. Edges : plain ; Weight : 289.677 grains ; Diameter : 31.25 m.m. ; Gold : 900 fine ; Thickness : 2.5. m.m. The high quality of the gold

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may have been caused by the necessity of requiring a soft metal for the silversmith to work upon.

In contradiction to the two bogus gold deformities just mentioned, there are two more gold coins bearing the effigy of Yüan Shih-k'ai that remain to be mentioned, but these are legitimate productions from the Tientsin mint. I refer to the eighth year $10 and $20 pieces denoted by Types XII and XIII respectively. These two pieces were the net residue of a trial to create a gold currency, which, due to a premature issue, resulted abortively. In the first instance the questions affecting a gold issue were not sufficiently deliberated upon, although the weights of the coins are harmonious as representing an unvarying intrinsic value, and furthermore, a sufficiently appreciable quantity of coins was not made, so that those which appeared were quickly absorbed by numismatists, bankers, curio hunters and others with similar tendencies, which quickly caused their disappearance from public hands. The legend 中華民國八年造 (Chung Hwa Min Kuo Pa Nien Tsao) read: "Made in the eighth year (of the) Chinese Republic." Yüan Shih-k'ai's influence on present Chinese coins is well featured here, as the sole reason of his effigy on the pieces was that this would lend a greatly enhanced prestige to them. Type XII, Edges: milled; Weight: 128.865 grains; Diameter: 22 m.m.; Thickness: 1.75 m.m.; Gold: 850 fine. Type XIII, Edges: milled; Weight: 257.963 grains; Diameter: 26 m.m.; Thickness: 2 m.m.; Gold: 850 fine.

I have already mentioned that the influence of Yüan Shih-k'ai extended also to copper coins. The republican *régime* is responsible for two—one, only a trial piece, shown as Type XIV, and the other, Type XV, went into circulation to the extent, I was informed by an official at Nanking, of about fifty thousand pieces, or say, one to every eight thousand of China's population. The third copper piece illustrated by Type XVI and XVII, gives a reflection of the Chinese mind, in that it anticipated the enthronement of Yüan Shih-k'ai as Emperor under the title of Hung Hsien.

The first of the three is only a proof coin engraved at the Wuchang mint by 王少賢 (Wang Shao Hsien)* and was not adopted, Type XV having been substituted for it on account of the military uniform of Yüan Shih-k'ai not having been considered becoming in the first instance. Edges: plain; Weight: 115.550 grains; Diameter: 28.5 m.m.; Thickness: 1.75 m.m.; Metal: Copper. Type XV is a coin that can yet be fairly obtain-

* Ros, *Op. cit.* p. 10.

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able, but is fast disappearing from public hands; for some unaccountable reason, it is held in high esteem by the Chinese; it was engraved by 朱子芳 (Chu Tzŭ Fang)* at the Wuchang mint. Edges: plain; Average weight: 116.211 grains; Diameter: 28.5 m.m.; Thickness: 1.75 m.m.; Metal: Copper.

In bringing these notes to a conclusion I must refer to the ten-cash bronze pieces denoted Types XVI and XVII turned out by the Changsha mint, as a "Coin commemorative of the change of *régime*" as the legend translates, anticipating the successful seizure of the Imperial Sceptre by Yüan Shih-k'ai, which did not materialize. Although Hunan was not the native province of this Great Man, perhaps local vanity and the desire to curry favour compelled Hunan to claim the lead in most things wherein the new Emperor was concerned. The preparations leading to these coins being made must have begun many months before the bloodless *coup d'état* was publicly projected, for a fairly large number of them were minted, with many retouches to the dies; some coins exist showing the nature of the wear which necessitated those retouches. Besides, several dies also were engraved, the principal difference being the spacing between the words "Hung" and "Shuan," and "Ten" and "Cash" as shown by the type illustrations; the obverse also is a different die, the principal feature being the difference in the two blossoms within the inner circle. This copper coin best typifies the influence of Yüan Shih-k'ai on Chinese coinage, for, notwithstanding the absence of his portrait, the boldness of the legend definitely stating the coin to be one of an imperial rule during the existence of the republic was due solely to the courageous scheming of one of the most prominent personalities in Chinese modern history. Type XVI, Edges: plain; Average weight: 89.048 grains; Diameter: 28 m.m.; Thickness: 1.5 m.m.; Metal: Bronze. Type XVII, Edges: plain; Weight: 90.511 grains; Diameter: 28 m.m.; Thickness: 1.5 m.m.; Metal: Bronze. The size of the thickness given here throughout, is measured at the rims. As far as I have been able to observe, the above description is a complete record of all coins relative to Yüan Shih-k'ai, but should any numismatist know of further varieties, such particulars will be greatly welcome.

* Ros, *Ibid.* p. 10.

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CHINESE DITTIES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,

H.B.M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (RETIRED)

(*Continued from p. 31*)

未討親想討親討了親打悔心

When one is unmarried, one longs to be married; when one is married, one repents.

[From Wên Chou, Chêkiang.]

大雨化化下粮米茗漲價小孩要粥喝兩口子就打架

The heavy rain comes pattering down. Corn, rice, and tea rise in price. The children want their porridge; husband and wife quarrel.

[From Fêng T'ien. In that province, in the 7th and 8th moons, the price of rice, etc., depends upon the rainfall. Cf. 窮吵餓鬧(discord)柴米夫妻(harmony). 化化 is the onomatopœic sound of heavy rain. It has here the fourth tone, but in Peking 花花 in the first tone is used.]

黏	窩	來	到	多	苦	咱	唧	小
糕	窩	了	你	會	熬	娘	唧	螞
	喫	蒸	爹	熬	着	們	叫	蚱

Little grasshopper! chirping away! We, mother and child, are worried with our troubles. [But] we must endure them until your father comes [when we] will have steamed cakes and dumplings to eat [lit., steam cakes and eat dumplings.]

[From Chi Hsien, Chihli. The husband has gone out to trade; the mother leads the child to the field where she works,

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and sings this ditty to comfort herself and enjoin patience until the father returns with the food. 窩窩 are made of maize; 黏糕 contain beans and dates, or if plain are eaten with sugar. 熬=忍耐. "Little grasshopper" refers to the restless child.]

做 與 了 銀 量 我 我 晌 青
賠 小 賬 錢 賣 不 爹 叮 石
枋 奴 不 還 的 商 賣 噹 頭

Piece of granite! clinking *ting-tang!* My father sold me without consulting me. The money he acquired by selling me paid off his debts and was not appropriated for buying anything for my dowry.

[The first six characters are an introductory humming, referring to the father's hard nature. 賠枋, to complete the house, by providing the newly-wedded wife, according to custom, with the service of waiting-maids, etc. 枋 should be 房. 陪房 is the same expression as 陪嫁 in the South. 枋 originally 柄 read by some 方, which is very close to the southern sound of 房. This and the two following ditties are from S.E. Shansi.]

言 惱 婆 膏 扮 煎 不 心 娘 顛 炭
喘 的 公 問 打 就 夠 喜 家 倒 鍬
不 婆 公 扮 打 鍋 歡 叫 安 把

A charcoal shovel curved the wrong way [is useless.] When her mother invited her she was so glad that, without waiting till the pot boiled, she dressed herself, and only when quite ready did she ask her parents-in-law ['s permission;] so that they were speechless with anger [lit., speechless and panting.]

[The introductory sentence, indicating the uselessness of a convex shovel, alludes to the incompatibility of the wife in her parents-in-law's home.]

嗜 家 嚐 人 大 淨 婆 人 地 人 候 奶 吃 氣 娘 葉 白
叫 的 叫 家 嗜 人 堂 家 嗜 家 公 長 的 强 生 葉 菜
「他」娃 媽 的 叫 家 嚐 的 播 的 帶 大 親 小 我 黃 撲
子 人 媽 大 的 抹 黴 白 脚 婆 侍 娘 着 不 我 地

Cabbage leaves dropped on the ground become yellow. It was unfortunate that my mother gave birth to me. When I was a baby she nursed me. When I grew up I waited on my

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parents-in-law. I swept their floors clean, and poured libations in the halls of their ancestors. I even called my husband's father papa and his mother mama, [but was only allowed to] call their baby "he!"

[The introductory sentence alludes to the dislike for or ill-treatment of daughters-in-law by their parents-in-law. The daughter-in-law in the present case contrasts the treatment received by her from her own mother and her parents-in-law respectively in spite of her filial conduct to the latter and loyalty to her husband. Though she used respectful forms of address to them she was not even allowed to address their child as an equal. 抹 has the local sound 茗 *ning;* Manchus and Mongols say *tsa-mo.* 大 has here the meaning 父, father.]

總 來 閨 泡 起 咧 都 女 尾 牛 鳴 雞 明
兒 紡 女 糞 來 小 該 小 咧 擺 咧 打 咧
个 起 兒 拾 子 起 子 閨 了 老 了 小

It is dawn! The cock has crowed. The old ox has whisked his tail. The girls and boys must all get up. When the boys get up they collect dung; when the girls get up they weave tassels.

[From An P'ing, Chihli. Enjoins early rising. 糞 is probably dung for fuel. The ox whisks his tail as a sign that he is going to start work.]

要爱多慢慢挪要爱少滿山跑

If you desire [to collect] many, shift slowly. If you desire only a few, run all over the hill.

Motto: *festina lente.* Sung by youngsters when picking flowers, fruit, herbs, etc., on the hills. From Chao-yüan, P'êng-lai, Huang Hsien and other places in Shantung.]

淚 口 酒 俜 弟 無 姐 有 客 沒 空 乜 心 年
滿 目 杯 貧 朋 挪 妹 借 村 有 空 作 愴 又
面 計 飲 把 友 借 有 錢 中 賒 市 年 愴 將
酸 連 一 起 嫌 兄 錢 人 沒 布 上 只 無 至

The year is again nearing its end, and my heart throbs sadly. I have no means to meet the expenses at the end of the year,

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being quite "broke." In the city [lit., street] there is no arranger of credit for buying cloth for making clothes; in my native village there is no money-lender. My sisters have money, but refuse to lend it; my brothers and friends disdain me for my extreme poverty. I raise my glass and take a drink of wine. [As these painful] thoughts [become intolerable I lift my] eyes, and the tears streaming down my face [show the] sadness [of my heart.]

[From Wên-ch'ang Hsien, Shantung.]

還	明	小	上	眉	兒	帚	剪	用	兒	落	肯	春
笑	掃	紅	箇	竿	指	紙	紙	若	咒	可	晴	雨
阿	晴	衣	娘	頭	血	雲	人	得	罵	憐	繁	纏
儂	無	這	濕	幾	點	梯	紙	紅	曾	生	華	綿
癡	衛	分	透	繫	脣	女	箕	閨	無	驚	零	不

The incessant Spring rain refuses to lift. What a pity that this fine season should be wasted! The oriole utters maledictions, yet without effect. There is nothing for it but for the young girls to cut out a paper man, paper broom and dust-basket, and a paper "cloud-ladder." With blood from their fingers they colour the lips and eyebrows and binding [the paper figures] onto a pole [hang them out of the window.] [But all that happens is that] they all get their little red clothes saturated; thus showing that the rain cannot be stopped by this means; and all laugh at A-nung for her simplicity!

[From the rainy districts of Southern Kuangtung. A-nung is used as a generic term for young girls. The oriole usually pipes cheerfully, but the rain damps even his high spirits.]

門子要緊火要緊養活閨女脚要緊

The door is important; fire is important; in the bringing-up of girls their feet are important.

[This and the following eleven are from the Chao-yüan district of Shantung. Care of the door is important on account of thieves, of fire for fear of destruction, and the size of girls' feet, because they should be brought up decently and not be "gadders": one of the reasons alleged for the practice of compressing women's feet.]

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南山頂上草一
棵爲人不說兩
老婆說的多了
光打仗打起仗
來鬧哈哈有大
待把大的打大
的來待的年數
有心待把小的
打點膝脂擦粉
兒來哄我大的
小的一齊打滿
家的孩子亂吵
大的小子的多
窮的鄰居多
不打街房鄰居多
笑話我

At the top of South Hill there is a blade of grass. A man should not have two wives. If he has several they only fight. And when they have started fighting they make a ridiculous hubbub. But if I think of beating my principal wife, she has been too many years in my home; and if I think of beating my concubine, she makes herself so charming to me with her paint and powder. If I beat both wife and concubine, all the children of the house will make an uproar. But if both wife and concubine are not beaten, the neighbours opposite and on each side will deride me [for not being able to manage my females].

[The introductory phrase refers to one man, the husband, as contrasted with the relatively large number of wife and concubines. The last 多 = 都.]

富人死了妻勉當拆洗衣窮人死了妻塌了上天梯

When the wife in a rich family dies, it [re-marriage] is as easy as changing one's linen; when the wife in a poor family dies, it is as if the ladder of heaven had fallen down.

[勉 should be 檔. 檔當 = 當作 = 如同. If the ladder of heaven has fallen down mounting thereto is difficult.]

有女嫁郎夜朝空飛到一個要帶娘

朝讀書夜房守莫

A girl should not be married to a student; day and night she will live alone. Even if he should reach some lofty position he will only come back with a concubine.

[This and the preceding ditty refer to the low estimation in which women were held by the Chinese.]

貴人吃貴物莊戶孫吃豆腐

Fine people eat fine things; the descendants of the rustic eat bean-curd.

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[Bean-curd, in villages, is a cheap food. 孫 is difficult to explain ; perhaps it is used with a derisory meaning such as 猢猻!]

有錢的王八坐上席無錢的君子受驚的氣

A moneyed bastard sits in the stalls ; but a poor gentleman suffers the bastard's scorn.

[鼈 is the freshwater turtle ; here used for 忘八 or 王八, turtle ('s egg)=bastard.]

是個碗兒大其盅當了和尚會念經兒當了婆婆會弄聲兒

If it is a bowl [for rice] it must be bigger than a wine-cup ; [similarly] when a man is a priest he is [naturally] able to recite prayers ; [so also] when a woman is a wife she cannot but cause a noise.

[The meaning of 大其盅 is obscure. 盅 is a covered cup for wine. The noise referred to is caused by the husband's mother teaching her daughter-in-law her duties.]

三輩不念書必定出個驢待要出大驢還得念書

If for three generations [a family] does not study it will certainly produce a donkey ; but even if it produce a big donkey it is still necessary for it to study.

[驢 or 馿 here read *lu* to rhyme. A small donkey, *sc.* stupid son, is useless ; even a big donkey is insufficiently useful from the intellectual point of view.]

能吃能幹眞是好漢能吃不能幹是個王八蛋

If able to eat and manage his business he is really a good man ; if able to eat but unable to manage his business he is a bastard !

[" Able to eat " means to eat much, and so, according to Chinese ideas, have much strength and consequently ability to make money !]

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七天一个禮拜日門口掛上五色旗先學鬼子叫後學驴蹄踢

In every seven days there is one Sunday. [On that day] we hang the five-coloured flag out over the door. First we learn the foreign devil's noise, and afterwards [to wear] the donkey's raised hoofs.

[A hit at Western learning and fashions. "Noise" means language. A donkey is stupid and his hoofs, raised at the instep, are like the "foreign devil's" boots, not level with the ground like the sole of the Chinese shoe.]

一	我	子	瞪	笑	見	孔	進	畢
臂	駛	路	瞪	顏	哈	子	聖	業
尿	他	說	眼	淵	哈	一	廟	生

The graduate enters the temple of the Sage. When Confucius sees him he laughs "Ha! Ha!" Yen Yüan stares. Tzŭ Lu says:" I will drive him away . . ."

[The ending is neither dignified, classical, nor worthy of one of the principal disciples of Confucius, and is best left untranslated, but the tyro in Chinese translation (for whom these annotations are chiefly intended) must be warned against rendering the 尿 as coming from Tzŭ Lu. The following version is less objectionable.]

在	廟	脚	眼	顏	座	的	笑	一	聖	畢
不	台	蹬	子	淵	不	你	那	見	廟	業
要	下	在	路	瞪	知	我	科	哈	孔	生
臉	實	在	加	瞪	道	怎	中	哈	子	進

The graduate enters the temple of the Sage. When Confucius sees him he laughs "Ha! Ha! I can easily tell where *you* graduated!" Yen Yüan stares. Tzŭ Lu "lets out" with his foot and kicks him out of the temple [saying:] "Really you are without any sense of shame!"

[Another version of the preceding ditty.]

宣統回了朝禿頭要開銃宣統跑了禿頭好了

When Hsüan T'ung returned to the throne the baldheads were to be beheaded. When Hsüan T'ung took to his heels the baldheads recovered.

["Baldheads": those who had cut off their queues on the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty.]

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喝湯喝水沒骨壯喫魚喫肉稻床棒

Drinking soup or water cannot bring strength; eating fish or meat make one "pot-bellied."

[Current in Wu Hsi, Kiangsu. 稻床 is an agricultural implement, used in South China, which bulges in its lower part. 喝 in the south and west has approximately the sound of 哈.]

轎子來轎子來豎頭棺材

"A sedan-chair is coming! A sedan-chair is coming!" "Behold! a coffin!"

[Also from Wu Hsi. The streets in the towns of that district are narrow and the passengers crowded together. Those who travel by sedan-chair are more numerous than in most other places. The bearer in front has to keep on calling out: "A sedan-chair is coming!" to get the foot-passengers to let it pass. The latter resent this and retaliate by calling the sedan-chair a coffin, for which people must always give way. 子 is to be read here as 則, the sound given to it colloquially.]

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TWO ART OBJECTS

FROM THE

COLLECTION OF R. D. ABRAHAM, ESQ.

Sung Jug with Handle and Short Spout, Decorated in enamel colours. Height 7½ inches.—There is nothing remarkable about the modelling of this jug in buff clay. The spout is unusually short and the mouth is funnel shaped. Probably it was modelled on purely utilitarian grounds.

But there is something remarkable about the decoration, which is in heavy enamels over the glaze; the flower resembling a chrysanthemum is in dark brown and the leaves in 'jade' green, the whole over a dark yellowish glaze. The treatment of the flower and leaves is best left to the reader to determine, as it can be clearly seen in the reproduction. Parallel red lines, under-glaze, are found in the upper and lower portions of the piece.

The decoration is effective, the bright green leaves forming a delightful contrast to the dark brown flower. Surely this form of decoration must have been the forerunner of the highly decorated enamelled wares of later times.

Sung Porcelain Tripod, Light Blue Glaze. Height 4¾ inches.—A specimen of Sung Porcelain in hard white ware, resonant when struck and translucent when held to the light, is shown here. The tripod is beautiful in shape, the balance and modelling striking. The glaze is unique, being of a light blue colour, slightly deeper in parts, and actually reminding one of the "blue of the sky after rain"; the glaze runs down the feet of the tripod and forms below it a bullet-headed mass of bluish glass on which the feet rest. This incense burner was discovered by a farmer in the Tai Hu district of Soochow; while digging in a field he struck something hard which proved to be the top of a grave vault. When discovered the incense burner was standing on a plate of Tu Ting ware of the Sung period and facing an image of stone. The incense burner (and dish) was covered with sandy earth incrustations (a common feature on excavated ware) which was removed with great difficulty. It was a custom for widows to place an incense burner on a dish facing an image in the vault on the left side of the husband's tomb.

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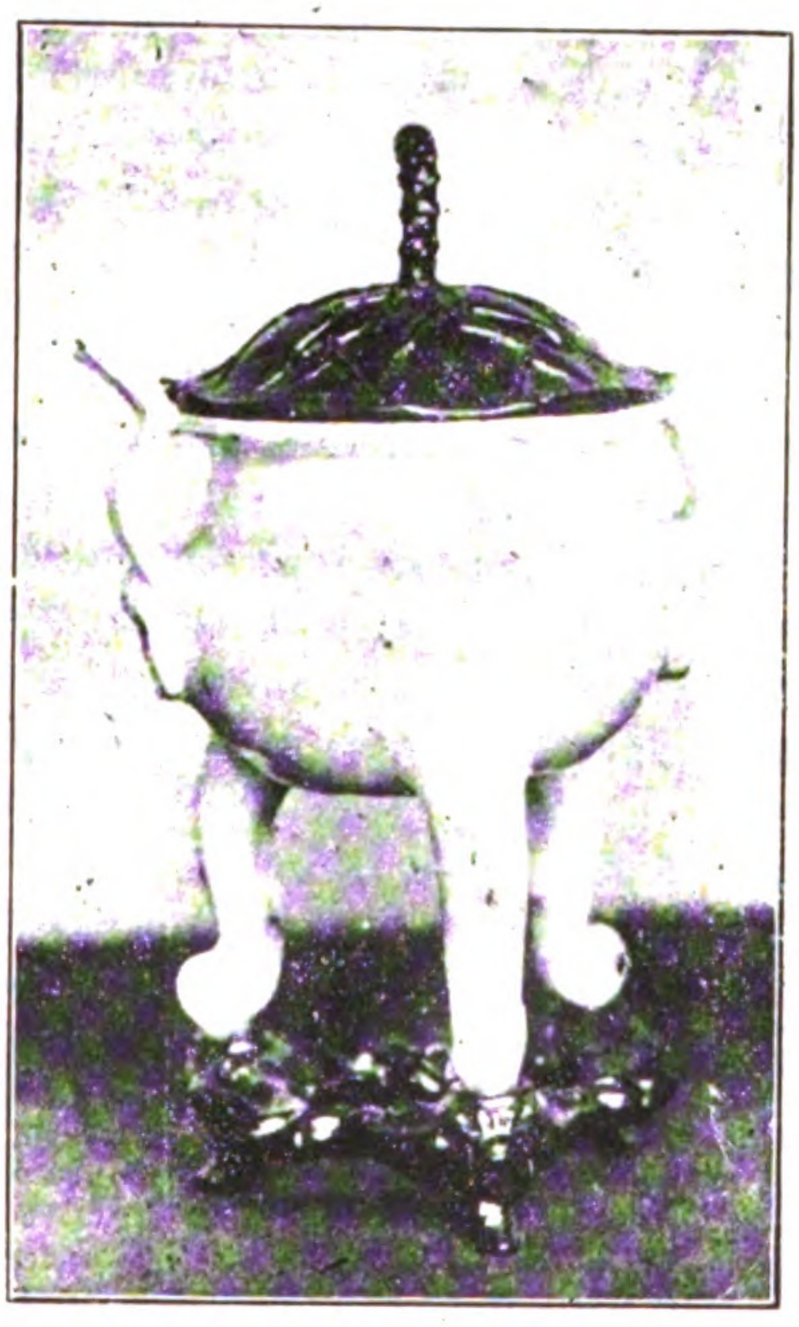
SUNG JUG WITH HANDLE AND SHORT SPOUT, DECORATED IN ENAMEL COLOURS. HEIGHT 7½ INCHES.



SUNG PORCELAIN TRIPOD LIGHT BLUE GLAZE.
HEIGHT 4¾ INCHES.

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SOME ELEMENTS IN THE CHINESE RENAISSANCE *

By

PH. DE VARGAS, Docteur ès Lettres

I do not know who gave the foreign name "Renaissance" to the present intellectual and social transformation of China. Probably Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啓超 was the first to apply that term to a period of China's history, but what he calls Renaissance 文藝復興時代 is the whole of the Manchu period. About 1902 in a series of articles on "The Evolution of Chinese Learning" 中國學術思想變遷之大勢 (published in the 新民叢報) he wrote: "This period of over two hundred years can be called China's Renaissance . . . But its growth is not at an end . . . it is now sprouting forth abundantly . . . giving great hopes for the future of our intellectual life."

The present reforming phase, which foreigners generally connect with the so-called Student Movement of the last few years, might at its beginning have been very properly called "The Hsin Ch'ing Nien 新青年 (*i.e.*, New Youth) Movement" or the "La Jeunesse Movement" from the double title of the magazine which was its chief inspirer. Soon a new magazine promoting the same ideas called itself "The New Tide" 新潮 and took as its European title "The Renaissance." Perhaps it was from this magazine that the expression "the Chinese Renaissance" arose and became current among foreign friends of China. In Chinese the terms in most general use are "the New Thought Tide" 新思潮 or, more comprehensively, "the New Civilization Movement" 新文化運動.

Now when the French word Renaissance was applied to the present developments in China, it was because of an association

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* A paper read before the Wên Yu Hui 文友會, Peking, February 15, 1922.

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of ideas with the European Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries. Probably something like this was in people's minds: Just as civilization, which had been dormant through the Dark Ages, awoke again in the 15th century in Europe, so in China, after centuries of sleep and conservatism, civilization is now resuming its onward march. The parallel, when stated in those general terms, is evidently true. But may we carry the comparison further?

If we do, we may be misled by the usual acceptation of the term Renaissance. To the question: *What* was reborn in the 15th century? the traditional answer is: Classical (*i.e.*, mainly Greek) art and literature. "Renaissance" is thus taken to designate the discovery, restoration and imitation of antique art and literature.

When the same term is applied to China, shall it mean that China in its turn is conquered by Greek ideals, of course in their modern European-American form? Some such idea is likely to be deposited at the back of our minds by the frequent use of the expression "the Chinese Renaissance." For in a movement which is so largely a protest against the past it would be difficult to see a return to China's own classics. So we run the risk of drifting into the notion, rather pleasing to foreign minds, that the Chinese Renaissance is simply the discovery and imitation by China of the Greco-European civilization.

But is the traditional conception of the European Renaissance correct? were the 15th and 16th centuries essentially a revival and an imitation of classical culture?

I. Four Constituent Factors of the European Renaissance.

There is no doubt that the decisive impetus to the movement was given by Greek influences, both modern, through the scholars driven from Constantinople by the Turks, and ancient, through the manuscripts those exiles brought with them, and the works of art disinterred in Italy. But I believe that this resurrection of antiquity was given by the men of the Renaissance themselves a much greater share in the merit of having produced the movement than it really deserved. For that age had not yet learned our idea of progress, which is really a 19th century conception. As Confucius had looked to Yao and Shun for his ideal government and also for a sanction of his teachings; as, through the Middle Ages, German kings and Catholic popes had their imaginations haunted by the Roman Empire and justified their ambitions by that great memory, so the innovators of the 15th and 16th centuries chose their ideal in the past and found a justification of the Revolution which they carried out, in the formula of the

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return to pristine purity, whether of fine arts, literature or religion.

In fact when we look back, in the perspective of centuries, to that wonderful period of the golden youth of Europe, our chief impression is how utterly *different* it was, how far from being a copy of the classical age it pretended to revive. And no wonder: the very artists who were able to recognize the value of Greek art were also able to create original beauty; the writers who were enthusiastic admirers of Plato and Cicero became fired with the ambition to do for their own languages what those men had done for theirs; the biblical scholars who were not afraid to push aside the ecclesiastical structures of centuries in order to get at the pure essence of Christianity, were not likely to limit themselves to a pale and slavish imitation of the Apostolic Church. The recognition of classical antiquity as a model worthy to be imitated, necessarily implied a previous awakening of taste, the rise of a discriminating spirit, able to discern the best in civilization. Environment counts for much, but we should not attribute to it more than it can carry. Surely there was in the European Renaissance more than the effect of the fall of Constantinople, more than a result from the unearthing of some Roman statues. Like a tree which has been growing only twigs and leaves for many years, when its time has come, bursts into a glorious bloom, so the new races of Europe, the heirs of the rugged energies of the Kelts and the Teutons, rich with an accumulation of mental and moral strength gathered through ages of life at low tension and near to nature, came of age, overflowing with intellectual vigour, a keen sense for beauty, fearless enterprise and unconquerable will power. The artistic and literary flowering was only a part of this surging tide. Inventions, which broke down all sorts of barriers; discoveries of new continents and of a new universe; a new welling up of the spirit of Christ, adapting the Church to the new need of the age; bold advances in science and in philosophy; finally a sweeping political revolution, spreading from England to America, back to France, and active until our day, all these were simply the different phases of the new intensity of life which was given to the European race. Among the chief aspects of life which were radically changed we should mention language and literature: the rise of national tongues to the dignity of literary languages made minds free from their subservience to the traditional Latin forms and enabled them to express their new life in new terms. One of the important results of the development of national literary languages was to prepare the advent of democracy, through the popularization of knowledge,

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and of nationalism, by fostering a sense of unity among those having the same speech and the same literature.

Although I should give by far the greatest importance, among the elements of the Renaissance, to the ripening native genius of the European race, and the second place to the start given by the discovery of the classics, I do not want to minimize the value of the slow civilizing process which Europe had undergone through the Middle Ages. Even the brightest young man will not react very profitably to the best University education, unless he has had some preparatory training. It took one thousand years for the Germanic peoples to advance from the barbarian stage of civilization which was theirs at the time of their first inroads into the Roman Empire, to the point where their possibilities had sufficiently developed to produce a civilization of the first rank. What we may call the preceptor of Europe's childhood happened to be the same civilization the full beauty of which was revealed to its young manhood, namely Hebraic-Hellenic culture; only, during the dark ages it came in an indirect and feeble form: partly through the Arabs, who had picked up in the Levant the remains of Hellenistic culture, and transmitted it to the barbaric Europeans; mostly through the Christian Church, which did a two-fold work. It kept up in a precarious but effective way the tradition of Greco-Roman learning by its emphasis on the education of the clergy and by maintaining literary studies in the monasteries. This educational work of the Church, allied to Arabic influences, led to the genuinely scientific life of the 13th century which expressed itself in the great universities and took the form of scholasticism, the value of which as an intellectual discipline is being more and more recognized nowadays. The second and probably greater contribution of the Christian Church was the social education it gave to the barbarians. It taught them, however imperfectly, to work, to practise agriculture, to moderate their innate combativeness, to co-operate, to recognize the value of ideals. The Church literally spent itself in mixing with the social life of the Middle Ages; it wore itself out in the process. But the work was worth the while.

I am tempted to add a fourth determining factor, which however could hardly count as one of the first rank. The disorderly mass of Teutonic barbarians had to become a Europe conscious of itself before it could develop a characteristic civilization. This was done under the influence of the repeated attacks from the Orient. The eastern boundary of the Aryan peoples, which in Alexander's time had been at the Pamir, had advanced westwards;

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one after another, the Huns, the Arabs, the Mongols and the Turks had pushed far into Europe. In the Crusades, the first common attempt to stay the progress of the Turks, Europeans became conscious of their unity and of the distinctive character of their culture. And we should notice that the century after 1453, which was the acme of the Renaissance, was also the time of the hardest struggle against the Turks. How real that danger was thought to be is shown for example in the exhortations contained in Luther's writings to steadfastness in the faith in the case of the conquest of Germany by the Turks. The fall of Constantinople has as much, if not more, historical value, in symbolizing the onslaught of the East against the West, as it has in dating the reappearance of the old Greek learning. As Greek civilization did not flourish before the Persian attacks had created a national consciousness, so it was under the steady pressure of the East that the European peoples reached the self-consciousness necessary to a powerful outburst of civilization.

I would then distinguish four elements, or determining factors, in the European Renaissance. I shall name them again in their chronological order:

1st, the *stuff* of which the new civilization was made, *i.e.*, the native mental and moral vigour of the Keltic-Teutonic peoples arrived at their bloom.

2nd, the *preceptor* of barbaric Europe's youth, *i.e.*, the Hebraic-Hellenic teaching given mainly by the Church, with emphasis on moral and religious lines.

3rd, the *determiner of the consciousness* of the new Europe, *i.e.* the attacks of Oriental peoples.

4th, the *starter* of the new civilization, *i.e.*, the impact of the Hebraic-Hellenic culture in its rediscovered freshness and glory.

It would be interesting to test the value of this analysis by applying it to several of the civilizations of the world, such as the Roman—and to try and find a cause for the lack of originality of many phases in it—or the Russian Renaissance which started in the 19th century and is going on under our eyes. But I shall limit myself to applying this proposed analysis to the formation of the present intellectual and social order in China.

II. Four Constituent Factors of the Chinese Renaissance.

While I was enumerating the four determining factors of the transformation of the European civilization, you will have seen at once four corresponding elements in the Chinese Renaissance.

The *stuff* of the new civilization is the mental and moral man-power of the Chinese people.

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The *preceptor* is the indigenous scientific scholarship which has been developing quietly during the last three centuries.

The *determiner of the* new Chinese *consciousness* is the aggressive West.

And the *starter* is Western civilization, its technique, government, philosophy and religion.

You will notice that while in Europe the starter was simply a more perfect form of the Hebraic-Hellenic civilization which had been the preceptor of infant Europe, and had practically no connection with the hostile East, in China the starter is the civilization of the West, *i.e.*, of the obnoxious determiner of consciousness himself, and in no apparent connection with the indigenous preceptor. From this observation we might deduce that the development of the new civilization is bound to be slow, since the starter is absolutely foreign, but that as a compensation the new culture is likely to be very original. But such deductions can hardly be part of a scientific treatment. They would be valuable indeed as an inspiration, but only if made by a great moral leader with a far-reaching vision and a big heart. For our part we shall content ourselves with the use of the historical method and by its aid analyse a little further these four elements in the Chinese Renaissance.

1. *The Stuff of the New Civilization : the Chinese People.*— This, the most important element, is also the most mysterious. Who can say with what possibilities the Chinese race is pregnant ? Here scientific investigation is practically powerless ; it cannot penetrate to the depths where life is preparing the harvest of the future.

But we can at least meet one objection which might be made to having faith in the heredity of the Chinese people, namely, that it is an old, exhausted race with a time-worn culture.

As a matter of fact, the term " old " applied to the Chinese civilization of, say, the last century is misleading. When we speak of an old civilization, we think of it as advanced in decay. But a comparison of China's history with that of the several stages of civilization in Western Asia and Europe will show that China's civilization is not old in that sense, but in the sense of being relatively quite *primitive* still. The vast majority of the Chinese are now as they have been for more than twenty centuries, in a rudimentary stage of civilization. To mention only two examples : The use of money and credit which is responsible for the intense development of several civilizations and also for their consequent rotting and collapsing, has always been limited in China to its simplest forms, prior to very recent times.

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China has also been spared the strain of the increasing complexity of social ties which have in the West given to the State an almost unbearable hold on the life of the individuals and of the smaller social groups ; in China primary importance has always remained with the most primitive social group : the family. So the millions of Chinese farmers, not having undergone the wear and tear of an intense, highly organized civilization, have retained a wonderful freshness. If we remember what a Fountain of youth for the European race one or two centuries of life in the wilds and the farms of America have proved to be, we may well be thrilled when trying to imagine the untold resources in China of souls left fallow as it were since the beginning of the world, the untouched reserves of psychic energy which may soon be ready to spring forth into this new and needy world of ours.

Not only has the past civilization of China left untapped the resources of practically all of the old Chinese race, but we may say that the present Chinese people are largely a new race, as different from the original one of Confucius' time as modern Europeans are from the Greeks and the Romans. The influx of new blood from the nomadic peoples surrounding China has been continuous. In this respect Chinese history is similar to that of Babylon, where invasions of nomads from the desert repeatedly renewed the population and the ways of life. In the vigorous descendance of the sons of the Northern and Western deserts, China possesses a fresh supply of first rate human material.

2. *The Preceptor : the Scholarship of the Ch'ing Period.*— Under the T'ang dynasty, China had given to the world one of its most brilliant civilizations. The movement of thought slackened considerably under the Sung and the Ming. Under the influence of Buddhism, the metaphysical possibilities of Confucianism were developed and Chu Hsi gave to China a dogmatic orthodoxy ; the intuitive nature of knowledge was emphasized more and more, objective knowledge was despised and a subjective rationalism (理學) triumphed. Wang Yang Ming is the most famous of these so-called rationalists. The conquest of China by the Mongols destroyed much of the intellectual life of the country ; but the native dynasty of the Ming was possibly still more harmful by imposing, through its strict regulation for official examinations, traditionalism and respect for the form, at the expense of the content, of thought.

The defeat of China by the Manchus completed the discredit of a doctrine which was of no avail to the country in its time of danger ; and there was a reaction against that exaggerated individualism and those abstract speculations. So throughout the

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Manchu régime, generations of scholars, who for the most part did not want to take official service under the foreign oppressors, worked at establishing a renewed learning; they refrained from metaphysics and devoted themselves to objective research. They protested against what they considered to be a misinterpretation of Confucianism by the Sung and the Ming scholars, and they set to work at a truly scientific study of the classical doctrine. They brought to a high degree of perfection classical philology (經學) and textual criticism (校勘). They made thoroughly scientific investigations of the forms and the meanings of characters (小學) and of the evolution of Chinese phonetics (音韵). They reconstituted the texts of lost authors by gathering together their fragments from encyclopedias and other works quoting them (輯逸). As an example, of their work in textual criticism, I may mention Yen Je-chü's (閻若璩) demonstration in his 尚書古文疏證 that out of the fifty-eight chapters of the Shu Ching, the classical "Book of History," traditionally said to have been compiled by Confucius, only twenty-eight chapters were part of the classic by the end of the Han dynasty, leaving undecided how many of those twenty-eight could be dated as far back as the Chou dynasty. Because of their rejection of Sung scholarship and their return to older authorities, those men are known as "the Han scholars" (漢學派). They developed not only philological sciences, but also the study of laws and institutions (典章制度), of history (史學), of Chinese archæology (金石), of mathematics and astronomy (天算) and of hydrography (水地).

This spirit of inquiry developed quietly among a small élite of the real scholars of the Ch'ing dynasty and did not become powerful and popular enough to sweep the whole country. But it created an atmosphere of genuine scientific earnestness, and so laid sure foundations for the present movement which is also essentially a movement of learning, and critical. The most advanced Chinese scholars of to-day are interested in applying the newly learnt Western methods of literary and historical criticism to ancient Chinese literature, philosophy and history. On that account, there is a probability of good intelligence between the older and the newer scholars. Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao who is a true product of the scientific movement of the Ch'ing dynasty and the most prominent of its living representatives, has come into full sympathy with the work of the reformers, and has adopted the most modern methods. I shall speak later of his works, but I should mention here his "Chinese Learning under the Ch'ing dynasty" (清代學術概論), which is the authority for the subject of this paragraph. One thing which impresses the for-

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eign reader of this history is Mr. Liang's affirmation that the worth of the Ch'ing writers is wholly scientific and not literary. He condemns the literary production of the Manchu period (including his own non-scientific writings, in spite of their huge popularity). As to the poems of Manchu emperors which so many foreigners are led to believe were masterpieces, they are not even honoured with a mention.

3. *The Determiner of Consciousness: the Aggressive West.*— The old form of national consciousness which certainly was very strong in China became by the nature of the case a consciousness of isolation and superiority, especially after the ruin of Buddhism in India had broken the relations with that country. *That* sort of national consciousness is not conducive to progress.

It took the persistent hammer blows of the European nations to destroy that sense of self-sufficiency based for a large part on ignorance, and to create in its place a new national consciousness in which China feels herself as a part of a greater whole, not alone and yet distinct from the other nations.

Historical circumstances have given to this new national consciousness a character of humility which is worthy of notice. China has had to recognize that she had met her superiors in some respects. This has greatly increased her receptivity and intensified her will to learn. We shall realize the value of this fact if we remember how the Romans, so proud of their superiority over the Greeks, never could quite get over the cheapening of Greek culture which those circumstances implied, and how they were satisfied with having Greek learning imparted through the slave pedagogues in their households.

A proper awakening of consciousness is necessarily a rather long process. There are bound to be some miscarried and useless attempts: such was the Boxer upheaval.

It is rather remarkable that the work which the repeated attacks of European imperialism had not brought to a fully successful issue, was completed not by a Western power, but by Japan. Naturally the Chinese people would be much more sensitive to pressure from such a close neighbour. The service that Japan has rendered to China in awakening her public spirit cannot be easily grasped while the animosity which necessarily results from the process is still continuing.

But although it was through Japan that these last stinging attacks were made, still it was the West which was acting in an indirect way: Western warships, Western guns, Western diplomacy, imperialism of the Western type.

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4. *The Starter: Modern Western Civilization.*—This is to foreign eyes the most obvious element in the preliminaries of the present renewal of Chinese civilization; it has been often and very fully treated. Here I shall simply trace five steps in the progressive impact of Western culture.

First Step.—The defeats at the hands of the English and French compelled the Chinese Government to recognize the necessity of borrowing from their enemies' armoury weapons wherewith to resist them. So, for the safeguard of the national existence in its foreign relations, China made a start in Western subjects with the study of military and naval methods and of international law.

In order to establish arsenals and to build a navy, it was necessary to have men familiar with physics, chemistry, metallurgy and other Western technical sciences. In 1869 a mechanical school was established in connection with the Arsenal at Shanghai and a naval School in Foochow. In 1875 Li Hung-chang, then Viceroy of Chihli, advocated the introduction of physical sciences among the subjects for the official examinations, and in 1887, as a result of the French war, the Government finally followed the suggestion. Gradually the value of Western mechanical, technical sciences came to be undisputedly recognized.

As naval and land battles compelled China to take up Western mechanical subjects, so the diplomatic attacks of foreign nations forced the Government to start the study of that mysterious International Law, for the violations of which they were being so savagely punished. In 1864 Prince K'ung appointed a commission which assisted Dr. W. A. P. Martin in the preparation of a Chinese edition of Wheaton's "Elements of International Law." Interpreters having to be trained to deal with the increased diplomatic intercourse imposed by the foreign powers, the T'ung Wên Kuan (同文館) was opened in Peking in 1862 as the first Government establishment for the study of foreign languages. This T'ung Wên Kuan later became the Imperial University.

Second Step.—Soon many besides the Government came to a gradual realization of the practical value of the material features in Western civilization, especially of the mechanical contrivances invented by the foreign devils (a name which involved a certain respect for their cleverness). This popular adoption of the material things in Western civilization extended very far, ranging from mines and railways to Lancashire cloth, matches, petrol, and ultimately to hats and shoes (which seems

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to be as far as the adoption of Western clothing will go for a good while).

What is the cultural value of this absorption of Western features by the merchants, the industrialists and the common people ? It is hard to say. The popularity of Western manufactures could very well combine itself with an utter estrangement from the essential elements of Western civilization. When the Europeans took tobacco-smoking from the Red Indians, or tea-drinking from the Chinese, they certainly did not mean thereby to recognize the value of the primitive American and of the Chinese civilizations.

Third Step.—The Sino-Japanese war proved that the adoption of foreign mechanical implements for the army and the navy had been too superficial a reform : more important than the guns were the men behind them ; a new type of mind was necessary to cope with the aggressive foreigner, and its training necessitated a complete transformation of the educational system, similar to the radical change effected by Japan. The new type of school which had made Japan victorious was represented in China only by a few Government schools, but they were supplemented by quite a number of missionary schools which, beginning soon after the treaty of Nanking had opened China, had done the pioneer work in the introduction of a more or less complete Western type of education. These Christian schools had not attracted much interest so far, but they were overcrowded within eighteen months of the close of the war with Japan. So were the few modern schools under Government or private control. Then Nanyang College, Peiyang University and the University in Peking were thoroughly reorganized.

It was at this juncture that the literati became intensely and earnestly interested : the fundamental issue of education being reached, the fight for and against the introduction of Western culture was to begin in real earnest. The great scholar K'ang Yu-wei (康有爲), his most prominent disciple Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啓超), with others, started a resolute effort for the radical transformation of the educational system. In 1898 they found a willing disciple in the Emperor Kuang Hsü himself, and a party of influential officials ready to back them. The Empress Dowager Tz'ŭ Hsi, helped by Yüan Shih-k'ai, defeated the reform for a time, but her reaction led to such a disastrous result in the Boxer catastrophe that the Empress and Yüan Shih-k'ai themselves had to take the lead in the reform, and in 1905 the old system of official examinations was definitely abolished and a school

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system of the Western type established. But how far was this education to be modern and Western? Chiefly in that it was to include natural sciences, technical subjects and the study of foreign languages. There was no desire to go deeper into the essentials of Western thought and life.

Fourth Step.—The Boxer humiliation had hopelessly shattered the credit of the Manchu government. The ruin of the old education, the heart of which was the political philosophy of Confucius, had as its corollary the abandonment of that political doctrine. So it came about that the study of Western forms of government was resorted to for suggestions. In this work also, the best scholars of the country took the lead. Yen Fu's (嚴復) and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's translations, or rather adaptations of European political writers such as Montesquieu and Rousseau, spread rapidly through the educated classes, being devoured in particular by the students in schools of the new type. The beginnings of Chinese journalism were due to the will to express these new political ideas and aspirations.

The heirs of the scholarly tradition soon found themselves dispossessed of their leadership of political thought by that remarkable dreamer of great dreams, Sun Yat Sen, and later, when the business proved profitable, by practical politicians. But these men could not have won their easy victory of 1911 if all of the educated classes had not already been in ferment and in the expectation of great changes.

Fifth Step.—Let us note a common character of all the above-mentioned phases of Western civilization which had penetrated so far into China. They were all *technical*. It was the technique of armies and navies, of international relationships, of railways and mines, commerce and banking, the technique of Western education, the technical procedure of modern republican government, in which the Chinese had become so deeply interested. Methods, machinery, they were willing to adopt: the forms of Western life, its outward features. And for a long time they hoped that it would be enough and that they could stop there.

Only when they had learnt through bitter experience how insufficient these things were in themselves—railways and a Parliament and shells of Western schools,—did they realize the necessity of penetrating deeper, of getting at the *principles* underlying Western civilization, at the spirit animating it. What I would call the final, the really effective step was taken when the Chinese decided to become disciples of the totality of Western thought. And as humility always brings its own reward, they were thereby

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enabled to become truly masters of that new culture. So far nothing else had been done but a slavish imitation of externals. Now by getting at the very kernel of Western life and by appropriating it, they became independent of it, able henceforth to pursue their cultural work with full freedom, on the basis of the best available help from abroad and at the same time on creative lines of their own.

(*To be concluded.*)

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QUESTIONS ON SOME POINTS IN GILES' DICTIONARY

BY

A. C. MOULE

身毒 India. *Giles* (1912) says of 身 "Read *yen*^{2} or *yüan*^{2} (K'ang Hsi says = 捐 which = 沿)." The *Shih chi* c. 116 fol. 2r° (which *K'ang-hsi* quotes), says 從東南身毒國(集解)徐廣曰字或作竺漢書直云身毒史記一本作乾毒翻案漢書音義曰一名天竺則浮屠胡是也(索隱)身音捐毒音篤小顏亦曰捐篤也. "To the south-east is the kingdom of Shên-tu. The *Chi chieh* (5th century) says: Hsü Kuang (A.D. 352-425) says the character [tu] may be read chu. The *Han shu* simply says Shên-tu. One copy of the *Shih chi* reads Ch'ien-tu. I note that the *Han shu yin i* says [Shên-tu] is also called T'ien-chu; so it is the land of the Buddhist foreigners. The *So yin* (8th century) says the sound of shên is chüan, the sound of tu^2 is tu^3. The lesser Yen also says it is Chüan-tu^3." But India is mentioned again in the *Shih chi*, c. 123, fol. 3v°, as follows: 其東南有身毒國(集解)徐廣曰身或作乾又作竺(索隱)身音乾毒音篤孟康云即天竺也所謂浮圖胡也(正義)一名身毒云云. "To the south-east [of 大夏 Ta-hsia] is the ingdom of Shên-tu. The *Chi chieh* says Hsü Kuang says shen may be read ch'in, and is also read chi. The *So yin* says the sound of shên is ch'ien, the sound of tu^2 is tu^3. Mêng K'ang (3rd century) says this is T'ien-chu, or what are called the Buddhist foreigners. The *Chêng i* (A.D. 736,—evidently using a different text) says it is also named Shên-tu, etc. etc. Under 竺 chu *K'ang-hsi* says: 又天竺國名(後漢西域傳)天竺國一名身毒國在月氏[之]東南數千里(山海經)有國名曰朝鮮天毒(郭璞註)即天竺國(括地志)天竺國有東西南北中央五國(通志畧)天竺即捐毒也. "Also, T'ien-chu, the name of a kingdom. The *Hou han shu*

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(c. 118, fol. 5v°) says the kingdom of T'ien-chu, also called the kingdom of Shên-tu, is several thousand *li* south-east of the Yüeh-shih. The *Shan hai ching* (c. 118, fol. 1) says: There are kingdoms, named Ch'ao-hsien and T'ien-tu. Kuo p'o (A.D. 276-324) annotates [the latter]: Namely the kingdom of T'ien-chu. The *Kua ti chih* (T'ang dynasty) says: The kingdoms of T'ien-chu are five; east, west, south, north and middle. The *T'ung chih lio* says T'ien-chu is the same as Chüan-tu.[3]"

Eitel has: INDU 印度 Yin-tu . . . or 身毒 [Shên-tu] (Sindhu, Scinde) or 賢豆 [Hsien tou] (Hindu) or 天竺. In all these instances the ordinary transliteration of the various words has been used as a matter of convenience, with no desire to prejudge the question of the sound of 身 in 身毒 Shên-tu.

We have, then, by straying very little beyond the limits of two entries in *K'ang-hsi* and without touching Buddhist books, these nine forms of the name in question: 身毒 Shên-tu; 乾毒 Ch'ien-tu; 乿毒 Ch'in-tu; 訖毒 Chi-tu; 捐毒 Chüan-tu; 天毒 T'ien-tu; 天竺 T'ien-chu; 身竺 Shên-chu; 捐篤 Chüan-tu. Of the five variants of 身 shên, 捐 chüan alone can be read anything like yen or yin; and none of the commentaries quoted suggest 印度 Yin-tu as an alternative to or as an explanation of Shên-tu.* In the second place there are the statements that the sound of 身 shên is here 捐 chüan or 乾 ch'ien. As these two statements are by one author, Ssŭ-ma Chêng, commenting on the same book, it seems to me to be likely that by 捐 he meant to convey the ancient form of the sound *chüan* (which may not have been far different from that of *ch'ien*) rather than that of *yüan* or *yen*.

Finally it should be noticed that K'ang-hsi in no way suggests that 捐 chüan is "read *yen*[3] or *yüan*[2]" *in this context*; and, whether I am right or wrong, its quoted statement (身音捐) needs no correction.

* * *

After the above was written, I found that *Giles* has been anticipated by Julien in 1847 (*Journal Asiatique* sér. IV, vol. 10, pp. 90, 91), who remarks that the *Shih chi* says that 身 is read 捐, for which *K'ang-hsi* allows the sound *yun* (*yün*). It is curious that Julien, who bases his note on the *Chêng tzŭ t'ung*, should not notice 乾; for the *Chêng tzŭ t'ung* says on the authority of the *Shih chi*: 身音捐一音乾. The same dictionary quotes Yen Shih-ku as follows: 今曰天竺蓋身毒聲轉爲天篤

*Yin-tu may have been introduced by Hsüan-tsang. The *Hsi yü chi*, c. 2, begins 詳夫天竺之稱異譯紛舊云身毒訛曰賢豆今從正音宜云印度印度之人隨地稱國 *The Fan i ming i chi*, c. 7 fol. 8, quotes this passage reading 篤 for 毒.

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篤省文作竺又轉爲竹音也. "Our present word T'ien-chu results from the change of the sound of Shên-tu into T'ien-tu. *Tu* (篤) was written short as *tu* (竺) and further changed in sound to *chu*." From this we may guess that 天竺 T'ien-chu itself once represented sufficiently accurately the sounds Hsien-tu (㮈篤), and that the early transliterators had in their minds forms like *hind* or *sindhu*, rather than the *indu* which Hsüan-tsang demanded in the eighth century.

* * *

否 fou, p'i, or pei, appears according to the *P'ei wên yün fu*, *K'ang-hsi*, *Hsin tzŭ tien*, *Tz'ŭ yüan*, *Morrison*, *de Guignes*, *Williams*, and *Couvreur*, to have three meanings: (1) *not* (不也), (2) *to obstruct* or, *an obstacle* (閉塞也), (3) *evil* (惡也). The second of these meanings is accidentally omitted by *Giles*, which mentions the 12th Diagram (否卦) but does not give its meaning. Many instances are given in the *P'ei wên yün fu*, as for example, this line from a poem by Chu Hsi: 極知此道無終否; or 否則思通 from a note on the *I ching*.

* * *

者 *Chê*. The *Shuo wên* describes *chê* as 別事詞 *Pieh shih tz'ŭ*, meaning, I suppose, a demonstrative or a defining word. Long ago it was pointed out to me, I think by my brother H. W. Moule, that *chê* is regularly put after a word or group of words about which some remark is to be made.* This has no doubt been well known, but sinologues from Julien to Giles have as it seems to me confounded rather than simplified the matter by suggesting that *chè*, when so placed, modifies the meaning of the preceding word or words, and has itself some such definite meaning as "one" or "one who." Julien in his *Syntaxe Nouvelle* distinguishes no fewer than fifteen uses of *chê*, and Giles in his *Dictionary* (1912) says "It imparts various shades of meaning, adjectival, adverbial, etc., to words to which it is joined." Even Couvreur's lucid account of the matter (*Dictionnaire*, 1904) distinguishes two uses which are to my mind often barely distinguishable when he calls *chê* first "the suffix of a participle or sometimes of an adjective; he who", and secondly "the suffix of a word or phrase which is the object of an explanation."

Here it should be clearly said that I do not at all wish to suggest that *chê* has only one meaning or use, or that one rule will cover all its uses.

* The *Yü p'ien* c. 11, rad. 147, dismisses 者 with 語助也 "a final particle."

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Granting this, let us come to a few actual examples of the use of *chê*.

Julien (*Syntaxe* p. 125) says "Quand un substantif devenu adjectif par l'adjonction de *tche* 者, ne se rapporte pas à un sujet déterminé, il perd sa qualité d'adjectif et forme un nom abstrait: 仁者人也 *jin-tche* l'humanité, *jin-ye* c'est l'homme." [*Chung yung*, c. 20.]

Giles (s.v. 山) has 仁者樂山. "The virtuous take delight in hills." [*Lun yü* VI. c. 21.]

Now if Professor Giles says that the "various shades of meaning" seen in "humanity" and "the virtuous" are imparted to 仁 *jên* by *chê*, I am content to ask :—

If *chê* to *jên* imparts a shade of meaning,
What's the shade of meaning that *chê* to *jên* imparts ?

The reader is obviously obliged in any case to find the shade of meaning so imparted quite independently of the *chê*, and it is of small interest to know that *chê* has imparted a shade of meaning if *chê* does not also tell us what that shade of meaning is.

But now apply to these two sentences the rule that *chê* stands after a word or phrase to which attention is drawn for the purpose of making it the subject of a remark, and we have "*Humanity*, it is man." "*The virtuous*, they take delight in hills;"—*chê* performing the same function in either case, and the shades of meaning being found as before by independent means.

With a few exceptions (such as the colloquial 你且在門首待者 the examples in Julien's fifteen paragraphs will be found to be covered by this rule. The examples in Giles are of little use for the present purpose as the majority of them are detached from their context and end with chê,* whereas it is of the essence of this common use of the word that it shall be followed by a statement of some kind.

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* Some of these, as *K'ang-hsi* and the *P'ei wên yün fu* show, come from sentences which actually end with 者 *chê*, like Han Yü's 銘名墓石以告觀者, and so do not fall within our rule. But even in this case, where it is so tempting to say *chê* "those who" *kuan* "look," it is 告 *kao* that indicates the shade of meaning of *kuan*; and the colloquial version of *kuan chê* would very probably begin with the demonstrative 這 *chê*.

The examples include also two instances from the *Odes* (Legge I. viii. IV.; xi. VI.) of what looks like a curious idiom where a two-character term is divided and distributed to 彼 *pi* and 者 *chê* as a form of passionate address; 彼婦者子 and 彼蒼者天. Whether we punctuate 彼蒼. 者天 or 彼蒼者. 天. we have the authority of Tu Fu for taking 彼蒼, *without* 者 as equivalent to 天, in the line 蟾憂問彼蒼.

But I do not wish to scoff at the *method* of Giles and still less at that of Julien. We need not less but more scientific and logical analysis of sentences, and statement of the rules of syntax.

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It will probably be admitted that the rule which I am advocating is simple; but that is of little value unless it is also true. The burden of proof seems, however, to me to lie with those who say that, when 仁者 *jên chê* means first "humanity" and then "the virtuous," the shade of meaning in each case is *imparted by the* chê. And there for the present that point may be left.

But some one will say, what do you suppose to be the meaning of *chê?* It is, as the *Shuo wên* says, a demonstrative or distinguishing word, and it seems to be at least conceivable that the use of which we are speaking may be derived from the admitted meaning "this" (此也). But in a very large number of cases it needs no translation and simply serves the purpose which is achieved in European books by a colon, or inverted commas, or by the use of black or italic type; or as Morrison very well expresses it, "it simply directs the mind to pause, and points it to the word or sentence preceding." Thus the commentary on the *Shih ching* (in an ordinary school edition) begins 國者 . . . 而風者。. . . 謂之風者。. . .; but soon drops the *chê* for a simple dot, 周。國名。南。南方諸侯之國也。 and who will pretend that there is any difference between these two ways of indicating the words to be commented upon? But if there is any doubt that *chê* may have a more definitely demonstrative sense in these cases, let us look at the beginning of the *Sacred Edict* where on fol. i we shall find 夫孝者 translated on fol. 3 by 這孝順爹娘. An extreme example of the use in question is found in the Christian inscription at Hsi-an, where first twenty words (至于方大 . . . 羣生) and then twenty-eight words (若使風雨 . . . 目成) are thus marked off for comment by 者 *chê*, the comment in each case ending with 也 *yeh*.

But whether *chê* is preceded by one word or by twenty-eight the use seems to me to be like the familiar colloquial syntax which draws special attention to the subject-word (name, phrase or thought) of a sentence by placing it first; and a shade of meaning may be imparted to the word so distinguished by the remark that follows and not at all by the *chê*. To return to 仁者人也 and 仁者樂山, *chê* stands unexpressively in the same position in either phrase. How can it impart *different* shades of meaning? But "man" is not likely to be the definition of "the virtuous," nor is "takes pleasure in hills" very likely to be said of abstract "humanity"; and so it was 人 *jên* and not 者 *chê* that guided Julien to say "*l'humanité*, c'est l'homme," and it was 樂山 *lo shan* and not 者 *chê* that taught Giles to say "*the virtuous* take pleasure in hills." A good example to show wherein the shade of meaning lies may be seen in the *Odes* (Legge, p. 348):

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彼讀人者誰適與謀取彼讀人投畀豺虎 what difference of meaning is there between 讀人者 and 讀人?

Finally 述而不作; I merely wish to draw attention to a simple rule, clearly stated by the French (Prémare, Julien, and Couvreur) but not so much as mentioned in Giles, which obviously will cover a very large number of the cases where *chê* is used. But I am not supporting any particular theory of the radical meaning of the word, and still less do I wish to be understood to think that one meaning or one rule will explain all the instances of so common a word as 者 *chê* *.

* * *

A friend, who knows a thousand times more Chinese than I do, sometimes argues as to whether the same grammatical thoughts are present to the European and the Chinese mind or not; and he may be interested in this example of the use of 矣 *i* and 也 *yeh* from 馬氏文通 *Ma Shih wên t'ung*. 吾聞其語矣未見其人也. "I have heard the word, I have not yet seen the man." *I have heard* and *I have seen* are grammatically identical to our minds; to the Chinese they are sharply distinguished. One clause expresses unalterable fact, the other a fact which the future may change. Observe that it is quoted expressly to show how final particles supply the want of inflexion *in the verbs*.

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* If I care to make any positive suggestions, it will be that readers take note of the number of cases in which a phrase ending with 者 *chê* (whatever its position in the sentence) may be translated into a colloquial phrase beginning with 這 *chê*.

At the last moment I have received a note from Mr. L. C. Hopkins in which he says: "Tuan Yü-ts'ai annotates, 言主於別事則言者以別之 'When in speaking some difference is emphasized, then the word *chê* is used to differentiate.' Then note what Tuan adds almost at once (which I many years ago thought I had discovered), 'In common-speech 者箇 *chê ko* 者般 *chê pan*, 者回 *chê hui* are all used for the sake of making distinctions. It is not known at what date 這 *yen* was substituted for 者 *chê*. Tuan's actual words are, 凡俗語云者箇者般者回皆取別事之意不知何時以迎這之這代之. The *Ch'êng tzu t'ung* s. v. 者 (e.g., 借爲指事之辭) and 這 (e.g., 凡稱此箇爲者箇俗多改用這字這乃迎也) and the same two articles in *K'ang-hsi* should also be consulted. The colloquial *chê* is, I imagine, a demonstrative, and so Tuan Yü-ts'ai justifies my translation of *pieh shih* as "demonstrative."

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SINOLOGICAL NOTES

BY

L. C. ARLINGTON

(*Continued from page* 61.)

Students of Chinese who use Giles' Chinese-English Dictionary must not think when they cannot find satisfactory explanations of doubtful phrases in his dictionary, that the distinguished sinologue did not know what he was writing about, or gave wrong translations, for such, with a few exceptions—a mere flea-bite in such a stupendous work—can hardly be said to be the case. The only fault one might complain of is that he seldom gives any definition of a word or phrase as is done in foreign dictionaries. This would be of great assistance to the student. I have already alluded to several such doubtful terms or phrases in the pages of this *Review*, and will, with Dr. Giles' permission, refer to another one, viz., 五鳳樓 under No. 7343. It is really difficult for the ordinary student, and even a ripe scholar, to understand how this term came to mean "a talented writer or genius." Giles has it all right, not, however, in his dictionary where it ought to be, but hidden away in his *Biographical Dictionary* under Han P'u (No. 624), where we find that "Han P'u's brother once spoke contemptuously of his elder brother's writings; saying that they were like a straw hut with a door hung on rope; while he compared his own compositions with the famous Five-Phœnix Tower built by the First Emperor of the Later Liang dynasty. Han P'u heard of this; and when some one sent him a present of fine paper he forwarded it to his brother saying that it was useless to himself but might help towards the adornment of the Five-Phœnix Tower." And that is how the term came to be applied to a talented writer. It should be noted here that a distinction must be made between 五鳳樓 and 五鳳樓手. The former refers to the building only, which was constructed from the very best materials by Liang T'ai-tsu (A.D. 907-912); while the latter term refers to a talented writer—a poetic or imaginative comparison—

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because Han P'u's brother compared the materials of his own matchless composition with those of the above-mentioned palace.

* * *

The brothers Po-I and Shu-ch'i. (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1657). Considerable controversy exists among chronologists regarding the famous brothers, so often quoted in history and the classics. The particulars now given are supplementary to Dr. Giles' biographical note under the above number. According to the 皇侃義疏 the original name of 孤 was 觚. In olden times these two characters were interchanged. 孤竹 was created a State on the 3rd day of the 1st moon in the 1st year of the Emperor Ch'êng T'ang of the Shang dynasty (B.C. 1766). It is the modern Lulunghsien (盧龍縣) in the present prefecture of Yungp'ing, and changed during the Republic to Yungp'inghsien in Chihli. Their father's surname was double, i.e., 墨胎, his name Ch'u 初, and his style 子朝. The eldest son's name was 墨胎允, his style 公信. Being the *first* son he was called Po 伯, and I 夷 was his posthumous title. The *third* son was named 墨胎智 (or 致), his style 公進 and 齊 was his posthumous rank. Classical tradition and Ch'ên P'êng-nien (*Biog. Dict.* No. 238), inform us that Po-I was the eldest son by a concubine (伯夷大而庶), and Shu-ch'i the youngest son by the wife (叔齊小而正).

When the father died each of the brothers refused to take over their father's birthright, and fled the state as recorded by Giles. Dr. Giles states, however, that the *third* brother took possession of his father's birthright. There is nothing mentioned about this in the classics, commentary, or other work except in the *Shih Chi* wherein under 伯夷列傳 is the following: 伯夷叔齊, 孤竹君之二子也. 父欲立叔齊; 及父卒, 叔齊讓伯夷. 伯夷曰, 父命也. 遂逃去. 叔齊亦不肯立而逃之. 國人立其中子.

According to Chinese ruling 中子 would be the *second* son and not the third. As will be noted above, 夷 and 齊 were their posthumous titles and not their "honorary epithets" as Dr. Legge believed. The brothers fled to 首陽山 south of 蒲坂 in Shansi. Other names for this mountain are: 首山, 雷首山 and 陽屬山, which last is the modern name. It lies west of one of the affluents of the 濟水, which bears several names such as: 濟河, 蒲坂河 and 壺口河. P'u-fan (or Pan) is a famous old city; the ancient capital of the Emperor Shun. The particulars regarding the names of places, rivers, etc., have been culled

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from the 滇地理志 and the 太平寰宇記 bv Chêng Hsŭan (*Biog. Dict.* No. 274).

* * *

Under No. 13,773 氵曰 Giles warns us that it is "to be distinguished from 汩 No. 6249," and yet (of course following K'anghsi and like the latter) confuses *Mi* 汨 No. 7840 with 氵曰 No. 13,773. Now *Mi* 汨 No. 7840 (*pace* K'anghsi) has only *one* sound and only *one* meaning, the name of a river that Ch'ü Yüan drowned himself in, also called 汨羅淵 and 屈潭. *Mi* 汨 therefore should not have been entered under the *Ku* sounds, or given meanings that belong to a totally different character, viz., 氵曰 No. 13,773. This latter character is read *Yi* and *Ku* and not *Yüeh* and should therefore be expunged from the *Yüeh* sounds. All the entries under *Ku* No. 6249 are wrong, since *Mi* 汨 is not read *Ku*. The simplest way is to alter 汩 No. 6249 to 氵曰, and transfer the meaning given under the entry *Mi* 汨 to No. 7840 where it rightly belongs. As the first readings of 氵曰 are *Yi*, the character should really be placed under the *Yi* sounds with secondary meanings as given under No. 6249 to *Ku*. The rhyme 錫 should be transferred to 汨 No. 7840, and 質 and 月 to 氵曰. It appears that when the *seal* character was changed to the *Li* script, the confusion took place, and even the *P'êi Wên Yün Fu* and many other books, including K'anghsi continued the misprint. If any doubts exist for the above statement satisfaction may be obtained by looking up the following books: *Tz'ŭ Yüan*; 水經注; *Shu Ching*; *Erh Ya*; 廣韻 and 韻彙. The Emperor Shun is said to have written a book called the 氵曰 (*ku*) 作篇 (氵曰 = 治), "instructing the people how to become prosperous."

To show the utter confusion the Chinese lexicographers got into between 氵曰 and 汨; the *P'ei Wên Yün Fu* under 汩 (a misprint for 氵曰) gives the (correct) sound *Yi*, but says nothing about *Ku*; but under the rhyming character 月 again misprints 汨 for 氵曰 and says it is read *Ku*, but says nothing about *Yi*! And K'anghsi says that *Mi* is also read *Ku* and that 汩 (a misprint for 氵曰) is read *Yi*! Where Giles got his *Yüeh* from, is therefore a conundrum.

* * *

Under No. 1332 Giles gives 員嶠 as the name of a mountain in Shantung, one of the Five where the genii dwell. He should have said that it was the second mountain or ridge, the first being 岱輿, the third 方壺, the fourth 瀛洲 and the fifth 蓬萊. The above, according to the 列子, are all situated on an island off the Shantung coast. The 拾遺記 states that there

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are three hills in the 渤海 (Gulf of Peichihli) resembling square tea-pots; one is called "the Abbot" (方丈) or Square tea-pot (方壺), one is the 蓬萊 or 蓬壺, another the 瀛洲 or 瀛壺. As the Chinese believe that the genii can only inhabit certain fairy islands where they are safe from the intrusion of worldly mortals, the surrounding waters of such islands are called "The weak waters of P'êng Lai" (蓬萊弱水), where no boat, not even a hair, could float without sinking.

This conflicts with Giles's statement that 員嶠 is the name of a mountain in Shantung. They are probably the Isles of the Blest that Hsŭ Fu (See *Biog. Dict.* No. 788) told the First Emperor were supposed to be inhabited by Immortals. Giles should have stated that Hsŭ Fu never returned, neither did the 3,000 young men and women he took with him. He is supposed to have set up a kingdom of his own. There is a legend to the effect that this was at a place called 州兮城 N. E. of the present 童山縣 in Chihli. The name is probably derived from the tufts of hair on the heads of the young boys and girls Hsŭ Fu took with him. Subsequently, owing to fear of the First Emperor, he vacated that place and left by boat for Japan or Po Chi (百濟) in Korea. "Abodes of the Genii" would appear to be the best term to use for all such fairy places as 方壺, 員嶠, etc.

* * *

No. 2263 九重, "Nine storeys," "Nine Buddhist heavens," etc., is not fully treated, e.g., 覲九重 means to be received in audience by the Emperor. I can find no authority for its being a name for Peking; although one might translate it "the capital" as: 人君所居也. 九重 metaphorically represents the Emperor who is supposed to be co-equal to Heaven; and 九重震怒 "the Emperor is highly incensed." The nine concentric terraces and steps at the Temple of Heaven are also called 九重.

Giles also says that 九華 is a name for Peking. But the 太平寰宇記 states that it is the name of a mountain 40 *li* S.E. of 青陽縣 in Anhwei; also called the 九子山 by Li T'ai-po because it had Nine Peaks resembling linked-up lotus petals. Wang Shou-jên (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2224) is said to have studied there. A highly ornamental and decorated palace, house, garden, etc., are called 九華, probably derived from the name given the palace built by Shih Chi-lung (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1705) called the 九華宮.

* * *

Under No. 2215 角 it should be noted that it is read *Lu* when referring to one of the Four Gray-heads (*Vide* No. 3892

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皓). Their names are: 角里 (Lu Li); 東 園公; 綺里季 and 夏黃公. The Four recluses were also known as 商山四皓.

* * *

No. 9479 布 also means to offer sacrifice to the stars in space: 布散祭於地: The old form of 布 was 㐭, not to be confused with 㐭.

* * *

Giles says that 賊星 means a "robber." It really means a "shooting star," equivalent to 奔星 and 犇豹. V. *Erh Ya.*

* * *

始影 (or 旬始) is the name of a star said to be worshipped by women at the Summer Solstice praying for beauty. It is probably *Gamma* in *Draco.* V. 淵鑑類函.

* * *

The classical phrase 三以天下讓: In the Analects, Bk. VIII, ch. 1, Confucius said that "T'ai-po reached the highest point of virtue because he *thrice* declined the kingdom, and that the people *in ignorance of his motives* could not express their approbation of his conduct."

Chu Hsi, whom Dr. Legge followed, and other commentators take the view that *thrice* equals "firmly," Dr. Legge saying that "there is a difficulty in making out the refusal of the empire three times," and that "there are different ways, times and accounts in which he did so." It is unfortunate that Dr. Legge did not give any of the "different ways and accounts" he refers to.

As there are several characters denoting the word "firmly" which could have been used in the original text, why give such a forced meaning to a symbol representing the figure for "three" or "thrice" (*4th tone*) ?

By the same token it would be just as logical to make Judge Hui of Liu-hsien "firmly" dismissed from office or a "firmly" repeated dismissal (*V.* Analects, Bk. XVIII, ch. 11) as to make *san* (4th tone) thrice="firmly" as Chu Hsi did, and as acquiesced in by Dr. Legge. Students of the classics know that T'ai Wang had three sons, *viz.*, T'ai-po 泰伯, Chung Yung 仲雍 and Chi Li 季歷. It is also recorded that before T'ai Wang died he invited T'ai-po to ascend the throne, but without effect, as the latter knew that his father (T'ai Wang) considered Chi Li the most virtuous and loved him the most, and because of the latter's son Chi-ch'ang (that is, *Wên Wang*), who was a natural born sage and would certainly succeed his father Chi Li to the throne. T'ai-po for these reasons refused to accept the throne; and under

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the pretext of procuring herbs to cure his father (T'ai Wang) he fled together with his brother Chung Yung to the borders of the Kingdoms of *Wu* and *Yüeh* (the modern Kiangsu and Chekiang); where, on learning the news of their father's death, they decided to remain in obscurity. This is said to be the *first* time he declined the throne. Subsequently, Chi Li sent a letter begging T'ai-po to return and take over the kingdom, but he refused, and this is considered the *second* occasion. On the expiry of the full period of mourning for his father, he "cut off his hair and tattooed (文身斷髮) his body after the custom of the barbarous tribes of the South.* This is said to be the *third* time he declined to accept the kingdom.

仲雍's other name was 虞仲 and not 吳仲 as Dr. Legge believed.

V. 四書解釋.

* * *

Folklore.—Students of Chinese, especially of the classics, all know about the silly tradition of Kung-yeh Ch'ang and his supposed knowledge of bird language. I do not know whether anyone has proven or disproven the allegation that he was put in bonds for stealing a goat, or for murder. Confucius certainly knew him to be innocent, or he would not have given him his own daughter to wife. Dr. Legge in a note dismisses the "silly non-sense" in a few words; but does not say what Kung was put in prison for; neither do the classics. There are two versions relating to his incarceration; the first and most widely believed in the North is as follows: Quoting the 論釋 we find that when

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* The *Tz'ü Yüan* also has 文身斷髮 "tattooed body and cut hair," and quotes this as taken from the *Tso Chuan*. That the term is not very well known is apparent since neither K'anghsi nor Dr. Giles mentions it.

The term, however, is an interesting point in ethnography. Did the tribes of *Wu* and *Yüeh* tattoo themselves? The art is totally unknown to the Chinese at the present time: that is, they do not practise it. But that is no reason for believeing that the custom never existed; and it is quite possible that the Japanese adopted and introduced the custom into Japan through their early intercourse with the Chinese of the South. Count Okuma in his "*Fifty Years of New Japan*" states that fifteen or more centuries ago, Chinese nobles, supposed to be descendants of the first Emperors of the Chin dynasty, migrated to Japan with the people of the various districts; and that they multiplied in various localities. It is also known that the *Wu* sounds prevail in the Japanese language. Then, again, the people of *Wu* were a "water-people," for in ancient times *Wu* was a great naval state; and being both a naval and water people, it is more than likely that they practised the art of tattooing. Probably the non-Chinese races, (for the people of *Wu* and *Yüeh* and other Southern races were undoubtedly non-Chinese) who migrated to Japan introduced the custom there, where it took root but was lost to their descendants. Many of the tribes on the Indo-China borders, more especially the Lolos, have special tattoo marks to distinguish one another.

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Kung returned from a visit to the Wei state to Lu, while making a short stay at a place called 三界上, he overheard two birds talking to each other: one said, "Let us go to the banks of the Ch'ing Hsi, there is a dead body there, and we can have a feed." Later on, he met an old woman weeping by the roadside; on asking her why she was in such distress, the old women replied that her son had suddenly disappeared and she was afraid some dire misfortune had happened to him. Kung then told her what he had heard the birds saying and advised her to go and investigate. She did so, and arriving at the spot indicated she found to her sorrow the dead body of her son. She reported the matter to the police, at the same time informing them of what Kung had told her. Kung was brought before the magistrate, who, upon listening to his wild talk of bird language, said that Kung was probably the murderer and ordered him to be confined in gaol pending further investigation.

In the meantime, Kung indulged in his favourate pastime of listening to the birds discoursing outside his prison walls. One day he suddenly burst out laughing, and the warden thinking this very strange asked him what he was so jubilant about? "Why," said Kung, "The birds all say that a cart loaded with rice has capsized at Pai Lien Shan; that the ox has broken its horn, and the rice is scattered all over the ground; let's go and have a good feed." This was at once reported to the magistrate, who refused to believe it, but at once sent some of his men to investigate; and sure enough, on arrival at the spot indicated, they found things just as they had been reported by Kung. The magistrate although sceptical, released him. He had been in confinement for 60 days.

It is further believed, and seriously, that Kung also understood the language of the pigs!

The other version, mostly a Southern one, is that Kung understood the language of ants. It is stated that one day a number of ants knowing Kung to be a very poor man, led him to where a dead sheep was lying. Kung gave them the entrails and took the carcass home, hanging it out in the sun to dry. This coming to the notice of the neighbours, they suspected him of killing it for its meat and reported the matter to the police. As no one would believe his story of the ants, he was thrown into prison. One day, in order to test him, one of the goalers said to him, "There are a lot of ants running to and fro, and apparently conversing with each other. Since you profess to understand their language, will you be good enough to tell me what they are talking about?" "Why," said Kung, "They say that the

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good house-wife in a certain house has broken her honey jar, and they are calling to each other to carry the honey to their holes." The gaoler at once went off to see, and sure enough, the lady had broken a jar of honey, and the ants were running in all directions carrying off the honey. Kung was, of course, at once released. The following doggerel verse, said to be derived from the above, is still sung by millions of Chinese children :—

Kung-yeh Ch'ang ; Kung-yeh Ch'ang :
Shan hou yu i ko ta mien yang ;
Ni ch'ih jou lai, wo ch'ih ch'ang.

Kung-yeh Ch'ang ; Kung-yeh Ch'ang ;
Behind the hill there's a great big sheep ;
You eat the meat, I'll eat the guts.

Kung-yeh Ch'ang was, moreover, according to Chinese tradition not the only one who understood bird language. The 後漢書蔡邕傳 states that one Po-I 伯喈 was a master of the language of birds : 伯喈綜鄭於鳥語. The 緯畧 states that Wei Shang 魏尙, an Official Recorder (太史), who lived in the reign of the Emperor 漢高帝, possessed a like knowledge. The 聽雨紀談 states that one Wang Chiao 王喬 had a book by which he could translate the language of birds.

It must not be thought that the Chinese, especially the uneducated classes, consider the ability of any one to talk or understand the language of birds or insects, as "moon-shine" ; they actually believe it to be a fact. Even the educated classes often believe things to which we should hardly give a second thought. I remember several years ago when talking to a young Chinese who was a graduate of the Tientsin Anglo-Chinese College about the tradition of K'ung Ming calling up an east wind to destroy the hosts of Ts'ao Ts'ao, as an absurdity ; he replied that " the men in olden times could do almost anything." There is no argument to them more convincing than that !

* * *

There is often a "splitting of hairs" in the use of Chinese characters : e.g., although 修 and 脩 are interchanged or used one for the other, 修 cannot be used for 脩 in the phrase 束脩.

And so with 詞 No. 12,401 and 辭 No. 12,412 : when 詞 cannot be used for 辭 in 辭受. Giles gives the characters under the correct entry, but does not point this out.

巨 No. 3003 and 鉅 No. 3012 are also interchanged, except in the phrase 巨宝. It is strange that Giles does not give 巨 (or 鉅) 闕 the precious sword mentioned in the Thousand Character Classic.

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The 滹沱河 No. 4917 is also called the 黑池河, 幷州川 and 子牙河. This river takes its rise in 繁峙縣, Shansi, and joins the Fu Yang Ho 滏陽河 at 子牙 in 獻縣 from which place both rivers after joining are called the 子牙河 and connecting with the Grand Canal near Tientsin, flow into the sea.

Although 嶚 No. 10,451 is used for 嵩 No. 10,458, it cannot be used for 嵩 in the sentence 嵩呼萬歲.

N. 5516 *I* 薺 should be distinguished from 薺 read *Chi*[4] and *Chi*[4] (not in Giles' Dict.) with meaning of young grass sprouting. K'anghsi says it has the same meanings of 茨 also written 蒺 (This latter character is not in Giles' Dict.). The original meaning according to the *Shuo Wên* is "stunted growth of grass," etc. !

* * *

The evolution of the Chinese characters has given the hieroglyphist something to think about. In fact, it is confusion worse confounded; and this evolution combined with misprints is responsible for many acrimonious controversies between the various sinologues, who are all more or less right, according to their lights.

The following are a few examples of the confusion the lexicographers got into mainly owing to misprints and the neglect of individual research. Giles in his Dictionary omits 蠢 which means to wriggle like a worm; confusion; disorder; etc. It is the correct form of 蠢 No. 2858, which is the *su* and unauthorized form. The latter character, therefore, has no such meanings as "stupid," "foolish," etc. Such meanings belong to 憃 No. 2921. Although every one writes 蠢 for 憃, it is evident that the latter character is confused with 蠢. The 字學擧隅, an authority on the correct characters to be used in the examination halls, and K'anghsi both make this clear.

The *Tz'ŭ Yüan*, however, under 憃, states that it has the same meanings as 蠢: that is, "disorder"; "stupid"; etc. But under the latter character it says it means "stupid," "foolish," does not refer to 蠢 at all and says nothing about disorder, or to wriggle; but under 蠢 says it means to wriggle like a worm, "stupid," and was originally written 憃! Could the elucidation of paradox go any further?

* * *

No. 5430 猊, the fabulous beast, is also written 貌. The original form is 麑 No. 5436. Giles says the latter means a

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"fawn" and K'anghsi backs him up; yet says the three forms are all interchanged. The *Tz'ŭ Yüan* (another reliable (?) authority) says that 狻 猊 is a wild horse that can go 500 *li* at one bound and was ridden by Buddha.

* * *

Under No. 6239 谷, Giles says it is to be "distinguished from *ch'io* 谷." But wherein lies the difference? The fact is, that *ch'io* is correctly written 谷 (two men over a mouth); while *Ku* 谷 is composed of eight and man over a mouth. Therefore, all such characters written 郤, 綌, 卻 and 隙 (but not 豁), require emendation. Then again, all those characters with the symbol 卩 in them are read *ch'io* or *ch'üeh*, but those with the symbol 阝 as in 郤 are read *chi*, *ch'i* and *hsi*. Hence the rhyme 陌.

* * *

According to the 字 林, No. 12,749 惕 also means "doubt," "suspicion," etc., but not No. 12,751 諶; therefore, the latter character cannot be used for 惕 in that sense.

This is another example of the "hair-splitting" niceties of the hieroglyphic which it is well for us to note. The difference probably lies between "heart" and "words," that is, between the subjective and objective minds.

* * *

Although Giles has *Chia* 夾, No. 1132, and distinguishes it from 夾 under No. 4221 陜 and 陜 No. 9709, he says nothing about 夾 itself read *shan*[3] "to conceal stolen goods on one's person."

* * *

𥑮, 𧰨 and 𥑮, Nos. 1881, 1882 and 1883 are all interchanged, except for "ten years," when 𥑮 cannot be used; yet Giles gives "ten years" under this latter character, which is wrong according to the 施 蔡 𧰨.

* * *

It should be noted that 𡰥 No. 2375 and 悽. No. 2386 are interchanged.

* * *

In the radical index Giles gives the variant of 冈 No. 122 as 冈. This is probably a misprint for 冈, the correct form. The other variant he gives is 冂, but that is correctly written 冂,

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Still another variant is 冂, which forms part of such characters as 瑮, 逗, 厥, etc. 网 was originally written 冂 (note that the bottom stroke of 冂 does not connect with the vertical strokes, but in 冂 it does), and is found in such characters as: 罾, 羅, 羈, 罵. 冃 is found in 罟, 罩, 罾, etc. *Ku* 罟, No. 6194 is also written 罟 and 罟, and not 罟 as Giles has it; and so with the others. 罩 or 罾, not as Giles has it under No. 11,727. A striking irregularity connected with the radical 网 is that the upper part of 罕 No. 3787 is another form of 网 not given in any other character; and that the *su* form of 突 *t'u* is 突.

* * *

Giles says that 尠 No. 4557 and 尟 No. 4558 are the same as 鮮 No. 4467. So they are, but they are then read in the *third* tone, "few," "rare," etc., but not *hsien* "fresh," "new," "clear," etc.

* * *

Giles says that 僊 No. 5564 is "an old form of 因." This is obviously an error; otherwise, why is it pronounced *jang* instead of *yin*? But it has the same meanings as 因, e.g., the *Erh Ya* sentence 僊仍因也, the cause, origin or reason, which produces effects. Giles refers to 佸 No. 12,494, under which he has: 足佸僊而懶步, where it is obvious that 僊 stands for 因. 佸 is also written 秸 and used with radical 43 尢, in the sense of "lame." The correct meaning of 佸 is to be crooked in the legs; lame; weak; etc.

* * *

That Giles was in doubt (*pace* the native lexicographers) when he recorded *I* 圮. No. 5465 as a "bridge" is proven by the illustrations given under that character. He writes *P'i* 圮 not *I* 圮, which is correct and not to be taken as a misprint. Giles warns us that it is "to be distinguished from 圮 No. 9085." According to the *Shuo Wên* the natives of Eastern Ch'u *called* a bridge "I." It was not the *name* of a bridge as Giles says. The poet Li T'ai-po in a poem entitled 懷古人 has 我來圮* 橋上 "mounting the broken bridge it reminded me of the men of yore" (懷古人), alluding to Chang Liang and other heroes of ancient days. What Chang Liang did when the old man presented him with the military treatise was to cross the "broken" bridge three times for the shoe. The old man (黃石公) was sitting on the bridge when Chang Liang arrived and threw

* A misprint for 圮.

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the shoe at him ordering him to bring it to him and after Chang Liang did so, ordering him to put it on for him. The old man made an appointment with Chang Liang to meet him at the broken bridge before daylight and Chang came late on each occasion except the third, when the old man gave him the book on war, and told him to study it deeply and he would be rewarded by the Emperor; said that his name was Huang Shih Kung; bade him to meet him at Chipei-kuch'êngshanhsia (濟北穀城山下) where there was a yellow stone, which was himself thirteen years hence, and then departed. Chang Liang on opening the book found it was written by Chiang T'ai-kung, and having mastered it, took service under Liu Pang and assisted him in the pacification of the empire. Thirteen years afterwards, Chang Liang and Liu Pang visited Kuch'êng and while strolling about the suburbs came across a yellow stone, which reminded Chang Liang of the old man! He, therefore, had the stone carried to his home and placed it in his ancestral temple where he worshipped it in the same way he did his own ancestors. When Chang Liang died, the Yellow Stone was laid beside his grave and called the mound of the Yellow Stone, 黃石冢; thus keeping the old man's memory green. See *Biog. Dict.* No. 866.

There are few Chinese who will agree with Giles that 圮 is an "embankment" although he is partly correct. The reason for this is in the obscurity of the term. The only instance on record that I can find is in a poem by Hsieh Ling-yŭn (*Biog. Dict.* No. 739) called the 征賦, in which occurs the following: 迄沂上而停棰登高圮而不進 "Reaching the I (river in Shantung), we stopped sculling, and ascended an *eminence* thus bringing our voyage to an end."

* * *

Although 很 No. 3901 and 狠 No. 3904 are commonly interchanged, 狠 being the *su* form, there is no authority for this; even K'anghsi objecting to their interchange. 狠 is also read *wan*^{2} with meaning of "noise of dogs fighting." It is read *yin*^{2} (not *k'ên*^{3}) to root (*k'ên*^{3}) like wild hogs. Further, the rhyme is 元 not 阮, since 狠 correctly speaking is not read *hên*^{3} or *hêng*^{3} at all! It belongs to the *p'ing* and not the *tsê* tones.

* * *

The Noble Art of Wei Ch'i or Chinese Game of War.

It is difficult to take up any subject on China that Giles has not already touched upon some way or other. However, he sometimes

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leaves a loop-hole for some one else to step in and elaborate; always taking Giles as a sort of "Bucephalus," on whose tail one may safely get an advantageous lift. In his "*Historical China And Other Sketches*" he gives a most interesting and succinct account of Wei ch'i, and quotes the *Po Wu Chih* statement that the Emperor Yao invented the game and that his son Tan Chu was the best player. As he gives a very good and clear illustration of how the game is played, and I myself have, with its aid mastered the rudiments of the game, it is not necessary to enlarge upon it, except to supplement a few points not mentioned by him. According to the 路史 in 47 chüan by Lo Pi (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1390), the game was in ancient times called I 奕, and it was not till nearly 2,000 years after Yao's time that it was called "*Wei ch'i.*" This statement is borne out by the 西京雜記 and 搜神記, which state that during the Han dynasty it was the custom of the Imperial family to play Wei ch'i in a bamboo grove, surrounded by court favorites, from which incident the game was called "Wei" to "surround" the "Ch'i" (name of the board on which the game was played). Then again, Yao is said to have used a board with 16 squares × 17 lines *touching* 17 lines at right angles, and if any point where these lines either *cut* or *touch* the result is 289 places, or 17×17; but was subsequently changed to 19×19 lines as played at present. The Emperor Liang Wu Ti is said to have been an expert player, and wrote a book called the 圍棋品 elucidating the game. He also instructed his Minister Liu Yün 柳惲, who was also an expert, to personally examine all the best players and record their names in a special register, from which list was formed a Wei ch'i Club consisting of 278 of the most famous players in the Empire. The noble art of Wei ch'i had by that time apparently reached its acme. The best players lived during the T'ang dynasty, the most famous being the following, in the order named: 房玄齡 (*Biog. Dict.* No 553); 杜如晦 (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2,061); 李靖 (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1112); 魏徵 (*Biog. Dict.* No. 2,264).

The Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasty had 28 champion players, the most famous being: 范西屏; 程蘭如; 施定菴; 倪克讓; 過百齡; 黃月天; 周爛予; 汪漢年 and 徐星友. The champions of the present day are: 段俊良 (the sixth son of Tuan Chih-jui); 汪雲峰; 常玉田; 顧春圃; 普銀 (a Manchu) and 閻景平 in the order named.

Fan Hsi-p'ing and Ni K'o-jang mentioned above wrote the *T'ao Hua Ch'üan* in eight volumes elucidating the principles of Wei ch'i and giving problems to be worked out by students.

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I give the names of the most famous Wei ch'i players for the simple reason that it is just as important for us to know who they are as to know the champion chess or other players in foreign lands; and if we take the enormous population of China, estimated as well over 400,000,000, it certainly signifies something to be a champion. That the Chinese can become thoroughly excited at Wei ch'i is proved by the fact that several have met their death during a game. Two are specially mentioned; one named Han, who being driven into a "corner" where he could not move, burst a blood-vessel and expired on the spot; strange to say, the man who defeated him, by the name of Huang, met his death 25 years later in exactly the same way, when he was driven into a "corner" by another opponent.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

More About the Ideo-phonetic Principle.

By L. de SAUSSURE

In a preceding article * I ventured to suggest that the origin of the 形聲字 may be explained by the natural adjunction of a classifier *b*, *c*, *d*. designed to distinguish the different shades of sense *bA*, *cA*, *dA*, derived from a genuine word *A*, as is the case in 勻, 均, 均, etc.

This venture into territory quite outside his domain has happily brought the author the information that such a category of characters has long since been pointed out by native scholars.

"It has, for example, been well described by *Tai T'ung* 戴侗 (close of the *Sung* dynasty) in the Introduction to his 六書故. † Later Chinese scholars have dealt rather elaborately with the point, especially one *Wang Yün* 王筠; in his edition of the *Shuo Wên*; he has devoted a number of most interesting pages with numerous examples to the matter; he makes two main divisions of these characters (both subordinate to the 形聲 class however), viz.: 分別文 Differentiative figures, and 累增字 Augmented compounds."

My ignorance is perhaps excusable, since the four sinologues quoted on the subject did not seem to have heard of these precedents, a circumstance which led me to think that the hypothesis

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*See the *New China Review*, 1921, p. 389. In consequence of a printer's fault the end of the first note has been introduced into the main text in such a manner that Pelliot's objection (relative to Bushell's statement) seems to be connected with Williams', and that my own explanation appears to be "quite different" from that of Vanhee, when it is in fact different from Williams'.

In the same article, two errors are to be rectified. 1st. The number of characters in the genuine *Shuo Wên* is not 24,235 (as Williams says in the Introduction to his Dictionary, p. xlix), but 10,516. 2nd. The alteration of the sound *hiiing* into *hwan* would not be a regular one.

† Translated by Mr. L. C. Hopkins in 1881.—The same author has touched on the matter in his article styled *Chinese and Sumerian* in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (1915), and in *Scientia* (1920).

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of the formation by "scissipartition" was novel. It is not in fact, but, as is shown by the title, "*On the Origin of the Ideo-phonetic Characters*," I proposed, not only to point out the category of 分別字 but especially (*ad finem*) to explain the invention of the ideo-phonetic principle as automatically and unconsciously the result of the previous existence of "Differentiative figures." This has not been looked into by Chinese or Occidental palaeographists, and Mr. Hopkins put forward quite a different explanation.

According to him (*Scientia*, p. 39), in early times the same sign was probably applied to homophons. For instance, 可 *ko*, (now *k'o*) was used at once for *possible* and for *river*, *ko* (now *ho*); this rough method leading to misinterpretations, a determinative has been added later in order to avoid the ambiguity.

This process is quite admissible; but I believe the other is more primitive because more automatic. It seems hardly probable that 可 has ever been used for *river*; while it is natural (not to say unavoidable) that one and the same character should have been applied to different shades of sense (as 銅 for *bronze* according to Bushell's likely supposition), or to a word which later gave birth to various meanings. To these meanings one was led to add a classifier as a mere annotation. Later on, when the etymological origin was forgotten, the genuine word appeared to have been placed intentionally as a phonetic; the ideo-phonetic principle was thus unconsciously suggested.*

Both explanations are, however, questionable.

Notes by Lionel Giles

Contributors to the *New China Review* who live away from China labour under the serious disadvantage of not being able to correct their own proofs—a duty which no man cares to delegate to another if he can possibly help it. Knowing that my article on the *Sou shên chi* (October, 1921, p. 378) was likely to be the cause of some stumbling to the printers, I had steeled myself in advance for a few mild shocks, but was hardly prepared for what I actually experienced when I saw the thing in print. My handwriting, I think, is not to blame: it has at least the merit of being perfectly clear. With the editor's permission, then, I will note some of the blunders which I should not care to have standing in evidence against me.

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* Of course I do not mean that 銅 is necessarily more primitive than 河; for all along the course of the ages 'new 'separative compounds'' were continuing to arise, as a result of the evolution of language. But some of the characters of this category are probably very ancient. Wang Yün seems to agree on this point when he calls them 分別文 not 分別字.

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In the first place, "Mr." W. Perceval Yetts need not have been changed into "Dr." The former is the plain title by which, as I happen to know, the gentleman in question wishes to be described. P. 379, line 3. For 丹陽 read 丨楊. Otherwise the footnote loses all its point.

Line 8. For 杜弢 "Tu Tao" read "Tu T'ao." P.380, line 8 (and footnote). For "Hsia Hou-shêng" read "Hsia-hou Shêng." This alteration appears to have been made deliberately by some one who had never heard of double surnames.

P. 381, note ‡, line 6. For 誅 read 誄. Line 15. For "Chao Tung" read "Chao Tun." P. 382, line 11. Insert 發 between 以 and 明. P. 383, line 8. For 胡震享 read 丨丨亨. This printer's error is peculiarly exasperating, as it is precisely the one I was noting for correction in Wylie.

P. 383. The third paragraph should be enclosed in brackets, being a *résumé* of my own.

Line 16. For 三國志誌 read 丨丨丨註; and for 裴松 "P'ei Sung" read 丨丨之 "P'ei Sung-chih." P. 384, line 25. For "Hu Chêng-hêng" read "Hu Chên-hêng."

P. 385, note ‡, line 4. For 王 read 玉, and add 亂 after 散.

There are also several "literals" which I will not inflict on the patient reader. I understand that Mr. Moule's article in the October number fares even worse than mine in this respect.

It is obvious that this bad proof-reading, if allowed to continue, cannot but act as a deterrent to those of us who, living at a distance, are yet anxious to send their little quota to the *New China Review*. Considering what a large proportion of the articles come from over the water, the editor would do well, I think, to give his earnest attention to this point.*

* * *

The following notes, referring to the August number of 1921, pp. 310 seq., were delayed on account of certain sinister rumours as to the fate of the *Review*, which have happily proved incorrect.

* * *

Needless to say, I was much interested in Mr. Moule's discovery of the text of the Nestorian Inscription in 全唐文, ch. 916, more especially as it confirms my reading of 玉帳 (see p. 61 of Havret's reproduction). With regard to 情發目誠, what I wrote was that Legge and Havret blindly accepted Diaz's unwarrantable emendation of 目 into 自, whereas Wylie, who retained 目, came to grief over the translation. It is true that Legge

* The Editor's reply to this will be found on p. 152

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did *print* 目, but his rendering is: "[that] the feelings go forth in entire sincerity." Wylie, on the other hand, translates: "The affections will be free, and the eyes will be sincere." "Pauthier," says Mr. Moule, "printed 目 and translated it, getting no thanks therefor from Dr. Lionel Giles." I will leave the reader to decide how much thanks Pauthier deserves for the following: "Considérant . . . que les sentiments, les affections, les passions, qui se produisent dans le cœur de l'homme se transforment en bien sous nos yeux." The true meaning seems to me to be: "When . . . the eye sincerely expresses the emotion that springs from the heart."

* * *

Mr. L. C. Arlington says on p. 313 that "the Emperor Hsien-fêng [1851-1861] altered 壽 to 寿, because it was considered unlucky to have the character for 'longevity' broken off in the middle. Therefore, nearly every one writes 寿 nowadays instead of 壽."—This is an extraordinary assertion, seeing that 壽 has always been the ordinary written form from the time of our very earliest MSS. It certainly occurs regularly in all the Stein documents that I have examined (ranging from about A.D. 400 to 1000). So, too, with regard to 歲, which according Mr. Arlington "was altered by K'ang-hsi . . . to 岁 because the 止 'stopped the years' (of one's life); whereas 山 being a symbol for 'longevity,' increased it." Both forms occur with about equal frequency in the Stein MSS. 歲 is common at all periods: thus, it will be found in S. 341, dated 513 A.D., in S. 217, *circa* 700 A.D., and in S. 83, which cannot be earlier than the 9th century.

Mr. Arlington cites as his authority 字學舉隅. There are two editions, dated 1872 and 1881, of a small work bearing that title in the British Museum, which does not, however, appear to be the one intended, for I cannot find the statements referred to. The book was originally published by 黃虎癡 Huang Huch'ih in 1838. I should be very glad if Mr. Arlington could give me further details.

* * *

The characters invented by the Empress Wu occur in many MSS. of the Stein Collection dating from the period of her reign. The subject is one which I hope to discuss later on, but meanwhile I must again query the statement that 照, forming part of the Empress's name, was changed into 曌, a character implying that she "had nothing in her eyes" (i.e., nothing in common with any one). The character, as I know it, is written 曌 "bright void," but I am unable to explain the significance attaching to this combination.

L. G.

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The Editor's Apology

On another page will be found Dr. Lionel Giles' strong protest against the bad production of his paper on the *Sou Shên Chi*; and the Editor now addresses himself with a heavy heart to explanation and apology.

First, it is quite evident that Dr. Giles is justified in his strong remonstrance; fourteen errata in a single article is monstrous and Dr. Giles' expressions of "shock" and "exasperation" and his warning about what will happen if such bad proof-reading is continued, are natural and excusable.

At the same time no one will agree that Dr. Giles' reputation for scholarship can suffer from a few printers' slips. The few readers who notice the errors will at once see that they are not such as any intelligent writer could make, let alone a sinologue.

We shall go through the list of blunders, but we must first remark, not without pleasure, that three of the mistakes are actually in the author's MS., so that neither printer nor editor is responsible for them. The first correction is a very trivial one; Dr. Yetts may be addressed as Colonel or Dr. and the Editor, not knowing his desire to be called Mr., made the change without thinking about it. The next mistake where 陽 is put instead of 楊 makes the footnote lose all its point as Dr. Giles says, and though it may irritate it cannot mislead, being quite obviously a slip. As to *Hsia Hou-shêng* instead of *Hsia-hou Shêng* it is careless proof-reading merely; the Editor after nearly forty years' residence in China is not unaware that there are double surnames. The substitution of 享 for 亨 which the author finds "peculiarly exasperating" is too clearly a printer's error to do more than annoy the reader who notices it and who tries by it to correct Wylie. The other mistakes to which Dr. Giles has called attention require no further notice beyond the expression of the Editor's sorrow. With regard to the remark about Mr. Moule's article, the Editor is pleased to say that Mr. Moule has written in very gentle terms and does not ask for any corrections to be printed.

Now, the reason of this unsatisfactory work is easily given. The printers were at that time changing their premises and the result was that the proofs were received from them even later than usual; the Editor was therefore in more than usual haste to read and return the proofs. It may be added that they were read without help from a second person, which doubles the difficulty, with failing eyesight, by artificial light and with other work waiting to be done. The mistakes are not to be excused, but are not to be wondered at.

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To turn to another point in Dr. Giles' remonstrance, he uses forceful words such as "sinister" and "fate" with regard to the *Review*, and some explanation is necessary, lest readers should have visions of a journal bankrupt or suppressed.

To make a perfectly clean breast of it, the Editor, whose health is very bad, does not expect to be in Shanghai next year and he has therefore tried to find someone who will carry on the *Review*; if no one can be found this volume will be the final one. Hence the rumours alluded to.

Dr. Giles' righteous remarks will hardly encourage a successor to come forward and take up the strictly honorary post of Editor and Proprietor. But we must hope that some arrangement may be made for the magazine to be continued.

EDITOR.

It has occurred to me that the Chinese and Japanese games which are played with the fists, something like morra, but with stone, paper, wood, shears, instead of the numbered fingers, may be a degeneration of the old philosophical ideas of the five elements which conquer each other. The process whereby a serious political or philosophical idea, or even a prayer or hymn, degenerates into a child's game is well known and documented for Europe, where the matter went so far that sections of the Talmud have been recovered I believe, in children's nonsense and counting out rhymes. Why could not the Chinese, whose "Universimus" is so thorough-going, have done the same thing? Perhaps some of the readers of the *New China Review* may have further data on this point.

G. H. DANTON.

* * *

In No. VII of Giles' "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio" (The Marriage of the Fox's Daughter), there occurs in the first part of the tale this passage: "Gazing westwards, he sat for a long time looking at the moon—a single thread of light embracing in its horns the peak of a hill"——. To this Professor Giles, with that insistent assurance characteristic of the veteran sinologue, has a foot-note: "Which, of course, is impossible."

In December last, "Sirius," writing to the "North-China Daily News" on China's skies for that month, pointed out that "after the new moon, a slender crescent in the West may be seen after sunset. Each night the crescent broadens and the moon appears *horned*."

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Reading recently Tolstoy's "Twenty-three Tales," I came across the following passage in "A Prisoner in the Caucasus": "It was dark, the stars were high overhead, and the new moon showed red as it set, horns upward, behind the hill."

It is a far cry from Tolstoy to the gifted author of the *Liao Chai Chih I*, but here is striking confirmation of his descriptive accuracy. Professor Giles will no doubt see to it that his foot-note is expunged from the next edition of the popular "Strange Stories."

H. A. THOMPSON.

"FIR-FLOWER TABLETS"

In the review of "Fir-Flower Tablets" which appears in the February number of the *Review*, it is suggested that further details in regard to Hsieh T'ao 薛濤 and the name 松花箋 Miss Lowell and I have chosen for our book would be of interest. These I am very glad to supply.

The story of the "flowery stream" is given by Mayers, "Chinese Reader's Manual" No. 585; by Giles, "Biographical Dictionary" No. 743; and by Clementi, in the Note to the Ninth Preface of his "Cantonese Love-songs." Many of Hsieh T'ao's poems are extant and much minutiae in regard to her life is supplied in Chinese books such as the 辭源, 人名大辭典, 隴蜀餘聞, 名媛詩歸. This information may be summarized as follows:

Hsieh T'ao 薛濤 (T. 洪度) early 9th century A.D. was well-born and came of a Ch'ang An 長安 family. When her father Hsieh Yün 薛鄖 was despatched to Szechuan as an official, his wife and little daughter accompanied him. By the time she was eight the child showed a considerable aptitude for writing poetry, her father was extremely proud of her and hoped that she might have a great future. Unfortunately sickness overtook him and he died leaving his widow in such poor circumstances that she could not return to the family home, and Hsieh T'ao was obliged to become a Yo Chi 樂籍 or "registered entertainer." This office appears to have been much the same as that of the Geisha in Japan to-day. Young girls who were talented as musicians, singers and writers of prose or verse were registered in the Board of Music 樂部 and supplied entertainment at the festive gatherings of the high officials. 古官伎隸於樂部, 故亦稱樂籍, 唐元和中, 成都樂籍薛濤善篇章. 足詞辨. (牧竪閒譚).

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The girl soon became renowned for her wit and beauty and was taken notice of by Wei Kao (Biog. Dict. 2280) 韋臯 Commander-in-chief of the province; she attended his banquets and poured out his wine. He was so much struck by her talents that he wished to recommend her appointment as a Female Chiao Shu Lang 校書郎 but yielded to the official remonstrance brought forward and did not do so. The allusion noted in Giles' Dictionary No. 1302 to a Chiao Shu as "a semi-educated courtesan" dates back to this incident.

Hsieh T'ao became more and more famous, and numbered among her friends men such as Po Chü-i 白居易, Tu Mu 杜牧 and Liu Yü-hsi 劉禹錫 and the most brilliant poets of the time; the most intimate of them all, however, was Yüan Chên 元稹. Her house was known as the "Chanting Poems Two-storeyed Building" 吟詩樓 and her hobby was making various kinds of paper by an art now lost; one of these was the famous Sung Hua Chien 松花箋 the Fir Flower Paper. It is recorded that when Yüan Chên left Chêng Tu, where Hsieh T'ao was living, and returned to the Capital at Ch'ang An, she made "more than a hundred rolls" of this paper which she sent him as a gift. He was much delighted and replied on one of the sheets with a charming little poem praising the "magic" of Hsieh T'ao and of an earlier heroine Wên Chün 文君.

Finding the Fir Flower paper rather large for the short poems she liked to write, Hsieh T'ao in later life made the dark pink paper which still bears her name. In any shop a request for Hsieh T'ao Chien 薛濤箋 will produce charming sheets of a deep pink colour. Hua Chien is the term used for the various other kinds of ornamented paper.

Late in life she moved to the Huang Hua Ch'i 浣花溪 famous as being the site of Tu Fu's Thatched House, and lived there until her death at the age of seventy-fivé. During these years she always wore the dress of a Taoist nun. The Lung Shu Yü Wên 隴蜀餘聞 contains the following rather interesting passage:— "To the West of the Ten-thousand Li Bridge there is Hsieh T'ao's well. The Prince of Shu, during the Ming dynasty, built a pavilion over it. Every year on the 3rd of the Third Month water was drawn and twenty-four rolls of paper were made. Sixteen rolls were sent to the Emperor." 萬里橋西有薛濤井明蜀王建亭其上每以三月三日汲水造箋二十四幅以十六幅進御餘不盡以上已造也.

The following short account of her life appears in the *Tz'ŭ Yüan* 辭源. 本長安良家女. 隨父宦蜀. 流落蜀中. 遂入樂籍.

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韋皐鎮蜀. 召之侍酒賦詩. 稱女校書. 出入幕府. 經十一鎮. 皆以詩受知. 暮年居浣花溪. 衣女冠服. 好製松花箋. 時號薛濤箋.

With regard to some other points in the review, Père Richard and the Chinese authorities regard 揚 as the only correct character to be used in connection with the name of the Great River. The Yang 楊 which the reviewer uses and which appears in the *Encyclopædia Sinica* they regard as erroneous. The Yang Tzŭ Chiang 揚子江 Son of the Sea is of course very often used, but strictly speaking no "Yang" at all should be applied to any but the lower stretch of the river. In poetry the stream is generally referred to as simply "The River."

The description of the gibbon as a "*small* species of tailless ape" was taken from the Encyclopædia Britannica, and tallies with that given by Roy Chapman Andrews.

I have to thank the reviewer for pointing out two mis-prints, for which I am *entirely* to blame as I took the responsibility of reading the proof for the Chinese names. Miss Lowell could not do that. P. XLIX l. 7 "chien" should of course read "chia." The sentence is incorrect as it stands. In the Note to the "Cross-wise River" the river referred to is the Ch'ien T'ang not the T'ien.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Dogs of China and Japan in Nature and Art, by V. W. F. Collier. Illustrated (London. William Heinemann, 1921. £2.2.0).

The usual fields of sinology are philology, philosophy, literature, archæology, religion, etc., and they have been well worked at, though there is still an infinite amount to be done. But such a very special specialization as the study of the dogs of China strikes one as strange, though we can give no reason why the dog should not have his day. The important thing is the way the matter is treated. Laufer, who is much quoted in this book, has the following passage in his *Sino-Iranica*—a work in the main botanical: "it is not easy to combine botanical, oriental, philological and historical knowledge, but no pains have been spared to render justice to both the botanical and the historical side of this problem. All data have been sifted critically, whether they come from Chinese, Japanese, Persian or Arabic or classical sources, and in no instance have I depended on second-hand or dogmatic statement." This shows the Dog how he will be treated when Dr. Laufer gets to the zoological part of his work; the book before us is on a different plane.

There is nothing to indicate that the writer is a great lover of dogs or owns any except carved or painted examples; nor, on the other hand, is there any display of first-hand scholarship. A work on *Fishing in All Ages* was lately reviewed in these pages; being the work of an enthusiastic fisherman and a classical scholar it had a charm in the combination which is lacking in the work before us.

With the help of competent native scholars as acknowledged in the Preface, the author has gathered as much as possible on his subject from Chinese literature, but of course there was not much to be found nor is it of true scientific value. The Dragon and such beasts are more to the native taste and could be much more easily illustrated from native books than dogs.

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The most serious part of the work deals with the Buddhist lion and its symbolism. This must have entailed a great deal of research, and though, of course, it still leaves much to be gone into it will be of great value to any one who will investigate the matter still further. Lack of space forbids our discussion of the subject, but the most unthinking may wonder at the connection between Buddhism with its life-saving ideals and the blood-thirsty monarch of the forest. We commend the chapters on this point to the careful attention of students. Their value is that they will arouse criticism and urge to further research. For the general reader there is plenty of most interesting matter. Naturally the Pekingese dogs and pugs have most space given to them, with the chow-dog and the Chinese lion-dog—their history, their points, their breeding, etc. The word "wonk" does not occur in the volume, though in one sense the animal might be called the Chinese dog *par excellence*. We have curious information about dog as an article of food. One quotation was so surprising to us that we looked it up in Archdeacon Gray's *China* (Vol. II, p. 76). "At the commencement of summer a ceremony called A-chee, which consists in eating dog's flesh is observed throughout the Empire by persons of all ranks." Possibly someone may be able to supply to Notes and Queries in this *Review* some note on this extraordinary statement.

Dogs have often figured in Chinese history in the way of tribute or international presents, and from Marco Polo and others we learn a great deal about the enormous numbers used in Imperial hunting expeditions. By the way, who could read of *Magnus Canis* in such a work as this without suspecting its translation as Great Khan must be in joke? We find it, however, used by Marco Polo and quoted in the fourth volume of *Cathay and the Way Thither*; it has evidently been a puzzle to students.

We must point out a few blemishes in this valuable work. On page 30 the character *I* is spoken of as "having both in writing and by its verbal usage the significance of canine ancestry." The character 奚 is not given, but its component parts are *great* and *bow*; we have not the least notion where the dog idea comes in. Probably the writer was thinking of *ti* 狄. The statement on p. 134 that the Franciscans towards the close of the Yüan dynasty had established forty bishoprics in China is a sad blunder: only three were established; at Khanbaliq (Peking), Zaitoun (Ch'üan chou) and Ili.

We read on p. 12 of the Aryans' veneration of canine disguises of their gods, and on p. 18 we are told the Aryans thought dogs unclean and unfit for normal food. A little explanation is evi-

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dently desirable. Our special attention is called on p. 117 to the fact that the lions before Buddhist doorways are almost invariably arranged east and west. But surely this is not surprising since the buildings themselves run invariably in those directions. On p. 2 we read of the date B.C. 400,000. The B.C. looks somewhat ludicrous. We are given on p. 8 as an interesting passage that the "Hsiung nu offered panther dogs with pointed mouth, red body and four feet." When it is added that "the Hsiung nu possessed extraordinary dogs" we conclude that *four feet* must mean *four feet high*. Either Jehovah or Moses forbad the bringing of the price of a dog into the House of the Lord; Mr. Collier 3,000 years later calls this *hypocrisy*; this hardly matters, except that the reference should be Deut. ch. XXIII not ch. XVIII. On p. 85 we read of the alpine climate of Yunnanfu, which requires explanation. Such a statement as that up to the T'ang dynasty [redacted] served for 'lion' as well as 'instructor,' [redacted] only then coming into use, may be correct, but certainly some authority should be quoted. And finally we may remark that 'the survival of polygamy in China' (p. 192) is hardly correct. Concubinage is recognized, but there can be only one legal *wife*.

Beyond these and other faults we are sorry such an elegantly printed work should have so many misprints. Gaudhara, Z. Yule, underly (for underlie), Bertold (Laufer), do not give the reader trouble; but 'K'ang Hsŭ period' leaves him to choose between K'ang Hsi and Kuang Hsŭ. Much difficulty is caused by the lack of the diacritic marks and accents, and by the irregularities of romanization.

An honest and friendly critic can hardly ignore these blemishes; but when all is said and done the work remains a full and valuable repertory of dog lore; if it is not as coherent and scientific as it might be it will be most useful to later writers on the subject: even Laufer may find it useful; while to the ordinary reader it provides a varied feast of most entertaining matter. The book—a quarto volume—is got up in first rate style as to printing, paper, etc., and the illustrations are charming.

Li, Duke of Ch'ien, A Chinese Novel; translated from the Chinese by J. A. Jackson (Shanghai, 1922).

For young writers to rush into print is common enough, but it is unusual for a tyro in Chinese studies to give his earliest attempts at translation to the public. We conclude Mr. Jackson is a beginner in this field, because the work he translates is in the very simplest of mandarin, and his mistranslations are those

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of one who has completed say one year of work on the language. That he did wisely in translating the book for his own benefit is certain ; whether it was wise to publish it he will decide later when he has made more progress.

The story (for it is absurd to call it a novel) is as feeble as most Chinese stories ; but none the less it is of value as showing us glimpses of the Chinese mind and giving us some knowledge of Chinese social life. But we regret to say that the foreign student who uses this translation as a reading lesson will find many places where the Chinese text has *not* been closely followed as promised in the preface. 這麼個好漢子怎麼會作了強盜呢 does not mean "How has this good man *met* these robbers," but asks how he "*can have been* a robber." 改過自新 is rendered strangely—'mend your ways and when you return after death.' 有經天緯地之才 is given as 'From every point of view his ability was apparent.' 親隨 implies 'personal attendance,' not 'acting according to my wishes.' The translator does not know a common use of 强 'to be better than.' Thus 不比當那牢頭的差使强麼 does not speak of '*using force* in doing jailor's work' ; and there is a similar but worse error on p. 17.

We have given these few instances out of many partly to show we are not unjust, partly as a warning to young students who may use the book.

We regret to find further that the proof-reading—if any—has been most carelessly done and misprints are abundant.

In spite of defects the little book will be useful to beginners in the language, and perhaps to Chinese learning English. The text and translation are on opposite pages. Mr. Jackson may be congratulated on his courage and we trust he will after a long and thorough course of study give us more mature results.

Varia Sinica, Herausgegeben von Dr. L. Woitsch. I. Heft. Wien, 1921.

It is a pleasure to know that in the distress in Vienna there is yet some energy left for Sinological study. But the fascicule before us has not attained to the dignity of print : it reproduces by one of the usual copying apparatuses the manuscript of the author. The contents are (1) notes on the Pekingese dialect ; (2) a translation into German of a Chinese tale—Ein gesuchter Arzt ; (3) a study of the various systems of romanization of the northern speech ;—34 pages in all. We trust the learned little publication will be continued and will prosper.

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The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS not accepted for publication.

When accepted articles are printed, ten copies will be sent to the writer.

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Scale 1/700,000 or 1 Inch = 11 Miles

5 0 5 10 15

Routes assumed to have been used by the Chinese expeditionary force, A.D. 747.

Indicates approximately the extent of permanent snow.

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. IV. JUNE, 1922. NO. 3.

A CHINESE EXPEDITION ACROSS THE PAMIRS AND HINDUKUSH

A.D. 747

BY

SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

At the beginning of my second Central-Asian journey (1906-08), and again at that of the third (1913-16), I had the good fortune to visit ground in the high snowy range of the Hindukush which, however inaccessible and remote it may seem from the scenes of the great historical dramas of Asia, was yet in the 8th century A.D. destined to witness events bound up with a struggle of momentous bearing for vast areas of the continent. I mean the glacier pass of the Darkōt (15,400 feet above the sea level) and the high valleys to the north and south of it through which leads an ancient route connecting the Pāmīrs and the uppermost headwaters of the Oxus with the Dard territories on the Indus, and thus with the north-west marches of India. *

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* [Two sketch-maps should accompany this article, with the kind permission of the Royal Geographical Society, in whose *Journal* (February, 1922) this paper was first published. Unfortunately the blocks have not yet arrived at the time of going to press. Ed. N. C. R.]

For convenient reference regarding the general topography of this mountain region may be recommended also Sheet No. 42 of the 1 : 1,000,000 map of Asia published by the Survey of India (Calcutta, 1919).

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The events referred to arose from the prolonged conflict with the Arabs in the west and the rising power of the Tibetans in the south into which the Chinese empire under the T'ang dynasty was brought by its policy of Central-Asian expansion. Our knowledge of the memorable expedition of which I propose to treat here and of the historical developments leading up to it is derived wholly from the official Chinese records contained in the *Annals* of the T'ang dynasty. They were first rendered generally accessible by the extracts which M. Chavannes, the great Sinologue, published in his invaluable *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux.* *

In order to understand fully the details of the remarkable exploit which brought a Chinese army right across the high inhospitable plateaus of the Pāmīrs to the uppermost Oxus valley, and thence across the ice-covered Darkōt down to the valleys of Yāsīn and Gilgit draining into the Indus, it is necessary to pay closest regard to the topography of that difficult ground. Modern developments arising from the Central-Asian interests of two great Asiatic powers, the British and Russian empires, have since the eighties of the last century helped greatly to add to our knowledge of the regions comprised in, or adjacent to, the great mountain massif in the centre of Asia which classical geography designated by the vague but convenient name of *Imaos*. But much of the detailed topographical information is not as yet generally accessible to students. Even more than elsewhere personal familiarity with the ground in its topographical and antiquarian aspects seems here needed for a full comprehension of historical details.

This local knowledge I was privileged to acquire in the course of the two Central-Asian expeditions already referred to, and, accordingly, I have taken occasion to elucidate the facts connected with that memorable Chinese exploit in *Serindia*, the detailed report on my second journey, recently issued from the Oxford University Press. The bulk and largely archæological contents of this work may prevent that account from attracting the attention of the geographical student. Hence, with the kind permission of the Delegates of the Oxford University Press, I gladly avail myself of the opportunity to communicate here the main results of my investigations.

Some preliminary remarks seem needed to make clear the political and military situation which prevailed in Central Asia during the first half of the 8th century A.D. and which accounted

* *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux, recueillis et commentés par Edouard Chavannes, Membre de l'Institut*, etc., published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, 1903; see in particular pp. 149-154.

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for the enterprise to be discussed here.* After a long and difficult struggle the Chinese under the great T'ang emperors T'ai-tsung 太宗 (A.D. 627-650) and Kao-tsung 高宗 (A.D. 650-684) succeeded in vanquishing first the Northern Turks (A.D. 630), and after a short interval also the Western Turks. They were the principal branches of that great Turkish nation which since its victory over the Juan-juan (Avars) and the Hoa, or Hephthalites, about the middle of the 7th century had made itself master of inner Asia. By A.D. 659 the Chinese had regained political predominance, and for the most part also military control, over the great Central-Asian territories roughly corresponding to what is now known as Chinese Turkestān, after having lost them for about four centuries. †

This renewed effort at Central-Asian expansion, like that first made by the great Han emperor Wu-ti (140-86 B.C.), had for its object partly the protection of north-western China from nomadic inroads and partly the control of the great Central-Asian trade route passing through the Tārīm Basin. Stretching from east to west between the great mountain ranges of the T'ien-shan in the north and the K'un-lun in the south, the Tārīm Basin is filled for the most part by huge drift-sand deserts. Yet it was destined by nature to serve as the main overland line for the trade intercourse between the Far East and Western Asia, and recent archæological explorations have abundantly proved its great importance generally for the interchange of civilizations between China, India, Irān, and the classical West.

During Han times, when China's great export trade of silk had first begun about 110 B.C. to find its way westwards through the strings of oases scattered along the foot of the T'ien-shan and K'un-lun, the Chinese hold upon the 'Western Kingdoms' with their settled and highly civilized populations had been threatened mainly by inroads of the Huns and other nomadic tribes from the north. After the reconquest under the Emperor Kao-tsung the situation was essentially different. The danger from the nomadic north had lessened. Troubles with the medley of Turkish tribes left in possession of the wide grazing areas beyond the T'ien-shan never ceased. Yet the Chinese administration by a well-organized system of garrisons, and still more by diplomatic skill, was well able to hold them in check. But additional and

* For a masterly exposition from Chinese and Western sources of all historical facts here briefly summed up, see M. Chavannes '*Essai sur l'histoire des Tou-kiue occidentaux*,' forming the concluding portion of his *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 217-303.

† Cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 266 sqq.

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greater dangers had soon to be faced from other sides. The claim to the succession of the whole vast dominion of the Western Turks was drawing the administration of the Chinese protectorate, established in the Tārīm Basin and known as the 'Four Garrisons,' into constant attempts to assert effective authority also to the west of the great meridional range, the ancient *Imaos*, in the regions comprising what is now Russian and Afghān Turkestān. *

Considering the vast distances separating these regions from China proper and the formidable difficulties offered by the intervening great deserts and mountain ranges, Chinese control over them was from the outset bound to be far more precarious than that over the Tārīm Basin. But the dangers besetting Chinese dominion in Central Asia increased greatly with the appearance of two new forces upon the scene. Already in the last quarter of the seventh century the newly rising power of the Tibetans seriously threatened, and for a time effaced, the Chinese hold upon the Tārīm Basin. † Even after its recovery by the Chinese in A.D. 692 the struggle never quite ceased.

Another and almost equally great threat to China's Central-Asian dominion arose in the west through the advance of Arab conquest to the Oxus and beyond. About A.D. 670 it had already made itself felt in Tokhāristān, the important territory on the middle Oxus comprising the greater part of the present Afghān Turkestān. Between A.D. 705 and 715 the campaigns of the famous Arab general Qotaïba had carried the Mohammedan arms triumphantly into Sogdiana, between Oxus and Yaxartes, and even further. ‡ By taking advantage of internal troubles among the Arabs and by giving support to all the principalities between the Yaxartes and the Hindukush which the Arabs threatened with extinction, the Chinese managed for a time to stem this wave of Mohammedan aggression. But the danger continued from this side, and the Chinese position in Central Asia became even more seriously jeopardised when the Tibetans soon after A.D. 741 advanced to the Oxus Valley and succeeded in joining hands with the Arabs against their common foes.

Baulked for the time in their attempts to secure the Tārīm Basin, the Tibetans had only one line open to effect this junction.

* For very interesting notices of the administrative organization which the Chinese attempted soon after A.D. 659 to impose upon the territories from the Yaxartes to the Oxus and even south of the Hindukush, see Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 268 sqq.

† Cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, p. 280 sqq.

‡ See Chavannes, *ibid.*, pp. 288 sqq.

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It led first down the Indus from Ladāk through Baltistān (the 'Great P'o-lü' 大勃律 of the Chinese Annals) to the Hindukush territories of Gilgit and Yāsīn, both comprised in the 'Little P'o-lü' 小勃律 of the Chinese records.* Thence the passes of the Darkōt and the Barōghil—the latter a saddle in the range separating the Oxus from the Chitrāl River headwaters—would give the Tibetans access to Wakhān; through this open portion of the upper Oxus Valley and through fertile Badakhshān the Arabs established on the Middle Oxus might be reached with comparative ease. But an advance along the previous portions of this route was beset with very serious difficulties, not merely on account of the great height of the passes to be traversed and of the extremely confined nature of the gorges met with on the Indus and the Gilgit River, but quite as much through the practical absence of local resources sufficient to feed an invading force anywhere between Ladāk and Badakhshān.

Nevertheless the persistent advance of the Tibetans along this difficult line is clearly traceable in the Chinese records. 'Great P'o-l'ü,' i.e., Baltistān, had already become subject to them before A.D. 722. About that time they attacked 'Little P'o-lü,' declaring, as the T'ang Annals tell us, to Mo-chin-mang 沒謹忙 its king, "It is not your kingdom which we covet, but we wish to use your route in order to attack the Four Garrisons 四鎮 (i.e., the Chinese in the Tārīm Basin)".† In A.D. 722 timely military aid rendered by the Chinese enabled this king to defeat the Tibetan design. But after three changes of reign the Tibetans won over his successor Su-shih-li-chih 蘇失利之, and inducing him to marry a Tibetan princess secured a footing in "Little P'o-lü." "Thereupon," in the words of the *T'ang shu*, "more than twenty kingdoms to the north-west became all subject to the Tibetans".‡ These events occurred shortly after A.D. 741. §

The danger thus created by the junction between Tibetans and Arabs forced the Chinese to special efforts to recover their

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* Cf. for this identification Chavannes, '*Turcs occidentaux*,' p. 150, and '*Notes supplémentaires*'; also my '*Ancient Khotan*,' i. pp. 6 sqq.

† See Chavannes, '*Turcs occidentaux*,' p. 150.

‡ Cf Chavannes, *ibid.*, p. 151. By the twenty kingdoms are obviously meant petty hill principalities on the upper Oxus from Wakhān downwards and probably also others in the valleys south of Hindukush, such as Mastūj and Chitrāl.

§ Cf. Stein. *Ancient Khotan*, i. p. 7. A.D. 741 is the date borne by the Imperial edict investing Su-shih-li-chih's immediate predecessor; its text is still extant in the records extracted by M. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 211 sqq.

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hold upon Yāsīn and Gilgit. Three successive expeditions despatched by the "Protector of the Four Garrisons," the Chinese Governor-General, had failed, when a special decree of the Emperor Hsüan-tsung in A.D. 747 entrusted the Deputy Protector Kao Hsien-chih 高仙芝, a general of Korean extraction, commanding the military forces in the Tārīm Basin, with the enterprise to be traced here.

We owe our detailed knowledge of it to the official biography of Kao Hsien-chih preserved in the T'ang Annals and translated by M. Chavannes. To that truly great scholar, through whose premature death in 1918 all branches of historical research concerning the Far East and Central Asia have suffered an irreparable loss, belongs full credit for having recognized that Kao Hsien-chih's remarkable expedition led him and his force across the Pāmīrs and over the Barōghil and Darkōt passes. But he did not attempt to trace in detail the actual routes followed by Kao Hsien-chih on this hazardous enterprise or to localize the scenes of all its striking events. To do this in the light of personal acquaintance with the topography of these regions, their physical conditions, and their scanty ancient remains, is my object in the following pages.

With a force of 10,000 cavalry and infantry Kao Hsien-chih started in the spring of A.D. 747 from *An-hsi* 安西, then the headquarters of the Chinese administration in the Tārīm Basin and corresponding to the present town and oasis of Kuchā.* In thirty-five days he reached *Su-lê* 疏勒, or Kāshgar, through Ak-su and by the great caravan road leading along the foot of the T'ien-shan. Twenty days more brought his force to the military 'post of the Ts'ung-ling 葱嶺 mountains,' established in the position of the present Tāsh-kurghān in Sarīkol.†

* For these and all other details taken from M. Chavannes' translation of Kao Hsien-chih's biography in the *T'ang shu*, see *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 152 sqq.

† *Ts'ung-ling* or "the Onion Mountains" is the ancient Chinese designation for the great snowy range which connects the T'ien-shan in the north with the K'un-lun and Hindukush in the south and forms the mighty eastern rim of the Pāmīrs. The Chinese term is sometimes extended to the high valleys and plateaus of the latter also. The range culminates near its centre in the great ice-clad peak of Muztāgh-atā and those to the north of it, rising to over 25,000 feet above sea level. It is to this great mountain chain, through which all routes from the Oxus to the Tārīm Basin pass, that the term *Imaos* is clearly applied in Ptolemy's *Geography*.

The great valley of Sarīkol, situated over 10,000 feet above sea level, largely cultivated in ancient times, forms the natural base for any military operations across the Pāmīrs; for early accounts of it in Chinese historical texts and in the records of old travellers from the East and West, cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 27 sqq. Descriptions of the present Sarīkol and of the two main routes which connect it with Kāshgar, through the Gez Valley to the north of Muztāgh-atā and across the Chichiklik Pass in the south, are given in my *Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 67 sqq., and *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 89 sqq.

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Thence by a march of twenty days the "valley of Po-mi" 播蜜川, or the Pāmīrs, was gained, and after another twenty days he arrived in "the kingdom of the five Shih-ni" 識匿, i.e., the present Shighnān on the Oxus.

The marching distance here indicated agrees well with the time which large caravans of men and transport animals would at present need to cover the same ground. But how the Chinese general managed to feed so large a force after once it had entered the tortuous gorges and barren high valleys beyond the outlying oases of the present Kāshgar and Yangi-hissār districts is a problem which might look formidable, indeed, to any modern commander. The biography in the Annals particularly notes that "at that time the foot soldiers all kept horses (i.e., ponies) on their own account." Such a provision of transport must have considerably increased the mobility of the Chinese troops. But it also implied greatly increased difficulties on the passage through ranges which, with the exception of certain portions of the Pāmīrs, do not afford sufficient grazing to keep animals alive without liberal provision of fodder.

It was probably as a strategic measure meant to reduce the difficulties of supply in this inhospitable Pāmīr region that Kao Hsien-chih divided his forces into three columns before starting his attack upon the position held by the Tibetans at the fortress of *Lien-yün* 連雲堡. M. Chavannes has shown good reason for assuming that by the river *P'o-lê* 婆勒 (or *So-lê* 娑勒), which is described as flowing in front of Lien-yün, is meant the Ab-i-Panja branch of the Oxus, and that Lien-yün itself occupied a position corresponding to the present village of Sarhad, but on the opposite, or southern, side of the river, where the route from the Barōghil Pass debouches on the Ab-i-Panja. We shall return to this identification in detail hereafter. Here it will suffice to show that this location is also clearly indicated by the details recorded of the concentration of Kao Hsien-chih's forees upon Lien-yün.

Of the three columns which were to operate from different directions and to effect a simultaneous junction before Lien-yün on the thirteenth day of the seventh month (about the middle of August), the main force under Kao Hsien-chih himself and the Imperial Commissioner Pien Ling-ch'êng 邊令誠 passed through the kingdom of Hu-mi 護密, or Wakhān, ascending the main Oxus valley from the west. Another column which is said to have moved upon Lien-yün by the route of *Ch'ih-fo-t'ang* 赤佛堂,

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'the shrine of the red Buddha', * may be assumed, in view of a subsequent mention of this route below, to have operated from the opposite direction down the headwaters of the Ab-i-Panja. These could be reached without serious difficulty from the Sarīkol base either over the Tāgh-dumbāsh Pāmīr and the Wakhjīr Pass (16,200 feet), † or by way of the Naiza-tāsh Pass and the Little Pāmīr.

Finally, a third column composed of 3,000 horsemen, which was to make its way to Lien-yün by *Pei-ku* 北谷, or 'the northern gorge,' may be supposed to have descended from the side of the Great Pāmīr. For such a move from the north either one of the several passes could be used which lead across the Nicholas Range south-east of Victoria Lake, or possibly a glacier track, as yet unexplored, leading from the latter into one of the gorges which debouch east of Sarhad. ‡ In any case it is clear that by thus bringing up his forces on convergent but wholly distinct lines, and by securing for himself a fresh base in distant Shighnān, the Chinese general effectively guarded against those difficulties of supplies and transport which then as now, would make the united move of so large a body of men across the Pāmīrs a physical impossibility.

The crossing of the Pāmīrs by a force which in its total strength amounted to ten thousand men is so remarkable a military achievement that the measures which alone probably made it possible deserve some closer examination, however succinct the Chinese record is upon which we have to base it. So much appears to me clear that the march was not effected in one body but in three columns moving up from Kāshgar in successive stages by routes of which Tāsh-kurghān, 'the post of the Ts'ung-ling Mountains,' was the advanced base or *point d'appui*. If Kao Hsien-chih moved ahead with the first column or detachment to Shighnān and was followed at intervals by the other two detachments the advantages gained as regards supplies and transport must have been very great. His own column would have reached a fresh base of supplies in Shighnān while the second was moving across the main Pāmīr, and the third arriving

* The term *fo-t'ang* 佛堂 which M. Chavannes translates "la salle du Bouddha . . . " designates, according to Dr. Giles's Chinese-English Dictionary, p. 1330, "a family shrine or oratory for the worship of Buddha." Considering the locality, the rendering of *t'ang* by "shrine" seems here appropriate.

† For descriptions of this route, cf. my *Ruins of Khotan* pp. 60 sqq., and *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 83 sqq.

‡ Regarding the existence of this track, cf. the information obtained in the course of my third Central-Asian journey, *Geographical Journal*, xlviii (1916), p. 216.

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in Sarīkol from the plains. Thus the great strain of having to feed simultaneously the whole force on ground absolutely without local resources was avoided. It must be remembered that once established on the Oxus, the Chinese Commissariat could easily draw upon the abundant produce of Badakhshān, and that for the column left on the Pāmīrs the comparatively easy route across the Alai would be available for drawing supplies from the rich plains of Farghāna, then still under Chinese control.

By disposing his force *en échelon* from Shighnān to Sarīkol Kao Hsien-chih obtained also a strategically advantageous position. He was thus able to concert the simultaneous convergent movement of his columns upon the Tibetans at Sarhad without unduly exposing any of his detachments to separate attack and defeat by a superior Tibetan force; for the Tibetans could not leave their position at Sarhad without imminent risk of being cut off from the Barōghil, their only line of communication. At the same time the disposition of the Chinese forces effectively precluded any Tibetan advance either upon Sarīkol or Badakhshān. Difficult as Kao Hsien-chih's operations must have been across the Pāmīrs, yet he had the great advantage of commanding two, if not three, independent lines of supplies (from Kāshgar-Yārkand; Badakhshān; eventually Farghāna), whereas the Tibetan force of about equal strength, cooped up at the debouchure of the Barōghil, had only a single line, and one of exceptional natural difficulty, to fall back upon. Of the territories of Yāsīn, Gilgit, Baltistān, through which this line led, we know that they could not provide any surplus supplies for an army. *

The problem, as it seems to me, is not so much how the Chinese general succeeded in overcoming the difficulties of his operations across the Pāmīrs, but how the Tibetans ever managed to bring a force of nine or ten thousand men across the Darkōt to Sarhad and to maintain it there in the almost total absence of local resources. It is certainly significant that neither before nor after these events do we hear of any other attempt of the Tibetans to attack the Chinese power in the Tārīm Basin by way of the uppermost Oxus, constant, and in the end successful, as their aggression was during the eighth century A.D.

The boldness of the plan which made Kao Hsien-chih's offensive possible and crowned it with deserved success must, I think, command admiration quite as much as the actual crossing of the Darkōt. The student of military history has, indeed,

* Cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 11 sqq.

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reason to regret that the Chinese record does not furnish us with any details about the organization which rendered this first and, as far as we know, last crossing of the Pāmīrs by a large regular force possible. But whatever our opinion may be about the fighting qualities of the Chinese soldier as judged by our standards —and there is significant evidence of their probably not having been much more serious in T'ang times than they are now,—it is certain that those who know the formidable obstacles of deserts and mountains which Chinese troops have successfully faced and overcome during modern times, will not feel altogether surprised at the power of resource and painstaking organization which the success of Kao Hsien-chih's operations indisputably attests in that long-forgotten Chinese leader and those who shared his efforts.

The location of *Lien-yün* near Sarhad, as originally proposed by M. Chavannes, is confirmed by the description of the battle by which the Chinese general rendered himself master of the Tibetan position and of the route it was intended to guard. The three Chinese columns, operating, as I have shown, from the west, east and north, "had agreed to effect their junction on the thirteenth day of the seventh month (August) between seven and nine o'clock in the morning at the Tibetan stronghold of Lien-yün. In that stronghold there were a thousand soldiers; moreover, at a distance of fifteen *li* (about three miles) to the south of the rampart, advantage had been taken of the mountains to erect palisades behind which there were eight to nine thousand troops. At the foot of the rampart there flowed the river of the valley of *P'o-lê* which was in flood and could not be crossed *. Kao Hsien-chih made an offering of three victims to the river; he directed his captains to select their best soldiers and their best horses; each man carried rations of dry food for three days. In the morning they assembled by the river bank. As the waters were difficult to cross, officers and soldiers all thought the enterprise senseless. But when the other river bank was reached, neither had the men wetted their standards nor the horses their saddle cloths.

"After the troops had crossed and formed their ranks, Kao Hsien-chih, overjoyed, said to Pien Ling-ch'êng (the Imperial Commissioner): 'For a moment, while we were in the midst of the passage, our force was beaten if the enemy had come. Now that we have crossed and formed ranks, it is proof that Heaven delivers our enemies into our hands.' He at once ascended the

* M. Chavannes has shown ('*Turcs occidentaux*,' p. 154) that this name *P'o-lê* is a misreading, easily explained in Chinese writing for *So-lê* mentioned elsewhere as a town in Hu-mi or Wakhān.

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mountain and engaged in a battle which lasted from the *ch'én* period (7-9 a.m.) to the *ssŭ* period (9-11 a.m.) He inflicted a great defeat upon the barbarians, who fled when the night came. He pursued them, killed 5,000 men and made 1,000 prisoners; all the rest dispersed. He took more than 1,000 horses, and warlike stores and arms beyond counting."

The analysis given above of the routes followed by the Chinese columns and what we shall show below of Kao Hsien-chih's three days' march to Mount *T'an-chü* 坦駒嶺, or the Darkōt, confirm M. Chavannes in locating the Tibetan stronghold of Lien-yün near the present Sarhad, the last permanent settlement on the uppermost Oxus. It is equally clear from the description of the river crossing that the Chinese concentration must have taken place on the right or northern bank of the Ab-i-Panja, where the hamlets constituting the present Sarhad are situated, while the stronghold of Lien-yün lay on the opposite left bank.

Before I was able to visit the ground in May, 1906, I had already expressed the belief that the position taken up by the Tibetan main force, fifteen *li* (circ. 3 miles) to the south of Lien-yün, must be looked for in the valley which debouches on the Ab-i-Panja opposite to Sarhad *. It is through this open valley that the remarkable depression in the main Hindukush range represented by the Barōghil and Shawitakh saddles (12,460 and 12,560 feet, respectively) is gained. I also surmised that the Chinese general, apart from the confidence aroused by the successful river crossing, owed his victory mainly to a flanking movement by which his troops gained the heights and thus successfully turned the fortified line behind which the Tibetans were awaiting them.

This opinion was confirmed by what I saw of the valley leading to the Oxus on my descent from the Barōghil on May 19, 1906, and by the examination I was able to make two days later of the mountain-side flanking its debouchure from the west. The valley into which the route leads down from the Barōghil is quite open and easy about Zartighar, the southernmost hamlet. There a ruined watch-tower shows that defence of the route had been a concern also in modern times. Further down the valley-bottom gradually contracts, though still offering easy going, until, from a point about two miles below Zartighar to beyond the scattered homesteads of Pitkhar, † its width is reduced to between one-half and one-third of a mile. On both sides this defile is flanked

* See *Ancient Khotan*, i. p. 7.

† The *Pixkhar* of sketch-map *B* is a misprint.

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by high and very precipitous rocky ridges, the last offshoots of spurs which descend from the main Hindukush watershed.

These natural defences seemed to provide just the kind of position which would recommend itself to the Tibetans wishing to bar approach to the Barōghil, and thus to safeguard their sole line of communication with the Indus Valley. The width of the defile accounts for the comparatively large number of defenders recorded by the Chinese Annals for the enemy's main line; the softness of the ground at its bottom, which is almost perfectly level, covered with fine grass in the summer, and distinctly swampy in the spring owing to imperfect drainage, explain the use of palisades, at first sight a rather strange method of fortification in these barren mountains. * Finally the position seemed to agree curiously well with what two historical instances of modern times, the fights in 1904 at Guru and on the Karo-lā, had revealed as the typical and time-honoured Tibetan scheme of defence—to await attack behind a wall erected across the open ground of a valley or saddle.

There remained the question whether the defile of Pitkhar was capable of being turned by an attack on the flanking heights, such as the Chinese record seemed plainly to indicate. The possibility of such a movement on the east was clearly precluded by the extremely precipitous character of the flanking spur, and still more by the fact that the summer flood of the Ab-i-Panja in the very confined gorge above Sarhad would have rendered that spur inaccessible for the Chinese operating from the northern bank of the river. All the greater was my satisfaction when I heard from my Wakhī informants of ruins of an ancient fort, known as *Kansir*, situated on the precipitous crest of the flanking spur westwards, almost opposite to Pitkhar. During the single day's halt, which to my regret was all that circumstances would allow me at Sarhad, I was kept too busy otherwise to make a close

* In my note in *Ancient Khotan*, p. 9, I had ventured to suggest that, considering how scanty timber must at all times have been about Sarhad, there was some probability that walls or "Sangars" constructed of loose stones were really meant by the "palisades" mentioned in the translation of the passage from the T'ang Annals.

This suggestion illustrates afresh the risk run in doubting the accuracy of Chinese records on quasi-topographical points without adequate local knowledge. On the one hand, I found that the peculiar nature of the soil in the defile would make the construction of heavy stone walls inadvisable, if not distinctly difficult. On the other, my subsequent march up the Ab-i-Panja showed that, though timber was as scarce about Sarhad itself as I had been led to assume, yet there was abundance of willow and other jungle in parts of the narrow river gorge one march higher up near the debouchure of the Shaor and Bahārak streams. This could well have been used for palisades after being floated down by the river.

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inspection of the ground where the Tibetan post of Lien-yün might possibly have been situated. Nothing was known locally of old remains on the open alluvial plain which adjoins the river at the mouth of the valley coming from the Barōghil; nor were such likely to survive long on ground liable to inundation from the Oxus, flowing here in numerous shifting channels with a total width of over a mile.

Even if the exact position of Lien-yün thus remained undetermined, my short stay at Sarhad sufficed to convince me how closely local conditions agreed with the details of Kao Hsien-chih's exploit in crossing the Oxus. The river at the time of the summer flood must, indeed, present a very imposing appearance as it spreads out its waters over the wide valley bottom at Sarhad. But the very separation of the waters makes fording always possible, even at that season, provided the passage takes place in the early morning, when the flood due to the melting snow and ice is temporarily reduced by the effect of the night's frost on the glaciers and snow-beds at the head of the Ab-i-Panja. The account in the Annals distinctly show that the river passage must have been carried out at an early hour of the morning, and thus explains the complete success of an otherwise difficult operation.

I was able to trace the scene of the remaining portion of the Chinese general's exploit when, on May 21, I visited the ruined fortifications reported on the steep spur overlooking the debouchure of the Barōghil stream from the west and known as *Kansir*. After riding across the level plain of sand and marsh, and then along the flat bottom of the Pitkhar defile for a total distance of about three miles, we left our ponies at a point a little to the south of some absolutely impracticable rock-faces which overlook Pitkhar from the west. Then, guided by a few Wakhīs, I climbed to the crest of the western spur, reaching it only after an hour's hard scramble over steep slopes of rock and shingle. There, beyond a stretch of easily sloping ground and about 300 feet higher, rose the old fort of Kansir at the extreme north end of the crest. Between the narrow ridge occupied by the walls and bastions and the continuation of the spur south-westwards a broad dip seemed to offer an easy descent towards the hamlet of Karkat on the Oxus.

It was clearly for the purpose of guarding this approach that the little fort had been erected on this exposed height. On the north and east, where the end of the spur falls away in unscalable cliffs to the main valley of the Oxus and towards the mouth of the Pitkhar defile, some 1,600-1,700 feet below, struc-

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tural defences were needless. But the slope of the ridge facing westwards and the narrow neck to the south had been protected on the crest by a bastioned wall for a distance of about 400 feet. Three bastions facing west and south-west, and one at the extreme southern point, still rose, in fair preservation in parts, to a height of over 30 feet. The connecting wall-curtains had suffered more, through the foundations giving way on the steep incline. Of structures inside the little fort there remained no trace.

Definite archæological evidence as to the antiquity of the little fortification was supplied by the construction of the walls. Outside a core of closely packed rough stones they show throughout a solid brick facing up to 6 feet in thickness with regular thin layers of brushwood separating the courses of large sun-dried bricks. Now this systematic use of brushwood layers is a characteristic peculiarity of ancient Chinese construction in Central Asia, intended to assure greater consistency under climatic conditions of particular dryness in regions where ground and structures alike are liable to constant wind-erosion. My ex-explorations around Lop-nōr and on the ancient Chinese *Limes* of Tun-huang have conclusively proved that it dates from the very commencement of Chinese expansion into Central Asia.* At the same time my explorations in the Tārīm Basin have shown also that the Tibetan invaders of the T'ang period, when building their forts, did not neglect to copy this constructive expedient of their Chinese predecessors and opponents in these regions.† On various grounds which cannot be discussed here in detail it appears to me very probable that the construction of the Kansir walls was due to the Tibetan invaders of Wakhān. But whether the fortification existed already when Kao Hsien-chih carried the Tibetan main position by an attack on its mountain flank, or whether it was erected by the Tibetans when they returned after the retirement of the Chinese some years later, and were, perhaps, anxious to guard against any repetition of this move outflanking a favourite defensive position, I am unable to say.

The victory thus gained by Kao Hsien-chih on the Oxus had been signal, and it was followed up by him with the boldness of a truly great commander. The Imperial Commissioner and certain other high officers feared the risks of a further advance.

* Cf., e.g., *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 387 sqq., 540 sqq. ; ii. pp. 44, 50, etc.

† This was distinctly observed by me in the Tibetan forts at Mīrān and Mazār-tāgh, built and occupied in the 8th century A.D. ; cf. *Serindia*, pp. 457, 1285 sqq.

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So Kao Hsien-chih decided to leave them behind, together with over 3,000 men who were sick or worn out by the previous hardships, and to let them guard Lien-yün. With the rest of his troops he "pushed on, and after three days arrived at Mount *T'an-chü;* from that point downwards there were precipices for over forty *li* (circ. 8 miles)* in a straight line. Kao Hsien-chih surmised: 'If the barbarians of *A-nu-yüeh* 阿耨越 were to come to meet us promptly this would be the proof of their being well-disposed.' Fearing besides that his soldiers would not care to face the descent [from Mount *T'an-chu*], he employed the stratagem of sending twenty horsemen ahead with orders to disguise themselves in dress as if they were barbarians of the town of A-nu-yüeh, and to meet his troops on the summit of the mountain. When the troops had got up Mount T'an-chü they, in fact, refused to make the descent, saying: 'to what sort of places would the Commissioner-in-Chief have us go?' Before they had finished speaking, the twenty men who had been sent ahead came to meet them with the report: 'The barbarians of the town of A-nu-yüeh are all well-disposed and eager to welcome you; the destruction of the bridge over the So-yi River 娑夷水 is completed.' Kao Hsien-chih pretended to rejoice, and on his giving the order all the troops effected their descent."

After three more marches the Chinese force was in reality met by 'the barbarians of the town of A-nu-yüeh' offering their submission. The same day Kao Hsien-chih sent ahead an advance guard of a thousand horsemen, charging its leader to secure the persons of the chiefs of Little P'o-lü through a ruse. This order having been carried out, on the following day Kao Hsien-chih himself occupied A-nu-yüeh and had the five or six dignitaries who were supporting the Tibetans executed. He then hastened to have the bridge broken which spanned the So-yi River at a distance of sixty *li*, or about 12 miles, from A-nu-yüeh. "Scarcely had the bridge been destroyed in the evening when the Tibetans, mounted and on foot, arrived in great numbers, but it was then too late for them to attain their object. The bridge was the length of an arrowshot; it had taken a whole year to construct it. It had been built at the time when the Tibetans, under the pretext of using its route, had by deceit possessed themselves of Little P'o-lü." Thus secured from a Tibetan counter-attack on Yāsīn, Kao Hsien-chih prevailed upon the king of Little P'o-lü to give

* That the *li* as used in Chinese records relating to Central Asia was during T'ang times and before approximately equivalent to one-fifth of a mile is fully proved by evidence discussed by me in *Serindia* (see ii, pp. 734 sq. and elsewhere).

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himself up from his hiding-place and completely pacified the territory.

The personal acquaintance with the ground which I gained in 1906 on my journey up the Yārkhun or Mastūj Valley and across to Sarhad, and again on my move up Yāsīn and across the Darkōt in 1913, has rendered it easy to trace the successive stages here recorded of Kao Hsien-chih's great exploit. All the details furnished by the Chinese record agree accurately with the important route that leads across the depression in the Hindukush range, formed by the adjacent Barōghil and Shawitakh Passes, to the sources of the Mastūj River, and then, surmounting southwards the ice-covered Darkōt Pass (circ. 15,400 feet), descends the valley of Yāsīn to its debouchure on the main river of Gilgit. The only serious natural obstacle on this route, but that a formidable one, is presented by the glacier pass of the Darkōt. I first ascended it on May 17, 1906, from the Mastūj side, under considerable difficulties, and to a description of that visit and the photographic illustrations which accompany it I may here refer for all details. *

Owing to a curious orographic configuration two great ice-streams descend from the northern face of the Darkōt Pass. One, the Darkōt Glacier properly so called, slopes down to the north-west with an easy fall for a distance of nearly eight miles, pushing its snout to the foot of the Rukang spur, where it meets the far steeper Chatiboi Glacier. The other, which on the map is shown quite as long but which reliable information represents as somewhat shorter, descends towards the north-east and ends some miles above the summer grazing ground of Showar-shur on the uppermost Yārkhun river. Thus two divergent routes offer themselves to the traveller who reaches the Darkōt Pass from the south and wishes to proceed to the Oxus.

The one keeping to the Darkōt Glacier, which I followed myself on my visit to the Darkōt Pass, has its continuation in the easy track which crosses the Rukang spur and then the Yārkhun River below it to the open valley known as Barōghil-yailak. Thence it ascends over a very gentle grassy slope to the Barōghil saddle, characteristically called *Dasht-i-Barōghil*, "the plain of Barōghil." From this point it leads down over equally easy ground, past the hamlet of Zartighar, to the Ab-i-Panja opposite

* See *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 52 sqq. In 1913 I crossed the Darkōt from the Yāsīn side towards the close of August, i.e., at the very season when Kao Hsien-chih effected his passage. The difficulties then encountered in the deep snow of the *névé* beds on the top of the pass, on the great and much-crevassed glacier to the north, and on the huge side-moraines along which the descent leads, impressed me as much as before with the greatness of Kao Hsien-chih's alpine feat in taking a military force across the Darkōt.

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Sarhad. The other route, after descending the glacier to the north-east of the Darkōt Pass, passes down the Yārkhun River past the meadows of Showar-shur to the grazing ground of Shawitakh-yailak; thence it reaches the Hindukush watershed by an easy gradient near the lake of Shawitakh or Sarkhin-zhoe. The saddles of Barōghil and Shawitakh are separated only by about two miles of low, gently sloping hills, and at Zartighar both routes join.

The distances to be covered between the Darkōt Pass and Sarhad are practically the same by both these routes, as far as the map and other available information allow me to judge. My original intention in 1906 was to examine personally those portions of both routes which lie over the *névé*-beds and glaciers of the Darkōt. But the uncertain weather conditions prevailing at the time of my ascent and the exceptional difficulties then encountered owing to the early season and the heavy snowfall of that spring, effectively prevented my plan of ascending from the foot of the Rukang spur and descending to Showar-shur. In 1913 I was anxious to complete my examination of the Darkōt by a descent on the latter route. But my intention was unfortunately frustrated by the fact that the passage of the glacier on the Showar-shur side had been blocked for several years past by an impracticable ice-fall which had formed at its end.

Having thus personal experience only of the north-west route I am unable to judge to what extent present conditions justify the report which represents the glacier part of the north-eastern route as somewhat easier. It is, however, a fact that the Pāmīr Boundary Commission of 1895, with its heavy transport of some six hundred ponies, used the latter route both coming from and returning to Gilgit. The numerous losses reported of animals and loads show that here, too, the passage of the much-crevassed glacier and the treacherous snow-covered moraines proved a very serious difficulty for the transport. Nevertheless, inasmuch as for a force coming from the Wakhān side the ascent to the Darkōt Pass from the nearest practicable camping ground would be about 1,300 feet less by the Showar-shur route than by that passing the Rukang spur, I consider it probable that the former was used.

Kao Hsien-chih's biography states that it took the Chinese general three days to reach 'Mount T'an-chü,' i.e., the Darkōt, but does not make it quite clear whether thereby the arrival at the north foot of the range or on its crest is meant. If the latter interpretation is assumed, with the more rapid advance it implies, it is easy to account for the time taken by a reference to the ground; for, although the Shawitakh-Barōghil saddle is crossed without any difficulty in the summer after the snow has melted, no

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military force accompanied by baggage animals could accomplish the march from Sarhad across the Darkōt in less than three days, the total marching distance being about thirty miles. Even a four days' march to the crest, as implied in the first interpretation, would not be too large an allowance, considering the high elevations and the exceptional difficulties offered by the glacier ascent at the end.

The most striking evidence of the identity of "Mount T'an-chü" with the Darkōt is supplied by the description given in the record of "the precipices for over fort *li* in a straight line" which dismayed the Chinese soldiers on looking down from the heights of Mount T'an-chü; for the slope on the southern face of the Darkōt is extremely steep, as I found on my ascent in 1913 and as all previous descriptions have duly emphasized. The track, mostly over moraines and bare rock, with a crossing of a much-crevassed glacier *en route*, descends close on 5,000 feet in a distance of little more than five miles before reaching near a ruined "Darband," or *chiusa*, the nearest practicable camping ground above the small village of Darkōt.

Well could I understand the reluctance shown to further advance by Kao Hsien-chih's cautious 'braves,' as from the top of the pass I looked down on May 17, 1906, through temporary rifts in the brooding vapour, into the seeming abyss of the valley. The effect was still further heightened by the wall of ice-clad mountains rising to over 20,000 feet which showed across the head of the Yāsīn Valley south-eastwards, and by the contrast which the depths before me presented to the broad snowy expanse of the glacier *firn* sloping gently away on the north. Taking into account the close agreement between the Chinese record and the topography of the Darkōt, we need not hesitate to recognize in *T'an-chü* an endeavour to give a phonetic rendering of some earlier form of the name *Darkōt*, as accurate as the imperfections of the Chinese transcriptional devices would permit.

The stratagem by which Kao Hsien-chih met and overcame the reluctance of his troops, which threatened failure when success seemed assured, looks characteristically Chinese. The forethought shown in preparing this ruse is a proof alike of Kao Hsien-chih's judgment of men and of the extreme care with which every step of his great enterprise must have been planned. But such a ruse, to prove effective, must have remained unsuspected. I believe that in planning it full advantage was taken of the peculiar configuration of the Darkōt which provides, as we have seen, a double route of access to the pass. If the party of men sent ahead to play the rôle

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of the 'barbarians of Little P'o-lü' offering their submission, were despatched by the Barōghil and Rukang route, while the troops marched by the Shawitakh—Showar-shur route, all chance of discovery while on the move would be safely guarded against.

As I had often occasion to note in the course of my explorations, Chinese military activity from antiquity down to modern times has always taken advantage of the keen sense of topography widely spread in the race. So Kao Hsien-chih was likely to take full account of the alternative routes. Nor could it have been particularly difficult for him to find suitable actors, in view of the generous admixture of local auxiliaries which the Chinese forces in Central Asia have at all times comprised. *

The remaining stages of Kao Hsien-chih's advance can be traced with equal ease. The three marches which brought him from the southern foot of the pass to 'the town of A-nu-yüeh' obviously correspond to the distance, close on thirty miles, reckoned between the first camping ground below the Darkōt and the large village of Yāsīn. The latter, by its position and the abundance of cultivable ground near by, must always have been the political centre of the Yāsīn valley. Hence it is reasonable to assume that we have in *A-nu-yüeh* a fairly accurate reproduction of the name *Arniya* or *Arniah* by which the Dards of the Gilgit Valley know Yāsīn.

The best confirmation of this identification is furnished by the statement of the Chinese record that the bridge across the River So-yi was situated sixty *li* from A-nu-yüeh. Since the notice of Little P'o-lü contained in the T'ang Annals names the River So-yi as the one on which Yeh-to 掣多, the capital of the kingdom, stood, it is clear that the Gilgit River must be meant. Now a reference to the map shows that, in a descent of the valley from Yāsīn, the Gilgit River is reached at a distance of about twelve miles, which exactly agrees with the sixty *li* of the Chinese account. It is evident also that, since the only practicable route towards Gilgit proper and the Indus valley leads along the right, or southern bank, of the Gilgit River, the Tibetan reinforcements hurrying up from that direction could not reach Yāsīn without first crossing the river. This explains the importance attaching to the bridge and the prompt steps taken by the Chinese leader to have it broken. As the Gilgit River is quite unfordable in the

* The T'ang *Annals* specifically mention in the account of Shih-ni, or Shighnān, on the Oxus that its chief in A.D. 747 followed the Imperial troops in their attack on Little P'o-lü and was killed in the fighting; cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, p. 163.

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summer the destruction of the bridge sufficed to assure safe possession of Yāsīn. *

It still remains for us to consider briefly what the biography in the T'ang Annals tells us of Kao Hsien-chih's return from Little P'o-lü. After having secured the king and his consort and pacified the whole territory, he is said to have retired by the route of 'the shrine of the red Buddha' in the eighth (Chinese) month of A.D. 747. In the ninth month (October) he rejoined the troops he had left behind at Lien-yün, i.e., Sarhad, and by the end of the same month regained 'the valley of Po-mi' or the Pāmīrs.

Reference to the maps shows that there are only two direct routes, apart from that over the Darkōt and Barōghil, by which the upper Ab-i-Panja Valley can be gained from Gilgit-Yāsīn. One leads up the extremely difficult gorge of the Karambār or Ashkūman River to its headwaters east of the Yārkhun River sources, and thence by the Khora-bhort Pass over the main Hindukush range and down the Lupsuk valley to the Ab-i-Panja. This it strikes at a point close to Kārvān-balasi, half a march below the debouchure of the Little Pāmīr and two and a half marches above Sarhad. † The other, a longer but distinctly easier route, leads up from Gilgit through the Hunza valley to Guhyāl, whence the Ab-i-Panja headwaters can be gained either via the Kilik and Wakhjīr Passes or by the Chapursan valley. At the head of the latter the Irshad Pass gives access to the Lupsuk valley already mentioned, and down this Kārvān-balasi is gained on the Ab-i-Panja. ‡ All three passes are high, close on or over

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* The biography of Kao Hsien-chih calls this bridge 'pont de rotin' in M. Chavannes' translation, *Turcs occidentaux*, p. 153. But there can be no doubt that what is meant is a 'rope bridge' or '*jhula*,' made of twigs twisted into ropes, a mode of construction still regularly used in all the valleys between Kashmir and the Hindukush. Rope bridges of this kind across the Gilgit River near the debouchure of the Yāsīn Valley were the only permanent means of access to the latter from the south until the wire suspension bridge near the present fort of Gūpis was built in recent years.

† Regarding Kārvān-balasi and the route along the Oxus connecting Sarhad with the Little Pāmīr, cf. *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 72 sqq.

‡ The Hunza valley route was followed by me in 1900. For a description of it and of the Kilik and Wakhjīr Passes by which it connects with the Ab-i-Panja valley close to the true glacier source of the Oxus, see my *Ruins of Khotan*, pp. 29 sqq.

The branch of this route, leading up the Chapursan Valley and across the Irshad Pass, was for the most part seen by me in 1913. The Chapursan valley is open and easy almost throughout and shows evidence of having contained a good deal of cultivation in older times; see my note in *Geographical Journal*, xlviii. p. 109. On this account and in view of the fact that this route is some 18 miles shorter than that over the Wakhjīr and crosses only one watershed, it offers a distinctly more convenient line of access to the Oxus headwaters from Gilgit than the former brarch.

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16,000 feet, but clear of ice and comparatively easy to cross in the summer or early autumn.

Taking into account the distinct statement that Kao Hsien-chih left after the whole 'kingdom' had been pacified, it is difficult to believe that he should not have visited Gilgit, the most important portion of Little P'o-lü. In this case the return through Hunza would have offered manifest advantages, including the passage through a tract comparatively fertile in places and not yet touched by invasion. This assumption receives support also from the long time, one month, indicated between the start on the return march and the arrival at Lien-yün. Whereas the distance from Gilgit to Sarhad via Hunza and the Irshad Pass is now counted at twenty-two marches, that from Gilgit to the same place by the Karambār River and across the Khora-bhort is reckoned at only thirteen. But the latter route is very difficult at all times and quite impracticable for load-carrying men in the summer and early autumn, when the Karambār River completely fills its narrow rock-bound gorge.

The important point is that both routes would have brought Kao Hsien-chih to the same place on the uppermost Ab-i-Panja, near Kārvān-balasi, which must be passed by all wishing to gain Sarhad from the east, whether starting from Hunza, Sarīkol, or the Little Pāmīr. This leads me to believe that the "chapel of the red Buddha" 赤佛堂, already mentioned above as on the route which Kao Hsien-chih's eastern column followed on its advance to Sarhad, must be looked for in this vicinity. Now it is just here that we find the small ruin known as *Kārvān-balasi*, which has all the structural features of a Buddhist shrine though now reverenced as a Mohammedan tomb.* We have here probably another instance of that continuity of local cult which has so often converted places of ancient Buddhist worship in Central Asia and elsewhere into shrines of supposed Mohammedan saints.†

According to the *Annals* the victorious general repaired to the Imperial capital taking with him in triumph the captured king Su-shih-li-chih and his consort. The Emperor pardoned the captive chief and enrolled him in the Imperial guards, i.e., kept him in honourable exile, safely away from his territory. This was turned into a Chinese military district under the designation

* Regarding the ruin of Ḳārvān-balasi, cf. *Desert Cathay*, i. pp. 76 sqq.; *Serindia*, i. pp. 70 sqq.

† For references see *Ancient Khotan*, i. p. 611, *Serindia*, iii. p. 1546, s.v. "local worship"; also my *Note on Buddhist local worship in Mohammedan Central Asia*, *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, 1910, pp. 839 sqq.

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of *Kuêi-jên* 歸仁, and a garrison of a thousand men established there. The deep impression which Kao Hsien-chih's remarkable expedition must have produced in all neighbouring regions is duly reflected in the closing remarks of the *T'ang shu:* "Then the Fu-lin (Syria) 佛菻, the Ta-shih 大食 (i.e., the Tāzī or Arabs), and seventy-two kingdoms of divers barbarian peoples were all seized with fear and made their submission."

It was the greatness of the natural obstacles overcome on Kao Hsien-chih's victorious march across the inhospitable Pāmīrs and the icy Hindukush which made the fame of this last Central-Asian success of the T'ang arms spread so far. If judged by the physical difficulties encountered and vanquished, the achievement of the able Korean general deserves fully to rank by the side of the great alpine feats of commanders famous in European history. He, for the first, and perhaps the last, time led an organized army right across the Pāmīrs and successfully pierced the great mountain rampart that defends Yāsīn-Gilgit, and with it the Indus valley against, invasion from the north. Respect for the energy and skill of the leader must increase with the recognition of traditional weakness which the *Annals'* ungarnished account reveals in his troops.

Diplomatic documents reproduced from the Imperial archives give us an interesting glimpse of the difficult conditions under which the Chinese garrison placed in Little P'o-lü was maintained for some years after Kao Hsien-chih's great exploit. As I have had occasion to discuss this curious record fully elsewhere it will suffice to note that the small Chinese force was dependent wholly upon supplies obtained from Kashmir*, exactly as the present garrison of Indian Imperial Service troops has been ever since it was placed in Gilgit some thirty years ago. In view of such natural difficulties as even the present Kashmir-Gilgit road, an achievement of modern engineering, has not succeeded in removing, it is not surprising to find that before long resumed Tibetan aggression threatened the Chinese hold not merely upon Gilgit-Yāsīn but upon Chitrāl and distant Tokhāristān, too.

* Cf. *Ancient Khotan*, i. pp. 11 sqq.; for the official documents embodied in the *Ts'é fu yüan kuei* (published A.D. 1013), see Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 214 sq.

In the former place I have pointed out the exact parallel which the difficulties experienced since 1890 about the maintenance of an Indian Imperial garrison in Gilgit present to the conditions indicated by the Chinese record of A.D. 749. The troubles attending the transport of supplies from Kashmīr necessitated the construction of the present Gilgit Road, a difficult piece of engineering.

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A victorious expedition undertaken by Kao Hsien-chih in A.D. 750 to Chitrāl succeeded in averting this danger. * But the fresh triumph of the Chinese arms in these distant regions was destined to be short. Early in the following year Kao Hsien-chih's high-handed intervention in the affairs of Tāshkend, far away to the north, brought about a great rising of the populations beyond the Yaxartes, who received aid from the Arabs. In a great battle fought in July, 751, in the plains near Talas, Kao Hsien-chih was completely defeated by the Arabs and their local allies and in the ensuing *débâcle* barely escaped with a small remnant of his troops. †

This disaster marked the end of all Chinese enterprise beyond the *Imaos*. In Eastern Turkestan Chinese domination succeeded in maintaining itself for some time amidst constant struggles, until by A.D. 791 the last of its administrators and garrisons, completely cut off long before from contact with the Empire, finally succumbed to Tibetan invasion. Close on a thousand years were to pass after Kao Hsien-chih's downfall before Chinese control was established once again over the Tārīm Basin and north of the T'ien-shan under the great Emperor Ch'ien-lung.

* Cf. Chavannes, *Turcs occidentaux*, pp. 158, 214 sqq., 296.

† Cf. Chavannes, *ibid.*, p. 142, note 2. M. Chavannes, p. 297, quotes the closely concordant account of these events from Mohammedan historical records.

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WOU-P'ING-HIEN

武平縣

Note sur l'ancienne Géographie de la Mongolie Orientale,

par Jos. Mullie, Missionnaire de Scheut.

A peine rentré depuis quelques jours d'un voyage qui avait pour but de trouver l'emplacement des ruines de Wou-p'ing-hien 武平縣, je reçois l'ouvrage de Messieurs W. Bang et J. Marquart, "Ost-Türkische Dialektstudien" * où M. De Groot, à la page 114, a essayé de déterminer l'endroit exact de cette ville. Si même d'autres sources, comme le Jee-ho-tcheu, le Tch'eng-te-fou-tcheu, le Moung-kou-you-mou-ki, le Ta-ts'ing-i-t'oung-tcheu †, etc., avaient été à sa disposition, M. De Groot n'aur tait pu, de Berlin, donner une précision satisfaisante à la détermination de l'emplacement de Wou-p'ing-hien. Ceci me décide à tirer au clair cette question de la Géographie Ancienne des empires Ta Leao, Kin et Yuan. Je regrette infiniment de ne pouvoir plus, ce faisant, payer un tant soit peu ma dette de reconnaissance envers l'eminent professeur de l'Université de Louvain, M. W. Bang, que la mort a arraché trop tôt à ses multiples travaux scientifiques.

La lecture des textes historiques et géographiques qu'on trouve dans les ouvrages chinois, nous donnera tous les éléments dont nous avons besoin pour déterminer la position de Wou-p'ing-hien. Cette ville, comme nombre d'autres, n'a pas toujours porté le même nom, mais il est facile de suivre l'évolution de ses titres.

Les Annales des Leao 遼史, chap. 39, p. 2 v°, disent :

WOU-NAN-TCHEOU 武安州, magistrature Koan-tch'a 觀察; sous les T'ang 唐 c'était le territoire de WO-TCHEOU 沃州; T'ai-tsou 太祖 (des Leao), (907--927), prit des Chinois et les

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* Berlin. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung. 1914. (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philgologisch-Historische Klasse. Neue Folge, Band XIII, Nro. I.)

†熱河志, 承德府志, 蒙古游牧記, 大清一統志.

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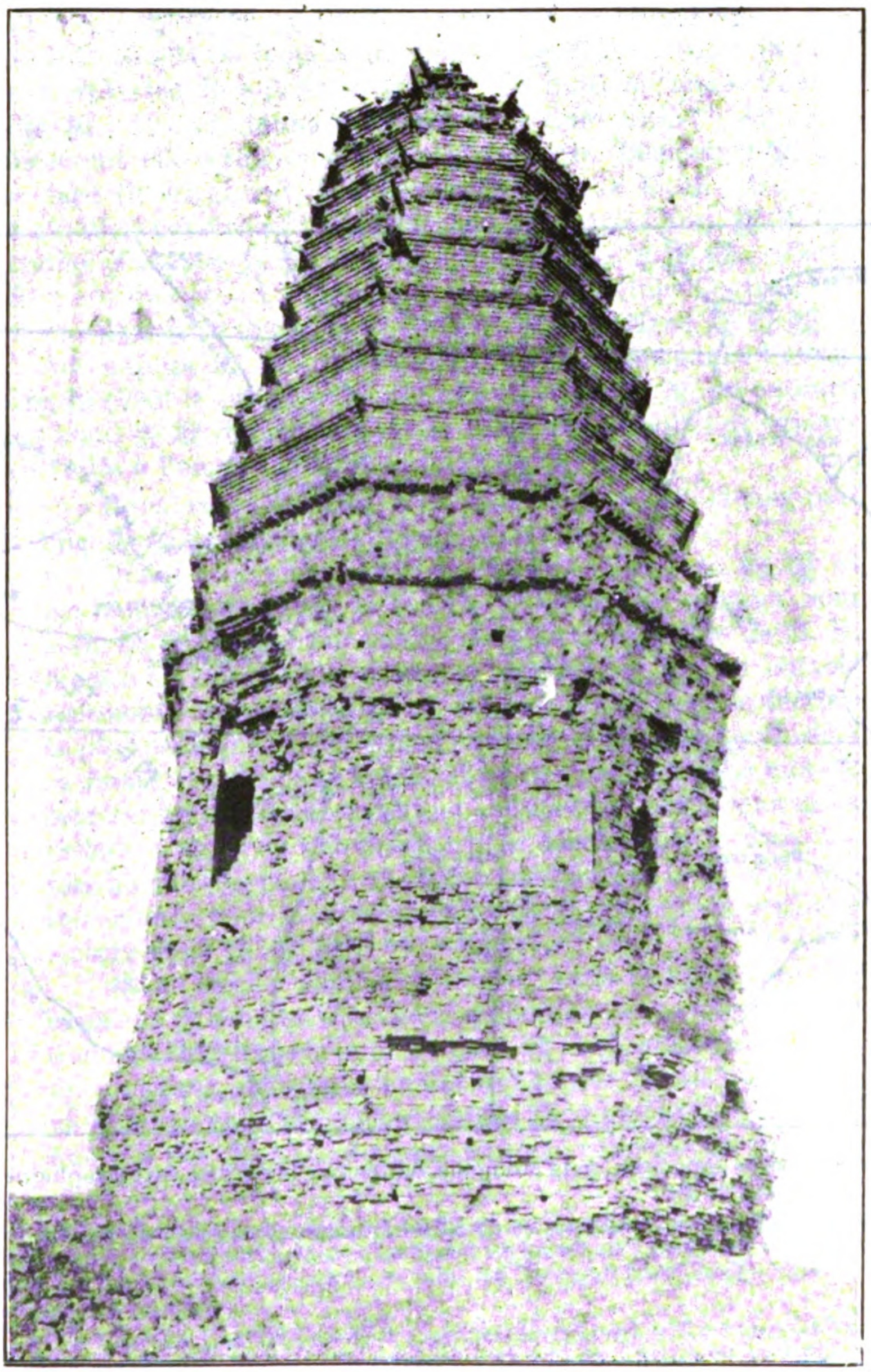

La tour de Pait'aze, Nao-han.

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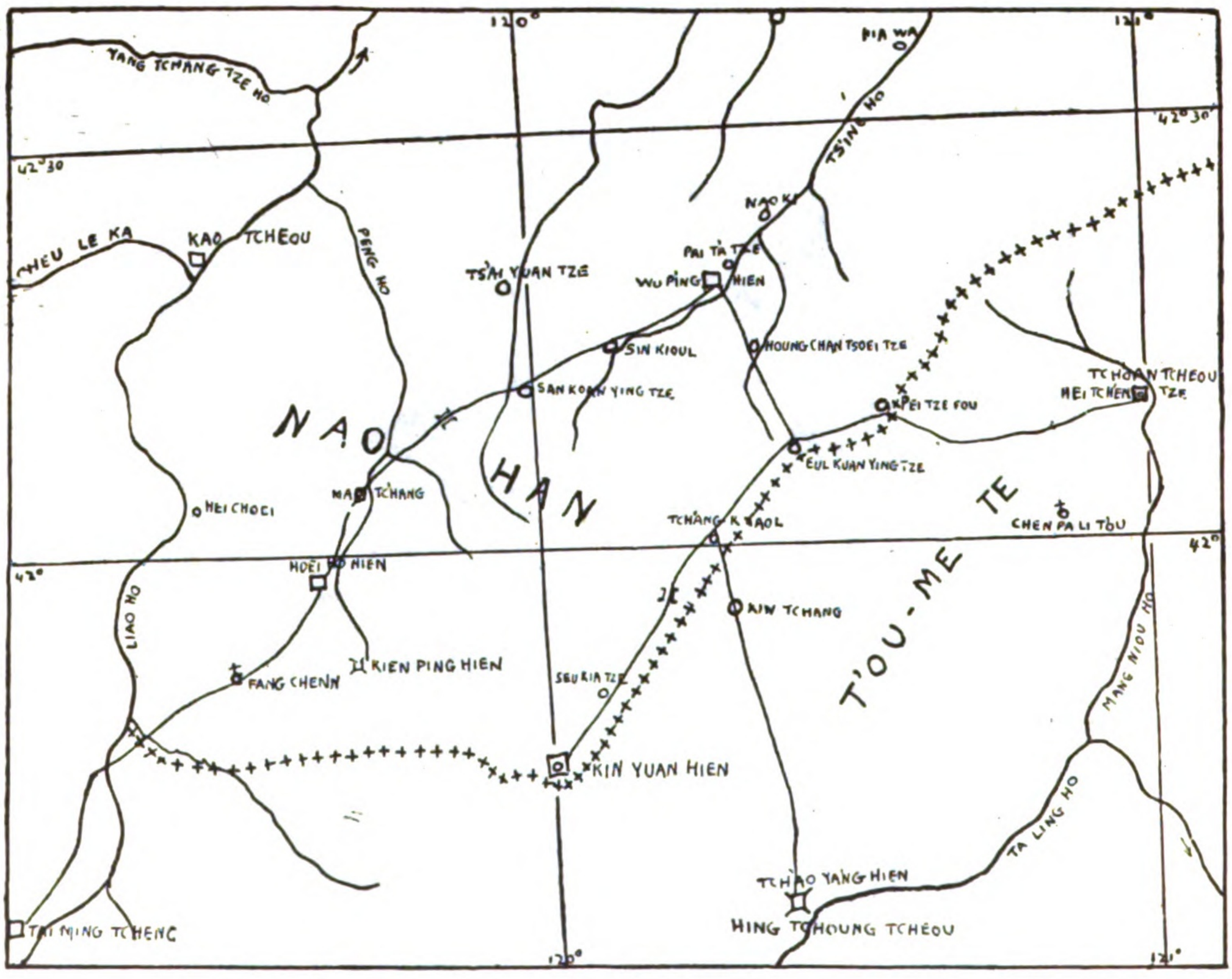

D'après la carte Japonaise de la Mongolie, éditée par le Service cartographique du Japon, la 5e année Ta-tcheng 大正.

La limite du T'oumet occidental et de Nao-han passe plus à l'est de Pei-tze-fou.

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établit au pied de la montagne Mou-ye 木葉山*, et à cet effet il bâtit une ville pour les y transplanter ; il l'appela Hing-kouo Sin-tch'eng 杏堝新城 (la Nouvelle Ville de Hing-kouo). Ensuite il la peupla de familles du Leao-si 遼西 et changea la nom (de la ville) en SIN-TCHEOU 新州. La huitième année t'oung-ho 統和 (990), on donna (à la ville) son nom actuel. Au commencement elle avait (comme magistrat) un Ts'eu-cheu 刺史, plus tard (le magistrat) fut élevé (au rang de Koan-tch'a). il y a (à Wou-nan-tcheou) la montagne Hoang-pai-ling 黃柏嶺, la rivière Yao-louo 約嚧, la rivière Ko-mouo-le 格默勒. (Cette préfecture de second rang) dépend de la Capitale Centrale 中京† et administre une sous-préfecture, WO-YE-HIEN 沃野縣.

Au chapitre 13, p.1 r° il est dit : La huitième année t'oung-ho 統和 (990) le troisième mois, au jour i-you 乙酉, on entoura Hing-kouo 杏堝 d'une muraille et on peupla (la ville) de prisonniers (faits à l'empire chinois des) Soung 宋.

Nous rencontrerons plus loin le nom de Hoang-pai-ling 黃柏嶺 encore usité sous les Yuan.

Quant aux noms des deux rivières Yao-louo 約嚧 et Ko-mouo-le 格默勒 la lecture primitive du premier nom était 枭羅, en ancien chinois d'après la méthode de M. B. Karlgren, kiäu-lâ (un *a* grave) ; 約嚧 en ancien chinois représente '*iak-luâ* (et ljâ). Puisque *kiäu-lâ* est la lecture la plus ancienne, il est évident que 約 doit avoir perdu déjà sa finale *k* à l'époque de la correction du nom. Le mot 枭 représentant certainement une syllabe du nom k'i-tan de la rivière, n'a pas eu une finale *k*, j'en conclus que le nom k'i-tan n'avait également pas cette même finale *k* ; ceci a son importance pour le nom suivant : 格默勒 dont la première lecture était 簡沒里.

格 en ancien chinois se lit *kək*, mais la figuration plus ancienne 簡 *kâ* a un *k'iu cheng* et indique par ce fait l'absence d'une finale *k* dans le nom k'i-tan ; 默 et 沒 ont tous les deux un *jou-cheng*, mais avec finales différentes, 默 se lisant *mək*, et 沒 *muət;* enfin 里, ancien chinois *lji*, a une finale vocalique que n'a pas 勒 *lək*. Je crois pouvoir conclure de ces faits

* Cette montagne ne peut être celle de même nom qui se trouvait au confluent des rivières Sira-murën (sara murën en mongol vulgaire) et Lao-ho 老河, et où doit être cherchée la ville de Young-tcheou 永州. Tout le contexte le prouve.

† La Capitale Centrale, dont il s'agit ici, se trouvait à Tai-ming-tch'eng 大明城, sur la rive gauche de la rivière Lao-ho 老河. Pour ne pas devoir me répéter, je renvoie le lecteur à mon article, communiqué au *T'oung Pao*, *Les Anciennes Villes de l'empire Ta Leao, au royaume mongol de Bārin*, qui doit être sous presse en ce moment.

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que K'ien-loung n'a pas fait les corrections des mots k'i-tan pour retrouver les consonnes finales. D'ailleurs on sait que les finales -k, -t, -p, avaient déjà disparu dans la langue du nord au XIe siècle. Donc lors de la première translittération de ces noms k'i-tan, les caractères chinois étaient déjà prononces sans leurs anciennes finales -k, -t, -p, et nous avons alors comme forme se rapprochant plus ou moins du nom k'i-tan :

ka (ou *kə*) muə-lji.

Dans ce cas je ne puis resister à la tentation de comparer *muə-lji* avec le mongol *murĕn*, rivière. Rappelons-nous les noms k'i-tan de la Sira-murën : 梟羅簡沒里 ou 女古沒里 donnés dans l'avant-propos du K'i-tan-kouo-tcheu 契丹國志. Le premier mot niao-louo-ko ou niu-kou (ancien chinois niäu-l*â*-k*â* * [à côté de nzjäu-l*â*-k*â*, nz† sont des consonnes mouillées] et njiʷo-ku) signifie vraisemblablement "jaune," le nom chinois-traduction du nom indigène-est dès les premiers temps 潢河 *Hoang-ho*, écrit d'une manière un peu différente pour ne pas confondre cette rivière avec le Fleuve Jaune ; le sens en saute aux yeux. Le nom mongol actuel a encore le même sens. Le second mot 沒里 est muə-lji, rivière. Que *muə-lji* soit un mot indépendant, les anciens noms de la rivière Lao-ho :

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* La langue des K'i-tan nous est si peu connue, qu'il n'est pas inutile de rechercher la parenté de ce mot dans d'autres langues : Amyot Dict. Mantchou, annote NIEOUROKO avec le sens de "couleur qui se ternit et tire sur le noir." NIEOUHOUN : "verdâtre" ; NIEOUBORO : "vert obscur." NIEOUROUN : "couleur rouge que l'on voit dans le ciel, lorsqu après la pluie les nuages se trouvant opposès au soleil, il se forme une lueur semblable aux rayons du soleil, qui a la forme d'un demi-cerle. "NIEOUROKO ATALI ; "comme l'arc en ciel. (Il faut lire je crois NIEOUROUN ATALI.")

Le Dictionnaire Coreen-Français, des Missionnaires de Çoree (Yokohama, 1880) mentionne :

NOL : nuage rouge ou jaune 黃 雲.

NO-RANG-I 黃色者 : jaune, qui a les cheveux et les poils jaunes . . . NO-REU-TA, NO-REU-RE, NO-REUN 黃 : jaune-clair. Etre de couleur jaune-clair.

Je rapproche ces mots de NIAU-LA-KA tout en reservant la question d'affinite probable (?).

Le mandchou NIEOUHOUN, verdâtre, doit être compare au mongol : NOGO, le vert, Toungouze NOGON, vert, etc.

On pourrait objecter que le mot k'i-tan MU-LJI, rivière, data peut-être du dernier siècle des T'ang, et qu'alors il faut lire MUəT. C'est une question à élucider ! Notons que -t peut représenter un -r.

En Toungouze on a mû, eau, mûgda, liquide. En Mandchou : mouke : eau (Amyot).

† Z : dorso-alvéolo-prépalatale.

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Mie-li mou-li 乜里沒里 et *T'ao-wei-seu mou-li* 陶猥思沒里 (Voir le K'i-tan-kouo-tcheu, Avant-propos) le prouvent suffisamment.

Le premier texte cité des Annales des Leao se trouve reproduit dans le Tou-cheu-fang-yu-ki-yao 讀史方輿紀要 chap. 18, Tcheu-li 8, p.38 v°. La distance donnée par cet ouvrage : " 200 *li* au Nord-est de Ta-ning-wei 大寧衛 " (le nom de Tai-ming-tch'eng sous les Ming) est sous-évaluée comme nous verrons de suite. Nous trouvons *LOCO CITATO* la description de la contrée sous les T'ang :

"Au commencement (des T'ang), (Wou-nan-tcheou) était le territoire de Tch'ang-tcheou 昌州. A l'époque tsai-tch'ou 載初 (689, 11e lune), Tch'ang-tcheou fut divisé et on érigea Wo-tcheou 沃州 pour y établir les tribus k'i-tan de Soung-mouo 松漠 ; son chef-lieu était Pin-hai-hien 濱海縣, et (le tcheou) se trouvait sous l'administration du Tou-tou 都督 de Ying-tcheou 營州. Plus tard l'administration fut transportée provisoirement à Hoei-tch'eng 迴城 au sud-ouest de Ki-hien 薊縣.

D'après les Annales des T'ang 新唐書, chap. 43, 2°, p.4, v°, le chef k'i-tan Li Tsin-tchoung 李盡忠 fut la cause d'une première fuite la première année wan-soei-t'oung-t'ien 萬歲通天 (693). La seconde année k'ai-yuan 開元 (714) la préfecture fut érigée de nouveau, et ce n'est que plus tard qu'eut lieu le transfert à Hoei-tch'eng.

Les Annales des Kin 金史, chapitre 24, p.6 r°, placent la ville de Wou-p'ing-hien 武平縣 dans la province de la Capitale Septentrionale 北京路 ; or le centre de la province de la Capitale Septentrionale était établi à Ta-ting-fou 大定府, qui n'est autre que la Capitale Centrale des Leao (à Tai-ming-tch'eng). Elles donnent de cette ville la note suivante :

" Wou-p'ing (-hien) 武平. Les Leao bâtirent la ville (qui eut le nom de) Hing-kouo ; d'abord elle s'appela Sin-tcheou 新州 ; pendant l'époque t'oung-ho 統和 (983-1012), (le nom) fut changé en Wou-nan-tcheou 武安州, la troisième année hoang-t'oung 皇統 (1146, sous les Kin) (la ville) fut descendue au rang de sous-préfecture Wou-nan-hien 武安縣 et placée sous l'administration (de Ta-ting-fou). La septième année ta-ting 大定 (1167) elle changea de nom (et devint Wou-p'ing-hien) ; la troisième année tch'eng-nan 承安 (1198) elle fut mise sous la dépendance de Kao-tcheou 高州, mais la quatrième année t'ai-ho 泰和 (1203) elle retourna sous l'administration (de Ta-ting-fou)."

Ici nous suivons facilement les changements des noms de la ville. Nous pouvons aussi conclure de ce texte que Wou-p'ing

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doit toucher aux limites de Kao-tcheou, puisque cette ville reçut pendant six années une supériorité administrative sur Wou-p'ing.

Les Annales des Yuan 元史, chap. 59, p. 2 v°, ne nous donnent que le nom de Wou-p'ing (-hien) 武平 placé sous Ta-ning-lou 大寧路. Le Ta-ning-lou des Yuan est la Capitale Centrale des Leao et la Capitale Septentrionale des Kin. Remarquons que la vingt-cinquième année tcheu-yuan 至元 (1288) le nom de Wou-p'ing-lou 武平路 fut donné à la ville de Ta-ning, qui reprit ce dernier nom plus tard ; l'année n'en est pas indiquée.

Le Tch'eng-te-fou-tcheu reprend en divers endroits les textes des trois Annales que je viens de citer, et y ajoute des extraits d'autres ouvrages qui se rapportent à Wou-p'ing-hien.

D'après le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu 元一統志 (cité au chap. 20, p. 39 v°) la pagode Fou-yen-seu 福嚴寺 et le sanctuaire Jenn-wang-ko 仁王閣 se trouvaient sur le marché de Wou-p'ing-hien. La pagode Pao-tchenn-koan 寶貞觀 se trouvait au sud-est de la ville.

Mais au chapitre 6, p. 26, il y a un précieux extrait du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu, qu'on trouve également au chapitre 62 du Jee-ho-tcheu, et grâce auquel il est facile de déterminer la position géographique exacte de Wou-p'ing-hien. Afin qu'on ne m'oppose pas un texte du Wou-king-tsoung-yao 武經總要 (voir le Jee-ho-tcheu, chap. 60, p. 13 v°), je dirai que dans la recherche des ruines des anciennes villes on peut en général faire état de la direction indiquée par cet ouvrage, mais nullement des distances données ; le nombre de *li* est d'ordinaire beaucoup trop petit, même si l'on admet comme justification que le *li* de l'auteur est une mesure qui ne correspond pas exactement au *li* du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu.

Ainsi le Wou-king-tsoung-yao dit :

" Sin-tcheou 新州 (le premier nom de Wou-p'ing-hien comme centre administratif) est proprement un territoire de l'état k'i-tan. A l'est jusqu'à Hoēi-tcheou 徽州 il y a 200 *li*, à l'ouest jusqu'à Hoéi-tcheou 惠州 il y a 130 *li*, au sud jusqu'à Pa-tcheou 霸州 (aujourd'hui Tch'ao-yang-hien 朝陽縣) il y a 100 *li*. Au nord jusqu'à Young-tcheou 永州 il y a 370 *li*.

Le texte du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu correspond mieux à la réalité :

Wou-p'ing-hien :

au sud jusqu'à Ta-tou 大都 1,200 *li*.
au nord-ouest jusqu'à Chang-tou 上都 1,000 *li*.
à l'est jusqu'à la limite de Tch'oan-tcheou 川州, la passe Lan-tze-ling 欄子嶺, 70 *li*.

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à l'ouest jusqu'à la limite de Hoei-ho-hien 惠和縣, la passe P'an-tao-ling 盤道嶺 80 *li*.
au sud jusqu'à la limite de Hing-tchoung-tcheou 興中州 Hiâ-k'eou 匣口 50 *li*.
au nord jusqu'à la limite de Moung-kou-hing-ying 蒙古行營 Kouo-soung-tchai 郭松寨 20 *li*.
à l'est jusqu'à Tch'oan-tcheou 川州 150 *li*.
à l'ouest jusqu'à Hoei-ho-hien 惠和縣 150 *li*.
au sud jusqu'à Hing-tchoung-tcheou 興中州 180 *li*.
au nord jusqu'à Lin-hoang-fou 臨潢府 1300 *li*.
au sud-est jusqu'à I-tcheou 義州 300 *li*.
au nord-est jusqu'à I-tcheou 懿州 400 *li*.
au sud-ouest jusqu'à Kin-yuan-hien 金源縣 150 *li*.
au nord-ouest jusqu'à Kao-tcheou 高州 150 *li*.
Examinons les différents points de repère fournis par ce texte.

Ouest.—Il faut chercher à rattacher Wou-p'ing-hien avec la ville de Hoei-ho-hien 惠和縣.

Cette sous-préfecture était sous les Leao le chef-lieu de Hoei-tcheou 惠州 et doit se trouver d'après un texte du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu (voir le Jee-ho-tcheu, chap. 62, p. 5) à 60 *li* à l'est de la rivière T'ou-ho 塗河, limite des sous-préfectures Hoei-ho et Ta-ning 大寧. La rivière T'ou-ho 塗河 est la Lao-ho actuelle, on écrit le plus souvent 土河. (Voir les Annales des Leao, chap. 39, p. 1). Ta-ning-hien est le centre administratif de Ta-ning-lou 大寧路, aujourd'hui Tai-ming-tch'eng sur la rive gauche de la rivière Lao-ho. Les ruines de Hoei-ho-hien se trouvent à 20 *li* au nord-ouest de Kien-p'ing-hien 建平縣 sur la rive gauche de la rivière Pouo-louo-k'o-tch'oan 博羅科川 vulgairement appelée Péng-ho. Le Tch'eng-te-fou-tcheu admet cette identification. (Voir chap. 21, p. 24 r° et v°). Le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu donne comme distance entre les deux villes 150 *li*, ce qui est exact.

De Hoei-ho-hien à Wou-p'ing-hien la distance est de 150 *li*. La limite des deux sous-préfectures est placée à P'an-tao-ling 盤道嶺 à 80 *li* de Wou-p'ing-hien, donc à 70 *li* de Hoei-ho-hien, mais sous Hoei-ho-hien le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu indique Hoang-pai-ling 黃柏嶺 comme limite des deux sous-préfectures; à 70 *li* à l'est de Hoei-ho-hien. La distance identique pour les deux montagnes, prouve que ces deux noms ou bien s'appliquent à la même passe, ou à deux passes assez rapprochées l'une de l'autre.

Quand on va des ruines de Hoei-ho-hien vers le nord-est en suivant la vallée de la Peng-ho, on passe par le petit marché de Ma-tch'ang 馬場, puis par Kang-kang 岡岡 (du mongol

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ganygga, bord, rive, berge), la route est barrée en ce point par une chaîne montagneuse qu'il faut escalader en zigzag, avant d'arriver dans la vallée où se trouve le village de San-koan-ying-tze 三官營子. Cette passe s'appelle actuellement I-pai-siao-ts'ieul-leang (la Passe des Cent petites Sapèques, * 一百小錢兒梁 et elle mérite bien son ancien nom de P'an-tao-ling, la Passe du Chemin qui serpente par la montagne. Me basant sur cette caractéristique de la passe et sur les distances (70 *li* est de Hoei-ho, et 80 *li* ouest de Wou-p'ing) je crois pouvoir placer là l'ancienne limite des deux sous-préfectures. La direction est plutôt nord-est, et le chemin est loin de suivre une ligne droite, parce qu'un massif montagneux qu'il faut contourner, se trouve entre les deux anciennes villes.

De San-koan-ying-tze la route traverse trois montagnes par P'ing-fang-tze 平房子, Sin-k'iou[1] 新丘 avant de déboucher dans la vallée de rivière Ts'ing-ho 清河. On descend cette vallée, et de très loin on voit la tour qui se trouve près des ruines de Wou-p'ing-hien.

Un village établi là s'appelle Pai-t'a-tze 白塔子, La Tour Blanche. C'est à l'ouest de ce village qu'on voit encore les ruines de l'ancienne ville. Il n'en reste qu'une enceinte presque nivelée, où les nombreux morceaux de briques, de tuiles et de vases divers gisent partout sur le sol. Le mur septentrional a été emporté par les eaux de la rivière Ts'ing-ho, et le lit d'un torrent d'ordinaire à sec, venant du sud-ouest, s'est jeté à travers les ruines coupant ainsi la ville en deux.

L'enceinte peut avoir une longueur de 3 à 400 koung par côté. A l'ouest des murs s'étend un terrain assez vaste jusqu'à Tch'eng-sin-t'ai 城心臺; cet endroit a été habité par une population suburbaine. On voit même une petite enceinte à l'est du village Tch'eng-sin-t'ai ; qui sait si la première ville fut pas établie en cet endroit ?

La rivière Ts'ing-ho, que la carte japonaise appelle Kiao-lien-ho 教連河, doit avoir été soit l'ancienne Yao-louo, soit la Ko-mouo-le ; la contrée n'est pas riche en rivières. Tout le nord est sablonneux et n'a jamais eu de ville préfecturale ou sous-préfecturale, même sous la dynastie Leao qui pourtant en a établies partout. Maintenant encore cette contrée est peu habitée.

Au milieu des ruines à l'ouest du torrent on voit un petit moticule ; est-ce là que se trouvait une des pagodes de Wou-p'ing-hien ?

* Cent petites sapèofues représentent à Tch'ao-yang-hien 16 grandes sapèofues. Or il y a seise têtes de collines à passer pour franchir la passe. De là la nom.

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La tour se dresse au nord-est de la ville et est du même type que les tours si nombreuses en Mc golie Orientale, qui agrémentent les sites des anciennes villes des Leao. Elle est octogonale et chaque face mesure en bas un tchang et demi.

Sud.—Hing-tchoung-tcheou 興中州 des Yuan est à n'en pas douter, la ville actuelle de Tch'ao-yang-hien 朝陽縣.

La route de Pai-t'a-tze (en Nao-han 敖漢) passe par Houng-chan-tsoei-tze 紅山咀子, Eul-koan-ying-tze 二官營子 et la passe Kin-tch'ang-keou-leang 金場溝梁. La distance qu'on donne aujourd'hui est de 230 *li*, il y a une notable différence avec celle indiquée par le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu ; je ne m'explique pas cet écart, y a-t-il erreur du Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu ? On trouvera peut-être une passe practicable autrefois, par la longue chaîne qui s'étend à l'ouest de la rivière Ta-ling-ho 大淩河 (vulgairement Ta-lien-ho) et de son affluent la Mang-niou-ho 牤牛河, mais non un chemin plus court qui relie les deux villes. D'autre part on ne peut songer à placer Hing-tchoung-tcheou à un endroit plus rapproché de Pai-t'a-tze.

La limite des deux juridictions se trouvait à Hia-k'eou 匣口 à 50 *li* au sud de Wou-p'ing et à 130 *li* au nord de Hing-tchoung-tcheou. Cet endroit doit être cherché quelque part au sud-ouest de Nao-han Pei-tze-fou 敖漢貝子府.

Sud-Ouest.—Dans cette direction se trouve Kin-yuan-hien 金源縣 à 150 *li*. Distance et direction sont exactes. Je place cette sous-préfecture au village actuel de Niou-sin-ho-t'oung 牛心河通 où le mur d'enceinte est encore partiellement visible. L'identification de Kin-yuan-hien fera tôt ou tard l'objet d'une autre note.

La route passe par Houng-chan-tsoei-tze, Eul-koan-ying-tze, Tch'ang-kao* 長稿 (du mongol Tch'agan gol, Rivière Blanche) et Seu-kia-tze 四家子. On trouve la limite des deux sous-préfectures dans le Jee-ho-tcheu, chapitre 62, page 4 r° : "Au nord (de Kin-yuan-hien) jusqu'à la limite de Wou-p'ing-hien, la passe P'ien-tao-tze-ling 偏道子嶺, 70 *li*," soit donc 80 *li* de Pai-t'a-tze. C'est la passe qui se trouve au sud de Tch'ang-kao[1] et qui s'appelle actuellement Toan-mou-leang 椴木梁, la Passe des Tilleuls.

Est et Nord-Est.—A l'est de Pai-t'a-tze se trouve Hei-tch'eng-tze 黑城子 (la Ville Noire). Le roi mongol du T'oumet occi-

* Le Tch'eng-te-fou-tcheu (Chap. 18, p.16 r°) écrit 牛脬河屯, c'est la translittération du mongol nuxtsin (mongol littéraire : nitsxuijun) xotho : la Ville Nue. x = la spirante gutturale sourde, ij = la spirante gutturale sonore.

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dental y a son palais, situé dans l'ancienne enceinte murée de Tch'oan-tcheou des Leao 遼川州 (la seconde ville Tch'oan-tcheou, s'entend) sur les bords de la rivière Mang-niou-ho. La distance donnée par le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu est de 150 *li*. De Pai-t'a-tze à Nao-han Pei-tze-fou on compte 70 *li*, de là à Kiou-ho-tch'ang-keou-leang 舊和尙溝梁 30, et depuis ce point jusqu'à Hei-tch'eng-tze par la vallée Eul-loung-t'ai-tch'oan 二龍台川 encore 70, au total 170 *li*, dont les vingt *li* adventices peuvent être mis au compte des routes impraticables, qui devaient être en meilleur état à une époque où les Chinois, ces infatigables destructeurs, n'avaient pas encore mis la cognée aux arbres forestiers.

La limite de Wou-p'ing-hien et de Tch'oan-tcheou se trouvait à la passe Lan-tze-ling 欄子嶺 à 70 *li* à l'est de Wou-p'ing et à 80 à l'ouest de Tch'oan-tcheou. On doit certainement la chercher aux environs de Pei-tze-fou, et probablement dans la chaîne Ta-hei-chan 大黑山 dont le versant oriental envoie ses eaux à la Mang-niou-ho. La distance indiquée ne parle pas en faveur de Kiou-ho-tch'ang-keou-leang, cependant là se trouve la limite actuelle des Bannières mongoles de Nao-han et de T'oumet (occidental), qui a servi à délimiter les sous-préfectures actuelles Tch'ao-yang-hien et Kien-p'ing-hien. Quand l'obscure période de l'histoire de la domination mongole en Mongolie Orientale sera entièrement élucidée, pour autant que faire se pourra, il sera peut-être possible de découvrir le principe qui a guidé les Mandchoux dans le tracé des limites assignées aux diverses principautés mongoles de la Mongolie Orientale. La délimitation pour Nao-han eut lieu la huitième année t'ien-ts'oung 天聰 (1634) *. Puisque nous voyons ça et là les rois et autres chefs mongols établis dans ou tout près des ruines d'une ancienne ville k'i-tan, détruite au commencement des Ming lors de leur raid à travers la Mongolie Orientale, il n'est peut-être pas téméraire de penser qu'en plusieurs endroits les limites des principautés mongoles sont encore celles des sous-prefectures et préfectures de la fin des Yuan. Mais passons.

De Wou-p'ing jusqu'à I-tcheou 義州 il y a 300 *li* d'après le Yuan-i-t'oung-tcheu. I-tcheou est la ville actuelle de même nom, située sur la rive droite de la Ta-lien-ho dans la Mandchourie. La distance de Pai-t'a-tze doit d'après la carte se rapprocher sensiblement de 300 *li*. Je réserve I-tcheou 懿州 pour plus tard.

Nord.—A vingt *li* au nord de Wou-p'ing se trouvait Kouo-soung-tchai 郭松寨. Or à Nao-ki 敖吉 à vingt *li* au nord-

* Voir le Moung-kou-you-mou-ki, chap. 3, p.2 v°.

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est de Pai-t'a-tze il y a encore une ancienne enceinte que le nom même de Kouo-soung-tchai nous laisse soupçonner. 寨 *tchai* en effet signifie "enceinte, palissade, retranchement."

Au-delà on avait le Moung-kou-hing-ying 蒙古行營, qu'on voit également au nord de Tch'oan-tcheou (100 *li* au nord, au-delà de la passe Hia-ma-ling 蝦蟆嶺), et au nord de Kao-tcheou 高州 (90 *li* au nord à la rivière Ka-tch'a-ho 抬扠河, aujourd'hui Yang-tchang-tze-ho 陽張子河) Kao-tcheou, à 150 *li* au nord-ouest de Wou-p'ing, se trouvai u village de T'ou-tch'eng-tze 土城子 sur la rive gauche de la Lao-ho, où l'ancienne enceinte est encore conservée partiellement. Toute cette contrée septentrionale était habitée par les Mongols vivant sous la tente (époque des Yuan). Nous avons de cela une indication dans le chapitre 128 des Annales des Yuan, p. 9v°, Biographie de T'ouo-k'o-t'ouo-hou 托克拢呼: sa tribu était originairement établie au nord de Wou-p'ing dans la vallée Tcheé-lin-tch'oan 哲琳川 près de la montagne Nan-t'a-ha 安塔哈山.

Voilà une information spécifiquement mongole! On cite la vallée et la montagne, ensuite la ville plus ou moins chinoise (de nom au moins) la plus rapprochée.

Hing-ying 行營 a donc le sens de "camp ambulant" ou "village nomade".

Quant aux autres points de repère nous pouvons nous contenter de quelques mots d'explication :

Ta-tou 大都 la Grande Capitale (des Yuan) est la ville actuel le de Peking.

Chang-tou 上都 des Yuan est la ville détruite qui se trouve à une quarantaine de *li* à l'ouest de La-ma-miao 喇嘛廟 ou Dolon nor.

Lin-hoang-fou 臨潢府 la Capitale Supérieure des Leao, n'existait plus comme centre d'administration sous les Yuan. La distance donnée est beaucoup trop grande. Je place cette ville à Boro xotho au royaume mongol de Bàrin, et non à Pai-t'a-tze (Bàrin nord-ouest) comme certains sinologues ont cru pouvoir faire.

La position géographique de Wou-p'ing-hien étant fixée à Pai-t'a-tze en Nao-han, donc dans le territoire de Jee-ho[1] il serait superflu, n'était l'autorité d'un sinologue de la valeur de M. De Groot, de réfuter la seconde hypothèse qu'il présente.

Ayant trouvé le même nom de montagne "An-ta(p)-han 按荅罕* " dans une contrée située à l'ouest de Chang-tou, M. De Groot hésite entre la région de Chang-tou et celle de Jee-ho[1] pour localiser Wou-p'ing-hien.

* Correction 安塔哈. J'ai écrit n—pour ng-initial, parce qu'on prononce généralement un n—dans le dialecte chinois de la Mongolie Orientale.

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Une lecture de deux ou trois pages dans le Moung-kou-you-mou-ki fournira un nombre d'exemples prouvant qu'en Mongolie il y a tant de montagnes portant le même nom, mais situées dans des contrées différentes, qu'il n'y a pas lieu de s'étonner de voir le même fait se produire sous les Yuan.

SAPÈQUES TROUVÉES A PAI-T'A-TZE EN NAO-HAN.

Les sapèques ramassées à Pai-t'a-tze justifient par les nien-hao qu'ils portent notre localisation de Wou-p'ing-hien. Je donne ici ces différents nien-hao :

Hi-ning 熙寧 (Soung-chenn-tsoung) 1068-1078.
Yuan-you 元祐 (Soung. Tchee-tsoung) 1086-1094.
Siang-fou 祥符 (Soung. Tchenn-tsoung) 1008-1017.
Tcheng-ho 政和 (Soung. Hoei-tsoung) 1111-1118.
Tch'oung-ning 崇寧 (Soung. Hoei-tsoung) 1102-1107.
King-te 景德 (Soung. Tchenn-tsoung) 1004-1008.
King-you 景祐 (Soung. Jenn-tsoung) 1034-1038.
K'ai-yuan 開元 (T'ang. Hiuan-tsoung) 713-742.
Kia-t'ai 嘉泰 (Soung. Ning-tsoung) 1201-1205.
Hien-p'ing 咸平 (Soung. Tchenn-tsoung) 998-1000.
Choen-hoa 淳化 (Soung. T'ai-tsoung) 990-995.
T'ai-p'ing 太平 (Leao. Cheng-tsoung) 1021-1031.
T'ien-cheng 天聖 (Soung. Jenn-tsoung) 1023-1032.
Yuan-feng 元豐 (Soung. Chenn-tsoung) 1078-1086.
T'ien-hi 天禧 (Soung. Tchenn-tsoung) 1017-1022.
Ta-ting 大定 (Kin. Cheu-tsoung) 1161-1190.
Tcheng-loung 正隆 (Kin. Fei-ti) 1156-1160.

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THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF CHINKIANG OR A BIT OF "CONSULAR BLUFF"

BY

W. J. CLENNELL, one of H.B.M.'s Consuls in China.

Foreword or Warning.

The sub-title of the following pages is its more appropriate designation.

The author, being at the time stationed at Chinkiang, offered, or was invited,—he does not quite remember which,—to prepare a paper on the History of Chinkiang to be read at a Meeting of the Missionary Association at that port, and had visions of making a profound study of the Tan-t'u Hsien Chih, the Chiao Shan Chih and any other authoritative sources that might be available. But the gods willed otherwise.

There were other duties; there was a transfer to other scenes. The result is not a learned work, but little that could not be extracted from H. A. Giles' Biographical Dictionary, Loch's "Campaign in China," and a most illuminating pamphlet entitled "Christians at Chenchiang Fu" by A. C. Moule and Lionel Giles, reprinted from the Toung Pao of December, 1915. To these he is profoundly indebted, and if he has plagiarised unduly he offers his humble apologies.

He has not inserted any Chinese characters; he has not even been consistent in the transliteration of Chinese names. To the learned, therefore, this will not appeal; but there are many who are even more unlearned in the history of Chinkiang than the present writer, and some of them may like to read this essay.

The Historical Setting of Chinkiang.

1. Preliminary of Yangchou (B.C. 200); the Wu kingdom; the. "Silver Island" vase; the wars of Wu and Yüeh; Ho-lü, Fu-ch'ai and Kouchien; the origin of Tan-t'u Hsien.

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2. Han Times (B.C. 200 to A.D. 200).
3. The Sun Dynasty of Wu (A.D. 200 to 280). Sun Ch'uan, the Great Emperor, and others.
4. The Times of the Six Dynasties (A.D. 280 to 624). Chin, Sung, Ch'i, Liang,Ch'ên, Sui. Nanking a capital city; Fuchien of Ts'in; Buddhist piety and art; many revolutions and massacres.
5. The T'ang, Wu and Nan T'ang (A.D. 624 to 974). The Tu T'ien P'usa; the Yang and Hsü dynasties of Wu and Nan T'ang.
6. In the days of the Sung (A.D. 960 to 1275). A cast iron pagoda; culture, communism, incompetence and superstition, let in the Cathayan, the Nüchen and the Mongol. Old topographies.
7. Chinkiang in the days of the Mongol Dominion (A.D. 1275 to 1368). The remarkable story of a hereditary Christian sherbet maker. How Buddhism and nationalism ousted the foreigner.
8. In the days of the Ming (A.D. 1368 to 1644). Ming T'ai Tsu and his successors. Japanese raids. The western foreigner finds his way round by the sea-route. The dreadful tale of the Ming collapse,
9. Chinkiang as a Manchu Garrison town (A.D. 1644 to 1840). Ming partisans and pretenders. The Fukien Chêngs up the Yangtze. The long peace. Manchu triumphs and imperial visits. Faithful widows.
10. The Coming of the Yang Kuei Tzŭ to Chinkiang (from 1840). Capture by the British. T'aip'ing times. Chinkiang becomes a "Treaty Port."

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(1) *Preliminary.*

In the history of the part of China in which Chinkiang is situated the first local name that we meet with is YANGCHOU.

YANGCHOU was one of the nine divisions of the Empire of Yü the Great,—about B.C. 2200—and extended from Wuhsieh,—above Kiukiang,—to the Sea. Some ancient authors make the name cover the whole south of China, which only means that what we mean as south China was an unknown land to those early writers. The ancient ritual, CHOU-LI, describes its trade as consisting in metals, tin and bamboos, and its chief object of cultivation as rice. It had, we are assured, in its population, five men to every two women,—which seems a needlessly generous allowance. But one pictures the Yangchou of primitive Chinese geographers not as a definite locality so much as a vast region stretching vaguely into space beyond the south-eastern horizon of their vision.

From the days of Yü to the date of the alleged foundation of the state of Wu is a blank of a thousand years.

TAN-FU, the renowned Ancient Duke, "Ku Kung," of Chou, made his third son CHI-LI his successor, who was the father of WÊN WANG and so the ancestor of the Chou line of sovereigns of China for many centuries. Being thus displaced from their inheritance, the elder sons, T'AI PO and CHUNG YUNG, retired to the wilderness south of the Yangtze, and, among the tribes of the Ching Man,—"savages of the thorn-bushes,"—they founded a dominion which they called KOU-WU,—generally, and later, known as WU,—with WUHSI or, some say, MEI-LI, near the present CH'ANG-SHU,—some 25 miles north of Soochow,—as its chief town.

Here the two brothers reigned in succession. The tomb of Chung Yung is still shown at Mei-li. When WU Wang,—B.C. 1123—son of Wên Wang, had established himself as the first King of the Chou dynasty, he sought out the descendants of Chung Yung, and confirmed one of them, CHOU CHANG, as feudal ruler of WU.

Then comes darkness again for another four or five hundred years. True, some of the old Chou kings are represented, as making expeditions to the South. In B.C. 1001 the fourth of them, CHAO WANG, closed his long but unworthy reign by such an adventure. He was drowned while crossing a river, said by some to have been the Yangtze, owing to the skipper of his boat having maliciously fastened the planks with glue instead of nails. His successor, MU Wang, who, after a reign of 55 years, died at the age of 104, also travelled to the south, but the localities of his

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many wanderings are terribly vague. More than a century after Mu Wang, the eleventh sovereign of the line, HSÜAN Wang, having after a long interregnum succeeded in B.C. 827 in somewhat restoring the prestige of the throne, is represented as engaged in foreign wars in which his people gladly took part. Two of his many expeditions penetrated the Yangtze regions, one being against the Ching Man, another against the HUAI-I, the "Barbarians of the Huai," who occupied the country where Tsingkiangpu now stands.

This is the period of the invention of the form of ancient writing called the "Greater Seal" character, the few earlier symbols found on ancient bronzes, etc., or the oracle bones from the "waste of Yin," being hieroglyphs whose interpretation serves to occupy, and often to baffle, the wits of archæologists.

Now there is in the monastery of Chiao Shan,—the island in the Yangtze, just below Chinkiang, which foreigners have for no valid reason been in the habit of calling "Silver Island,"—an exceedingly ancient bronze tripod vase. Chinese archæologists attribute this vase to the reign of Hsüan Wang, and even to the year B.C. 812. It bears an inscription of over ninety characters, to all but a few of which a probable interpretation is assigned, and seems to mention a personage named NAN-CHUNG. It is suggested that this Nanchung may be the individual, or, if not the same, a descendant of the individual of that name whose exploits as a leader against the Hsien Yü, or "Huns" of the northern deserts, are celebrated in one of the poems in the Book of Odes. It is true that this Ode is commonly attributed to the times of Wên Wang, or three hundred years before the date of this vase. But we know how prone collectors of ancient ballads and traditions in all countries are to father them on some favourite hero, and it may be that this vase now at Chinkiang is, in truth, a genuine contemporary memento of that "awe-inspiring Grand Master, the Ta-shih Huang-fu Nanchung" of the Odes. If this is so, Chinkiang may boast of a connection with the very beginnings of Chinese poetical literature, as well as of the possession of the very oldest specimen of continuous Chinese writing that has been preserved to our times. But how, when or why a bronze vase of the days of Hsüan Wang was conveyed so far away from the scenes of that monarch's activities I have not seen explained. At any rate it is there, carefully kept in a glass case, as a very great treasure.

The early Chou kings established no lasting dominion in the Yangtze valley, and till B.C. 585 the names and dates of the rulers of Wu, recorded by later writers, are absolutely conjectural.

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The country lay outside the orbit of the little group of northern states which, in those days, had any claim to be civilized, or of which we possess a continuous history. Just as European history is for many ages the history only of the Mediterranean, and only comes to the Atlantic coast in the last century of the Roman Republic, so, till the time of Confucius or after, Chinese history is merely the story of a few localities in the Huang-Ho valley.

Yet we are not wholly without hints as to what was going on in the Yangtze basin. Higher up a very formidable power, that of CH'U, was being evolved, under chieftains who claimed to be more or less Chinese, but with a people very different from the countrymen of Confucius or Mencius. It was to Ch'u, rather than to the distant kings of Chou, that the Wu people looked for leading. The Wu folk, unlike the orthodox Chinese states, did not use chariots in warfare, neither, like the northern Tartar nomads, did they take to horse riding. But at a very early date they took to the waters, and their piratical fleets of junks sometimes perpetrated raids on their "civilized" northern neighbours, right up into what is now Shantung. Even in those far-off times they were adepts in digging canals through their delta lands. They were, too, addicted to the use of bronze drums as instruments of authority or worship, a practice unknown to the more northerly peoples.

The geography of the region was widely different from what it is now. Vast accretions of new land have formed round the estuary of the Yangtze in the last two or three thousand years, and the river itself, instead of entering the sea by one mouth only, is alleged by some authorities to have branched in those days into two somewhere about Wuhu. The northern branch followed approximately the present course of the river, though, even as late as the third century B.C., it is described as a "hai k'ou," a branch of the sea, almost immediately below the present site of Chinkiang. The southern branch,—if there was a southern branch,—went from Wuhu to the T'ai Hu lake, and there subdivided into two vast rivers. Of these one—rather a tidal bay of the sea than a river,—flowed south into Hangchou Bay; the other, following more or less the line of the Soochow creek, entered the sea about where Shanghai now stands. Thus the country was more distinctly a delta than at present, a delta of vast islands, separated by broad waterways. This delta constituted the WU kingdom.

To the north of the delta lived the HUAI-I barbarians. To the south, across Hangchou Bay, were a branch of the YÜEH

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people, with, it is suggested, TAI or Siamese affinities, possibly the same race as the similarly named Yüeh tribes of Canton. Their chief town was Kuei Chi,—perhaps on the site of the present Shaohsing. As every one of the nine provinces of Yü the Great had to be provided with a Sacred Mountain, we are told that Kuei Chi was the Sacred Mountain of Yangchou.

As they solidified, and as the old Chou monarchy grew decrepit, Wu and Yüeh affected the rank and title of independent kingdoms. They had, no doubt, always been in practice independent, being too distant to be under control, but they had respected, if they did not diplomatically invent, the tradition which represented the Wu chieftains as descendants of a collateral, nay, of an elder branch, of the Chou royal family, and, so long as that family had any real authority anywhere, they had been content with the title of subordinate feudatories. During life they were Hou, "marquises"; after death, like other feudal chiefs, they were allowed the honorary rank of Kung or Dukes.

The first chief to assume kingly rank was SHÊNG, otherwise called SHOU MÊNG (B.C. 586 to 561). Under him the people were trained in the art of war and engaged in a long contest with their up-river neighbour, Ch'u.

A little later, B.C. 537, the Ch'u people raided down the river and captured a place called CHU FANG (the "scarlet square") somewhere in Wu, said to be where KIANGYIN now stands.

(The identification of this place is not clear. Many centuries later CHU FANG is named as one of the six sub-divisions of Chinkiang prefecture, and there are references to a Chu Fang gate. Also, in the famous TSO CHUAN, the contemporary or all but contemporary commentary, attributed to Tso-ch'iu Ming, on the Ch'un Ch'iu ("Spring and Autumn" Chronicle of Lu, compiled by Confucius), there occurs, under the year B.C. 545, the sentence: "Ch'ing Fêng of Ch'i fled to Wu, where Kou Yü gave him the district of Chu Fang.")

These encroachments led to another war in B.C. 528.

So we come to a very famous king of Wu, HO-LÜ, who reigned from B.C. 514 to 496,—the sixth chieftain whose name and date are reasonably authentic. Under him Wu showed itself to be a formidable power. He removed the capital from Mei-Li to KU SU (Old Soochow), where he built a gigantic tower, the Ku Su T'ai. His armies were led by a celebrated exile from Shantung named SUN WU, regarded as one of the two chief authorities in ancient Chinese literature on the military art. This genius wrote a book called Ping Fa ("The Art of War"). King Ho-Lü read it, and asked Sun if his principles could be applied to women. On

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Sun saying that they could, King Ho-Lü lent 180 damsels from the royal harem to try his hand upon. Sun formed them into two companies, choosing a favourite wife of the king as captain of each. At first the ladies burst out laughing when they heard the drums beat for drill, but when Sun caused two of them to be beheaded for want of discipline, they realized the seriousness of the military vocation, and ultimately the corps of amazons was brought to a high state of efficiency.

Aided by several allies, Ho-Lü attacked Ch'u and took its capital city, Ying Ch'êng, the site of which is still to be seen in some ancient earthworks a few miles north of Shashih in Hupei. There one of the allies, who had a grudge against the king of Ch'u for an insult offered to his father, disinterred and whipped the corpse of the father of the king of Ch'u.

This war between Wu and Ch'u gave the kingdom of Yüeh, which we have mentioned as being south of the delta country, an opportunity to attack Wu in the rear. In this new war King Ho-Lü was defeated in a battle near Soochow and died of a wound there received (B.C. 496).

He was succeeded by his son, King FU-CH'AI, who, after several failures, vanquished KOU-CHIEN, King of Yüeh. Instead of following the advice of his ministers, who told him to annex the whole Yüeh country, Fu-ch'ai granted a peace which allowed Kou-chien to retain a portion of his dominions.

Later, Fu-ch'ai grew negligent and gave way to debauchery, while his rival Kou-chien of Yüeh, retreating with five thousand survivors of his defeated army, drank daily from a vessel filled with gall and slept nightly on an uncomfortable faggot of firewood, to remind himself of the bitterness of his disgrace, till the day should dawn for revenge.

Fu-ch'ai was offended at the boldness of his father's old general Sun Wu, who reproved him for his naughty, careless ways, till Fu-ch'ai commanded the old warrior to commit suicide. His body was sewn in a sack and thrown into a river. Later ages deified him as a god of the waters, and built temples to his memory, and related how, in his dying prayer, he had expressed a hope that the avenging armies of Yüeh should bear his funeral car, drawn by white horses, to behold the downfall of the proud kingdom of Wu. And ever since that day the tumbling waters of the rising tide have roared and rushed up the bay of Hangchou, silencing the stream of the Ch'ien T'ang in the frothing white-horse billows of a racing sea.

King Kou-chien, meanwhile, sent to Ch'u, to obtain a "magic sword" made of iron. Though it would seem that iron had been

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in use in China for domestic and agricultural implements for at least two hundred years before this period,—for it is mentioned as so used by Kuan-tzŭ, the philosophic mentor of Duke Huan of Ch'i (7th century B.C.)—it had not hitherto been tempered into steel and turned into sharpened weapons. But now there had arisen in Ch'u a wizard, or expert, named Fêng Hu-tzŭ (the "Mad Tiger") who could treat iron in such a way that the "magic" swords he made were sharper than the bronze swords till then reckoned the last word in warfare, and this new art he imparted to King Kou-chien.

It is interesting to note, in the account given of Fêng Hu-tzŭ, that this worthy seems to have anticipated quite modern notions as to the cultural progress of mankind. For he taught that in the days of the patriarchs all weapons had been of rude stone, then that there had been an age of polished stone or jade weapons, and lastly, since the Shang dynasty,—say B.C. 1760,—copper and bronze had been in use, till his own times and the dawn of the use of iron.

In B.C. 473,—provided, we suppose, with these magic swords of steel,—Kou-chien deemed that his hour had come, attacked and defeated Fu-ch'ai, and, refusing his prayer to be allowed to retain a fragment of his old domain, drove him to despair and suicide. The Wu kingdom was extinguished and, for a while, Kou-chien of Yüeh figured as the greatest of the war-lords of China.

But ere long the whole Yangtze valley fell under the overlordship of Ch'u, and so remained for two hundred and fifty years. In these centuries of subjection Wu seems to have fallen into sad decay, but in B.C. 248 one Huang Hsieh, prime minister of Ch'u, being sent to govern the region, restored its capital city, and so is reckoned the second founder of Soochow. To enhance the splendour of the city he had the Huang-pu river, or perhaps we should say the Soochow Creek, widened and enlarged. He was anxious that the king of Ch'u, who was childless, should have an heir, so, after providing him in vain with several concubines, he palmed off upon him the daughter of one Li Yüan, who was already with child. To her a boy was born, who was made heir apparent, and in due course succeeded to the throne, whereupon this Li Yüan had Huang Hsieh murdered, as too well acquainted with the new king's real parentage.

The history of the great and warlike kingdom of Ch'u does not concern us here, and notices of its dependant province of Wu, or the lower Yangtze, are very few. In spite of the little flash of limelight that it had enjoyed in the days of Ho-Lü and Fu-Ch'ai, it was plainly still outside the usual range of vision of Chinese civilization.

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In the very year in which Soochow was restored there had come to the throne of the kingdom of Ts'in, away in the far north-west, one who in the next thirty years was destined to sweep away, one after another, all the old Chinese feudal states and erect on their ruins a new Empire,—the great Shih Huang-ti.

During the reign of this "First Emperor" we come upon the name, TAN T'U, of the Hsien district in which Chinkiang stands. This name has no meaning in Chinese, but is said to have signified, in the old language of Wu, "Red Coats." It arose from the fact that this district was used by Ts'in Shih Huang-ti as a penal settlement, or dumping ground, for convicts, who, clothed in red garments, were sent to the place, some six miles below the modern Chinkiang, which is still known as TAN T'U CHÊN. But the rest of the region was an almost uninhabited wilderness, of so little account that Tan-t'u figures in those days as a Hsien dependent on Kuei-chi, that is on Shaohsing, half-way between Hangchou and Ningpo.

(2) *HAN Times.*

The great HAN Dynasty, that succeeded (B.C. 202) on the collapse of the Ts'in power, lumped all the lands from the Yangtze estuary southward to Fukien in one great province, to which the name of Yangchou was given,—suggesting either that the Han statesmen reverted to the oldest traditional arrangements of patriarchal times, or that the geography attributed to patriarchal times is a fabrication of the Han era.

There is little to say about Chinkiang or its neighbourhood for a long time. But to the Han period belong a large bronze "war drum" kept in the Chiao Shan monastery, and a second tripod vase, also kept there, along with the far more ancient "Chou Ting" of Hsüan Wang's days that I have already alluded to. Like that treasured relic, the Han vase bears an inscription.

The Han Imperial family, descendants of Liu Pang, were of course a Kiangsu family, but their native place, P'ei Hsien, is far away in the north of the province, and so much more within the range of ancient China than the country with which we are chiefly concerned.

In B.C. 177 two brothers of the then Emperor, Han Wên-ti, raised a revolt. One of them was a "Prince of Huai-nan," with fief between the Huai and the Lower Yangtze. In B.C. 148 a prince of Wu leagued with six other local chieftains to restore something like those feudal privileges which the great Ts'in conqueror had battered down, and persuaded the Emperor, Han

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Ching-ti, to put to death a famous scholar named Ch'ao Tso, who had shown himself a strong opponent of feudal pretensions. Then the seven confederates tried to depose the Emperor, but were defeated somewhere near Hsüchou, in the north of Kiangsu.

Ten years later, B.C. 138, in the reign of the great conqueror of the Hsiung-Nu (Huns), Han Wu-ti, the population of Tung Ou (south of modern Chekiang), being attacked by the tribes of the Min Yüeh (Fukien), appealed to the Emperor for aid, and were transplanted into the country between the Yangtze and the mouth of the Huai,—in fact into the old domain of the Huai-I barbarians. This is, I think, the very first reference to Fukien in real history.

In those days there lived Liu An, a scion of the Imperial family, commonly known as HUAI NAN TZŬ,—the Philosopher from south of the Huai. He is famous as the author of a book of essays, and in the history of Taoist magic as a writer on alchemy and the elixir of life. Han Wu-ti held him in high esteem and excused him from the duties of vassalage, but he got mixed in some treason or other and a commission was sent to punish him. Ere the commissioners arrived he had, however, some say, perished by his own hand, but others declare that he swallowed a draught of his elixir and rose to heaven in broad daylight. As he rose he dropped the vessel containing the precious fluid, and the dogs and poultry in the courtyard sipped the dregs and rose with him to the skies.

About A.D. 8 the Han Dynasty was temporarily overthrown by the usurper Wang Mang, who called his power the Hsin (new) dynasty, and proposed by an equal division of all property to abolish poverty from the world and make all things new. But his reforms, we read, were only partially carried out, and in A.D. 25 the Han line was restored under Liu Hsiu (Emperor Han Kuang-wu Ti), and ruled, in name if not always in fact, for another two hundred years. Not indeed with its old glory, for the record is largely a long succession of usurpations by dowager empresses and their relatives, their mutual struggles and the trouble they had with eunuchs and ambitious local chiefs.

In A.D. 76 Sung Chün, governor of Kiukiang, was so virtuous that the tigers which had till then infested that region all crossed the Yangtze to get out of his way, and locusts no sooner approached his borders than they scattered and disappeared. Before his appointment to Kiukiang, he had served at Tung Hai,—modern Haichou, up the Kiangsu coast,—where the people were so impressed with his virtues that they petitioned for his return.

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It was during these later Han times that the worthy Chiao Kung lived, whose name is perpetuated in Chiao Shan, where the two ancient tripod vases and the Han war-drum are kept.

Towards the end of the Han era there lived a sorceress Ma Ku, who, with her brother, the astrologer Wang Yüan, by their magic art reclaimed a large area of the Kiangsu coast from the sea and planted it with mulberry orchards. This lady had claws like a bird and lived to the age of 120. Her enterprise reads like an intelligent anticipation of the present-day undertakings of H.E. Chang Ch'ien of Nantungchou.

As the Han Empire fell into decay power passed into the hands of the great "Dictator" Ts'ao Ts'ao. Though he personally refrained from declaring himself Emperor, he was no sooner dead than his son, Ts'ao Pei, did so, founding the WEI dynasty in the north (A.D. 220).

But large portions of China refused to submit to Ts'ao Ts'ao's usurpation, and the net result of the troubles of the last thirty years of the Han was the emergence of the famous "Three Kingdoms" of Chinese drama and romance, each of which Kingdoms claimed that its sovereign was the genuine Son of Heaven.

On the Upper Yangtze LIU PEI, of a collateral branch of the Han Imperial house, favoured by a remarkable galaxy of warriors and statesmen of talent, founded the Empire of Shu, or Shu-Han, with Chingchou in Hupei and Ch'êngtu in Ssŭch'uan as its chief cities.

On the Lower Yangtze our old friend the state, or kingdom, or Empire, of Wu came to life again under a dynasty of the surname of SUN.

(3) *The SUN Dynasty of WU.*

The founder of this family was Sun Chien, said to have been a native of Fuch'un in Chekiang, who won for himself an official position through an affray with pirates on the Ch'ient'ang River. The Yellow Turban rebellion, A.D. 184, gave him a chance to distinguish himself, and in 190 we find him governor of Ch'angsha, allied with Ts'ao Ts'ao, and one of a band who tried to deliver the Emperor from the tyrannous domination of Tung Cho. But the confederates were defeated and none but Sun Chien dared to renew the attack. In 191 Sun Chien defeated Tung Cho at Loyang, Honan, but the various opponents of Tung Cho fell out among themselves and Sun Chien was killed in a battle at Chingchou, Hupei.

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The whole country then fell into an utter anarchy in which it is hard to track the windings of the intrigues in which all the leaders indulged.

A few years later, Sun Chien's son, SUN TSÊ, collecting the remnants of his father's forces, crossed the Yangtze at Ch'ü-a, near T'aip'ing Fu, just above Nanking, and conquered a wide region down to the mouth of the river, to which region he gave the name of Chiang Tung. The great Ts'ao Ts'ao deemed it politic to recognize him, and in 199 gave him the title of Marquis of Wu. But in 200 he was assassinated, and his brother SUN CH'UAN, who succeeded to his power, promptly threw off allegiance to the Dictator.

Sun Ch'uan remained ruler, under one title or another, of the Lower Yangtze region for fifty-three years, and it is to him that Chinkiang (Chên Chiang—Guard of the Kiang), owes its existence as a city. It was hither that he came to court the beautiful P'AN Fu-jên. Sun Ch'uan had condemned her father to death, and consequently she shut herself up in the palace, which is said to have stood on the little hill called Pei Ku Shan between the Kan-lu Ssŭ headland and the present walls of Chinkiang city. Hearing of her beauty Sun Ch'uan gave orders that her portrait should be submitted to him. To escape his advances she starved herself, in the hope of spoiling her good looks. But when Sun Ch'uan saw the portrait he struck the table with his amber "Ju-i" and cried out, "She is indeed a goddess," and nothing would satisfy him till he had made her his wife.

In 208 Sun Ch'uan allied himself with the great Chu-ko Liang, known as K'ung Ming, the statesman-engineer whose genius in canal-making made the fertility of the Ch'êngtu Plain, and whose skill as a diplomat brought Yünnan into the sphere of influence of his sovereign, the Emperor of Shu-Han. Between them they inflicted a big defeat on Ts'ao Ts'ao at a place called Ch'ih-pi,—the "Red Wall" (somewhere on the Yangtze, some say at Wuch'ang, others say at Kiukiang), where Ts'ao Ts'ao's fleet and camp were burnt.

This victory practically divided China into three independent states, and enabled Sun Ch'uan to establish his capital at Moling, known in Han times as Tanyang, but to which he gave the name of Chien Yeh,—a name by which NANKING continued to be known for several centuries.

In 215 Sun Ch'uan suffered a defeat at the hands of Ts'ao Ts'ao, at Ho-fei in Anhui,—the place famous in our times as the native home of Li Hung-chang,—and was forced to sue for peace.

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Though Chien Yeh (Nanking) was Sun Ch'uan's chief city, Chinkiang, where he had wooed his bride, owes its oldest existing monuments to him. The foundations of the fortifications that he built round his "Fu-chih" (Governor's residence) may still be traced in the line of crumbling masonry that caps the ridge of heights connecting the existing city wall northward past Pei-ku Shan to Kan-lu Ssŭ. Also, inside the present city, stands a high solitary gateway, with a building on it known as the Old Drum Tower. The masonry foundations of this gate are also alleged to date from the time of Sun Ch'uan. Some graves outside the north gate are said, too, to be those of some members of his line, if they do not include his own sepulchre.

The original wall, "tzŭ ch'êng," round Sun Ch'uan's "Fu Chih" at Chinkiang, was, we are told, a square 630 paces in circuit, and it was 31 feet in height. The earth vallum was faced with brick, a device so unusual in those days as to gain for it the name of "T'ieh Wêng Ch'êng,"—the "iron pot" wall. It had four gates, but the description that has come down to us, dating as it does from long after the times of Sun Ch'uan, may not be a final authority as to his constructions (see "Christians at Chênchiang Fu," by A. C. Moule and Lionel Giles, published in the "T'oung-pao," December, 1915).

In 218 there was war between Sun Ch'uan of Wu and his western neighbour Liu Pei of Shu. The Wu army was led by CHOU YÜ, a very famous general of these Three Kingdom wars. An attempt was made to annex all the Upper Yangtze country while KUAN YÜ, the Shu general, was away fighting Ts'ao Ts'ao in the north, but Chou Yü died before it was accomplished. His successor, Lü Mêng, however, captured Chingchou. Kuan Yü, whose fame led in later ages to his deification as "Kuan Ti," the Chinese War God, hurried from the north to the defence of this important city, but fell into an ambush and was taken prisoner. Sun Ch'uan had him put to death. Thus the founder of Chinkiang has the distinction of slaying the God of War (A.D. 219).

On Ts'ao Ts'ao's death (220) his son Ts'ao Pei not only extinguished the long since nominal Han dynasty, setting up that of Wei, but, on Liu Pei of Shu showing a desire to avenge the death of Kuan Yü, he allied himself with Sun Ch'uan, to whom he granted the title of King of Wu.

A few years later Sun Ch'uan followed the precedent set by his northern neighbour and proclaimed himself an "Emperor" too, having meanwhile utterly defeated Liu Pei near Ichang, whereby the Shu kingdom was for a time driven right back into Ssŭch'uan. But it was not long before Wu and the Wei Empire

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fell out, on account of the latter demanding tribute and hostages, and Wu formed an alliance with its old enemy Shu-Han.

Under Sun Ch'uan there lived a painter named Tsao Fu-hsiang of such skill that, having made a blot on a picture, he turned it into so lifelike a fly that Sun Ch'uan tried to flick it away. He also painted a red dragon, and, on the painting being thrown into the River, it had the effect of causing rain to fall and putting an end to a serious drought.

The later years of Sun Ch'uan's reign were peaceful. The Shu kingdom was busy in other directions; in Wei the power of the Ts'ao family was being undermined by a series of chieftains of the surname of Ssŭ-ma, who eventually overthrew it and set up another dynasty, the Chin. With neither did Sun Ch'uan interfere. His armies guarded the line of the Huai, but of active hostilities we hear nothing.

In 252 Sun Ch'uan, now well past his seventieth year, was told by an angel from Heaven to adopt the term Shên Fêng (Divine Phœnix) as the Nien-hao, or "year title," of his reign. Soon afterwards he ascended as a Phœnix to heaven, in the 53rd year of his rule as Marquis, the 32nd as King, the 24th as Emperor of Wu. He was "canonised" under the temple name of Ta Ti, and so is known to history as Wu Ta-ti, the "Great Emperor" of Wu.

His previous year-titles had been:

A.D. 220, Huang Ch'u, the Yellow Beginning.
229, Huang Lung, the Yellow Dragon.
232, Chia Ho, the Excellent Crop.

(*Note:* The same characters as those used for the modern Republican decoration.)

238, Ch'ih Wu, the Red Crow.
251, Ta Yüan, the Great Origin.

Sun Ch'uan was succeeded by his youngest son, Sun Liang, who reigned six years, and is known as Fei Ti, the Deposed Emperor. Ten years previously an elder brother, Sun Ho, had been named heir, but lost favour through some palace intrigue and was sent to Ch'angsha with the title of Prince of Nanyang. On their father's death Sun Liang sent one Sun Hsün to Changsha to steal his brother's seal and ribbon of office, and force him to suicide. For the time the unrighteous plot succeeded and Sun Liang obtained the throne.

Sun Liang appointed one Sun Ch'ên Commander-in-Chief, but suspecting him of treason, determined to put him to death.

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Sun Ch'ên got wind of the plot, seized the Emperor (258) and relegated him to Kuei-chi (Shaohsing) as Marquis of that place, and there he died in 260, while a brother, Sun Hsiu, mounted the throne. Of this Sun Hsiu it is related that, shortly before his accession, he dreamt of a dragon so large that he could not see the end of its tail. He was something of a scholar, and also fond of pheasant shooting. At first he employed Sun Ch'ên as his chief adviser, but soon came to suspect him and put him to death.

Just then the armies of the northern Empire of Wei, using the great highway that the genius of Chu-ko Liang had engineered across the mountains of southern Shensi, swept down into Ssŭch'uan and overthrew the Shu-Han power. But hardly had this been done when a long-pending revolution in Wei overthrew the Ts'ao family there and set up the Ssŭ-ma, or Chin, Dynasty on the throne. The combined result of these two events was to unite the whole of China, except Wu, into one dominion again.

In 264 Sun Hsiu died, succeeded by Sun Hao, son of that Sun Ho who had been banished twenty-two years before to Ch'ang-sha. He is known as Mo Ti, the "Last Emperor" of Wu. In his youth he had been studious and exemplary in his habits, but as a ruler gave way to cruelty and vice and neglected affairs of state, so that, although Wu remained for sixteen years longer independent, it was in no position to resist the new Chin Empire that was endeavouring to reunite all China under its sway.

The forces of the two powers remained camped, however, for years along the frontier, sometimes fraternising and making presents to one another. But the tyranny and oppression of the Wu ruler made him unpopular (he used to make people drunk over night and then put them to death with horrible tortures next morning for the mischief they had done), and in 279 Ssŭ-ma Yen, the Chin Emperor, determined to overthrow him. Two expeditions proceeded to the Lower Yangtze overland, and one in boats down the Han, to converge on Nanking. In most places the Wu troops surrendered and, where they did not, they were defeated. Nanking was taken. The Emperor Wu Mo Ti was sent to Loyang, where he died a prisoner in 283. His concubines, of whom there were five thousand, entered the harem of the conqueror.

It is in connection with this last Emperor of Wu that we meet, perhaps, the earliest reference to the use of tea as a drink, for he is said to have offered tea, in place of the usual wine, to Wei Chao, the ambassador from the northern power.

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(4) *The Times of the Six Dynasties.*

Thus Ssŭ-ma Yen, known in history as Emperor Chin Wu Ti, united the whole of China under himself, with almost the same area as had obeyed the old sovereigns of Han. But the times were out of joint, and the rule he established was but weak and ephemeral. For a century past large colonies of Hsiung Nu, Hsien Pi, or other Turkic, Tartar or Tungusic nomads, had been planting themselves all over the northern provinces, and their chiefs were often employed to command Chinese armies. Add to this that the Emperor had at least twenty-five sons, a good many of whom had such ambitions that the years following 290 were disturbed by what is called the Civil War of the Eight Brothers, and it is not surprising to learn that by the year 300 the fleeting unity of the new Empire had once more become a memory or a dream.

In the extremely complex struggles that ensued the north of China became a mosaic of shifting kaleidoscopic sub-divisions, while the seat of Empire had to be moved, in 318, to Nanking.

Thus, though Wu had lost its independence forty years before, it now became the real centre of China, and so remained for the next two centuries. It is interesting to note that, just at the moment when the Chin power shifted to Nanking, there was founded at Chinkiang the Kinshan (Chin Shan), or Golden Island Monastery (317).

The story told as to the removal of the capital to Nanking is as follows. One Niu Ch'in, a military official, had excited the mistrust of Ssŭ-ma Yen on account of a prophesy in which horses (ma) and oxen (niu) were mysteriously connected with the succession to the throne. Ssŭ-ma Yen had Niu poisoned, not knowing that another member of the Niu family had committed adultery with the wife of one of the many Ssŭ-ma princes. The child born of this intrigue was named Niu Jui, but he usurped the imperial surname of Ssŭ-ma. In 307 he was made governor of Yangchou,—Yangchou meaning, as of yore, a very wide region,—with his capital at Nanking. In 313 he rose to be prime minister of the Empire, but refused to serve against the so-called Han rebels, and when the latter captured Ch'ang-an (modern Hsian, which was then, as so often before and since, the Imperial Capital) he forced the sovereign to make him regent (317). In 318 he made himself emperor at Nanking, and there his descendants, known as the Eastern Chin dynasty, reigned for just over a hundred years, till 420.

But all the North was lost. Kingdoms styled Han, under a Liu family, Chao, under a chief named Shih-lo, Ts'in, under a

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dynasty of the surname Fu, Yen, under the Moyung line, in what is now Peking, and other kings of Ch'êngtu, etc., etc., when they were not fighting one another, raided the country right down to the Huai and the Yangtze. In fact the old feudal states of Chou times, many of them in the same areas and with the same names, had come back to life after an eclipse of five hundred years, with just this difference that, whereas the old states had been ruled by noble families that claimed descent from the Chou royal line, even when their people were mainly Tartar, the new states, even when their people were purely or mostly Chinese, were nearly all ruled by chiefs of nomad blood and speech.

In 324 Wang Tun, a general in command at Wuch'ang, caused much alarm by marching on and besieging Nanking, and, though he was persuaded to withdraw, the emperor died of fright. In 327 another general, Su Chün, rebelled in Anhui, crossed the Yangtze, took Nanking and defeated the imperial forces in many battles, but was finally driven off, captured and beheaded.

Nevertheless, though attacked from abroad and distracted by attempted revolutions within, the Eastern Chin empire fairly held its own for many years. In 352 its general, Yin Hao, stationed at Chiang-tu (Yangchou ; not the wide region, but the town still known as Yangchou Fu or Chiang-tu Hsien) made a campaign to the north, but with little success. Another general, Huan Wên, had better luck, up the Yangtze in 347, almost to the gates of Ch'ang-an in 354, and in 356 he had "recovered" most of what is now Honan.

Fu Chien the first, king of Ts'in, the greatest of the northern states, died in 355, followed next year by his son. Then came a cousin, King Fu Chien the second (the character is not the same as that used for his uncle's name, but, as the sound is the same, we adopt, for convenience' sake, the western habit of calling them Fu Chien the first and Fu Chien the second). A wise and earnest sovereign, he had succeeded to the name and to the hereditary territories of Shih Huang-ti's line ; might he not aspire to repeat Shih Huang-ti's exploits ? He set himself the hard task of establishing a strong and orderly kingdom, and, having in many wars made himself formidable in the north, he turned his attention southwards. In 378 Fu Chien advanced through Honan almost to Nanking, but was driven back to north of the Huai.

In 383 the attack was renewed. Disregarding the advice of his best generals Fu Chien led southward a vast host of 600,000 men, but at a place called Fei Shui (somewhere in Anhui) he was defeated by Hsieh Shih and Hsieh Hsüan, the two sons of an old

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statesman named Hsieh An, and, of all that multitude only some thirty or forty thousand, led by Moyung Ch'iu the Prince of Yen, escaped to tell of the disaster.

It is related of this campaign that a Ts'in general, Fu Yung, had warned King Fu Chien that the broad Yangtze, with its swift current, would be a formidable obstacle to cross. But Fu Chien replied that such a host as his could dam the stream by merely throwing their riding-whips into it, and arrogantly went forward to his overthrow. Then, in the disastrous retreat, after this leader Fu Yung had been slain, the beaten soldiers of Ts'in, harassed by perpetual alarms, had imagined the whistling of the wind and the screaming of cranes overhead to be the shouts of their pursuers.

Old Hsieh An was sitting quietly over a game of chess when a despatch with the news of the victory was brought to him. On being asked what news had come he replied quietly that it was "only that my boys have beaten the enemy." But, when he had retired to his private apartments, he gave himself up to a transport of joy.

The battle of Fei Shui led to a reshuffle of the northern powers, and, eventually, to their incorporation in the monarchy of the Northern Wei (Pei Wei) dynasty, under the Turkish house of Toba, but it did not bring about the restoration of the unity of China.

About 400 one Sun Ên, descended from the old Sun Emperors of Wu, with his uncle Sun Tai, reputed to be a magician, planned a revolution. Their followers were dubbed "immortals" but, after a long and varied struggle, Sun Ên found himself without resources and drowned himself in the sea.

In 403 Huan Hsüan, son of the general Huan Wên above mentioned, rebelled, captured Nanking and proclaimed himself Emperor of Ch'u, but was overthrown next year. Chinkiang is mentioned in this affair, under the name of Ching K'ou—"Gateway of the capital" (a name still sometimes in use)—as the place where the Imperial forces gathered, under Liu Yü, who claimed to be a descendant of the old Han Emperors, to march against the usurper.

In the following years Liu Yü came to completely dominate the Empire. In 419 he murdered Ssŭ-ma Tê (Emperor Chin An Ti) and set up a temporary puppet in his place, till the appearance of a comet was held to be a sufficiently revolutionary omen to justify him (420) in dethroning the Chin dynasty and in becoming himself the first sovereign of a new,—the Liu Sung,—line.

Some time during the Chin (Ssŭ-ma) dynasty the walls of Chinkiang were altered and enlarged by one Wang Kung, but I have not traced the exact date.

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The descendants of Liu Yü reigned in Nanking till 479. In 430 their general T'an Tao-chi won over thirty battles against the Pei Wei power, the last being at Chinanfu, Shantung, but had to come back for want of provisions and convoy. In 435 he was, through jealousy, arrested on a forged warrant and thrown into prison with several of his sons and adherents. He flung his cap on the ground exclaiming "Would you destroy your Great Wall?" And when he and all his sons were executed the men of Pei Wei exulted, saying "The Great Wall of Sung has fallen!"

In 452 peace was made. The emperor Liu Chün (Sung, or Liu-Sung, Hsiao wu Ti) was fond of display, wasting vast sums on palaces, loving to give costly and curious presents, and devoted to women and wine. His successor Liu Tzŭ-yeh (Sung Fei Ti) degenerated into gross profligacy. When his sister complained that, whereas *he* had a whole harem, *she* had to content herself with a single husband, he at once presented her with thirty-six handsome young [illegible]. Other emperors followed in Nanking. One, in 471, to secure his succession, slew all of his brothers and most of his other relations, but was, we are told, a devout Buddhist and builder of monasteries. But the cup was full, and in 479 the line of Liu was supplanted by a general, Hsiao Tao-ch'êng, who ascended the throne as first Emperor of Ch'i.

In accordance with the prevailing fashion the whole Liu family was massacred. In 502 a very similar revolution placed a distant relative of Hsiao Tao-ch'êng, Hsiao Yen, on the throne as founder of the Liang dynasty.

A tradition connects this ephemeral Ch'i dynasty with the origin of the practice of cramping the feet of women. P'an Fei was the favoured concubine of the last Ch'i sovereign. Of her dancing the emperor exclaimed "every step makes lilies grow;" so he strewed the streets with golden flowers and had flowers carved in relief on the soles of her shoes, so that every step left an impress of their form. Others, who desired to have feet as daintily small as hers had to cramp their feet artificially. So cramped feet came to be called chin lien, "golden lilies," from that time on.

The usual massacre marked the fall of the Ch'i dynasty, and, though, as we shall see, Hsiao Yen was no lover of bloodshed, and wanted to save P'an Fei,—some say, indeed, to take her for his own,—she perished with the rest.

Yet all through these times of mingled license and bloodshed a vast change was taking place among the Chinese people. Buddhism, introduced in Han times, had by now percolated everywhere. At times its missionaries and proselytes were persecuted.

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We hear of this repeatedly in Pei Wei and other northern states. At other times they enjoyed favour. They travelled along the old trade routes from India through Bactria and Turkestan, bringing Sanscrit sutras and images and relics, establishing themselves in mountain and sylvan retreats, burning their incense before bloodless altars, teaching the lowly and the contrite, and setting up an ideal very different both from the self-satisfied formalism of the Confucianist and the rude savagery of the feudal warlords.

One such early shrine of Buddhist piety will be found at Chinkiang, the cave of the Hermit Fa Hai, on the Golden Hill (Chin Shan) whose pagoda-crowned summit was, till the middle of the nineteenth century, an island in the Yangtze.

We have already mentioned that this monastery is traditionally said to have been founded in the year 317. Its old name was Fou Yü,—the floating jade-stone,—because it came floating from the peaks of Yü Ching,—the "Jade Capital." Its name of Chin Shan (Golden Hill) is said to date from a certain Pei T'ou-t'o who dug in the hill and found gold there in the days of T'ang Hsüan Tsung (Ming Huang)—713 to 756,—but other authorities dismiss this story as a fable and give the name a symbolic Buddhistic meaning. Anyway, to this day, the monastery is a frequented pilgrim resort, as all must be aware who have ever noticed the crowds who flock thither once or twice every month, rather noisily riding donkeys up and down the road that leads past the British Consulate at Chinkiang to Hsiao Mat'ou.

All things in China balance. Chin Shan above Chinkiang is a companion shrine to Chiao Shan below. Chiao Shan, too, has its memorials of the age of the "Six Dynasties," namely two or three very ancient cypress trees, whose storm-riven and almost barkless trunks are held together by iron bands and built up with brickwork supports. And, inside the monastery, alongside the tripod vases and the Han war-drum, there are two fragments of an inscribed hexagonal prism-shaped pillar, said to be, like the trees, a relic of the earliest days of the Buddhists.

In 502, in the fullness of time, Buddhism had come to prevail both in south China and north. Hsiao Yen, known in history as Emperor Liang Wu Ti, who overthrew the Ch'i and founded,—one may almost say constituted, in himself alone,—the Liang dynasty, is chiefly famous as a devotee of the monks. During his long reign of forty-seven years he thrice took orders as a Buddhist priest. He founded innumerable pagodas and monasteries, among them Yü hua T'a at Nanking. He was the friend of Boddhidharma the 28th and last Patriarch of Indian, and first Patriarch of

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Chinese Buddhism, who taught that Buddha must be sought in the inward meditations of the heart rather than in outward deeds and observances, and whose miraculous crossing of the Yangtze on a reed has formed the theme of so many Chinese painters and sculptors. Wu Ti forbade the sacrifice of animals to the powers of Heaven or Earth, or to Confucius, saying that henceforth all sacrifices must be of pastry only. In his hatred of the capital penalty he so mitigated the laws that criminals went unpunished and officials oppressed the people. A passage in Procopius tells how, in his time, Persian monks got silkworms' eggs wherewith sericulture,—till then a purely Chinese industry,—passed to the court of his contemporary, Justinian of Constantinople, and so got introduced into Europe.

In the fifth year of his reign Hsiao Yen visited Chinkiang. For, in the second year of the nien-hao T'ien Chien (503) this emperor had dreamed that a divine monk urged him to institute a great fast by land and water, in order to rescue all sentient beings from the miseries of their existence. After much examination of scriptures he sent for a copy of the whole Buddhist canon, which was deposited in the palace of " redoubled clouds " (Ch'ung Yün). Day after day he spent in reading the scrolls and preparing the ceremonial, until, in the third year, the task was completed. He then built a place for religious exercises in the monastery known at that time as Tsê Hsin, but nowadays as Chin Shan, at Chinkiang, and ordered the priests to institute the congress, known as the Shui Lu Congress (Water and Land) after the model laid before them. One Sêng Yü published it in writing and a great response was evoked from the gods (A.D. 507).

Yet, for all this *éclat* at its foundation, little or nothing seems to be on record about these congresses till 1314 or 1315 when they were solemnly revived as will be related in its place. But for many centuries there remained,—perhaps there may be to this day,—a building in the monastery called the King of Liang's Hall.

During the reign of Hsüan-wu Ti of Pei Wei, who was Hsiao Yen's contemporary for the first half of his reign, the new religion was equally in favour in the north. Hsüan-wu Ti built ninety monasteries, and Boddhidharma died a guest at his capital. After Boddhidharma came the Patriarch Hui Ko, who maintained his purity for thirty-four years of preaching and daily association with the poorest and most degraded, and died at the age of 106.

Yet, for all this piety, there were wars. In 507 the Pei Wei forces attacked Liang, but were defeated at Ching-li, on the Huai river, somewhere near Hsüchou. It is to this war that the

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story belongs of the maiden Mu-lan, who took her father's place and passed herself off as a male warrior for twelve years at a frontier outpost.

There is another curious tale of the bursting in 515 of a gigantic dyke by the river Huai, said to have been 1,800 feet high,—whatever that may mean.

But for twenty years, from 527, the Liang empire, or Chêng T'ung,—genuine empire,—as it considered itself, enjoyed peace. All the history of the time tells of piety or scholarship. A characteristic tale is that of Shan Hui, a disciple of Boddhidharma, who lived by farming and, when robbers stole his grain, presented them with a basket to carry it away in. He had visions of the Buddha, and was revered by the Emperor as a teacher.

The northern power of Pei Wei, on the other hand, fell into disruption. A deserter, Hou Ching by name, from the Tung Wei kingdom,—one of the fragments into which Pei Wei had broken,—taking service in Liang, was given command of troops in 547 for a northern war. Defeated somewhere in Anhui and fearing that the enemy would demand his surrender, he rebelled, marched on Nanking and persuaded a son of the emperor to join the rebellion. They crossed the Yangtze and stormed the outer walls. Wu Ti had to negotiate and accept Hou Ching as Minister. Two years later Hou Ching rebelled again, and besieged the citadel where the Emperor's palace stood. During the siege the great Buddhist devotee ruler of southern China retired for the third time to a monastery and there perished of hunger (549).

The Liang empire lingered a few years longer under princes helplessly dependent on Hou Ching, then split into fragments, and in 555 was displaced by a revolution that put Ch'ên Pao-hsien on the throne as founder of a new dynasty of Ch'ên.

The tombs of the Liang rulers, including that of Hsiao Shun-chi, father of the pious Hsiao Yen, are about eight miles from Tanyang, and so quite near to Chinkiang. They have been explored and found to be ornamented with specimens of sculpture that rank as works of art only second to the famous stone horses which guard the grave of T'ang Kao-tsung near Hsian, and which they antedate by about 150 years.

For, whatever judgement men may pass on the moral or intellectual worth of Buddhism, there can be no question of its importance as an inspiration of art. What has come down to us of the art of Chou times, for instance the patterns on ancient bronzes, seems much on a level with the art of the Maoris of New Zealand, o the carvers of those funeral totem posts that are found on the shores of British Columbia and Alaska. It

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consists of conventional designs, such as a sort of "key" pattern, not continuous like the Greek key but cut up into panels,—or strange monstrous forms suggestive of the eyes and lips of a bogey,—the "T'ao T'ieh" of old mythology. The art of the Han era shows a decided advance. Its basreliefs at any rate show recognizable human and animal forms; men with immense mortar-board hats, quaint, impossibly fat horses prancing on utterly inadequate little legs, but to me at least the adjective that seems best to describe it is "comic."

(The *New China Review* for July, 1919, contains a paper by Rev. Benjamin L. Ancell, D.D., describing a Han dynasty artistic relic of extraordinary interest, preserved at Paoying, on the Grand Canal between Yangchou and Tsingkiangpu, which should be worth the inspection of any Chinkiang resident who may be travelling that way. This is a portion of one of a pair of Stone Gates that must have once ornamented the grave of some person of distinction. It is adorned with sculptures, or pictures in low relief, of which the top picture represents the famous meeting of Confucius and Laotzŭ. Below this in the central part is a picture of doubtful meaning that some have taken for a figure of Buddha, but which is more probably a representation of the last of the Dukes of Fêng, with a wine cup to indicate his intemperate habits, some musical instrument, and two attendants. The bottom picture shows a kitchen with cooks, cooking vessels and meat on a trident. On the rear of the stone are also three pictures, figuring a large bird, an animal with a ring in its mouth and a soldier with sword and shield, supposed to be engaged in a military dance. Tradition has it that the lost portion of the Gate bore pictures of the famous model brothers Pai-yi and Shu-ch'i, and this is rendered probable by the fact that the portion which remains of the top piece of the gate bears the characters Yi Ch'i Hsiang," sc. "The likeness of (Pai)-Yi and (Shu)-ch'i." The extreme interest and importance of so early a representation of Confucius hardly needs emphasizing.)

With the coming in of Buddhist influences the artistic advance is startling. We are at once in presence of a mature art, complete along its own line of development. Not only is there a reflexion of Greek and Hindu inspiration, but, added to this, a naturalness and a love for the wilder aspects of scenery that Greece and India were alike strangers to. Figures of haunting sweetness, both carved and coloured, marble Kuanyins and Sakyamunis, not grotesque like the conventionalized types of later times, besides rock carvings often of gigantic dimensions, reveal the devotion with which the zealots of the new faith sought

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to represent their ideals. In Ku K'ai-chih (time of the Eastern Chin) we have painting, still archaic in some details, but already assured in outline and correct in form. A century later we come to the sculptures of the Liang, and then to those of the T'ang Imperial tombs, not to mention the countless figurines of earthenware and terra cotta, true in modelling and varied in design, that are unearthed from graves of these ages. At its best this art has little to fear even if set beside the masterpieces of ancient Greece or the Italian Renaissance.

There is little to say about the Ch'ên dynasty that followed the Liang. Ere it sank to its dishonoured fall, a new and steadier power than China had seen for many centuries, that of Yang Chien, Duke of Sui, was reuniting the distracted states of the north into a solid Empire.

In 589 Yang Chien, known to history as Sui Kao-Tsu or Sui Wên Ti, having mastered all the north, determined to end the dissolute misrule of the last Ch'ên ruler in Nanking. The city, known at this period as Chien Kang, a variant on the older name of Chien Yeh, surrendered without opposition to the Sui generals. The Emperor, Ch'ên Shu-pao, nicknamed Hou Chu, the "last lord," seeing no way of escape, hid himself in a well with some of his many mistresses,—one of whom, we learn, had hair seven feet long,—was ignominiously dragged out, taken to Ch'angan, the Sui Capital, and not even deemed worth the trouble of being put to death. But the city of Chien Kang (Nanking) was totally destroyed and from that time, till near the end of the T'ang era, the place was reckoned a dependency of Chinkiang.

Yang Chien's exploits as a ruler and conqueror rival those of Ts'in Shih Huang-ti, but in disposition there was little in common between these two unifiers of China. With him Chinese history emerges from its long confusions and becomes dignified again. He was, *rara avis* among Asiatic kings, the faithful husband of one wife. Though some of his northern campaigns read bloodily enough, he was no lover of slaughter; the internal administration was good and the people content.

But from our local point of view, history seems to lose its majesty and importance. After being the capital city of a long succession of sovereign princes and dynasties, Nanking ceased, for a time, to be a place of importance, and the whole Wu country became a mere province of the Sui empire.

In 605 Yang Chien was slain and succeeded by his son Yang Kuang, Emperor Sui Yang Ti,—a famous ruffian,—one of those fantastic megalomaniacs of the Xerxes-Caligula type who serve to relieve the monotony of chronicles.

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He indulged in boundless extravagance; he built palaces and pleasure gardens all over the Empire,—among others, one at Chiang-tu, which most of us know better by its prefectural name of Yangchou. From Yangchou to the Huang Ho he dug a canal, the still existing Grand Canal. Along its banks and on the road from Yangchou to the capital were no less than forty palaces. On his progresses he travelled with a fleet of dragon boats manned by eighty thousand sailors, and he took with him his harem of four thousand ladies. He employed a million men on rebuilding the Great Wall. He led an army into the northern steppes; countless tribes flocked to offer their tribute and allegiance; he amused them with sumptuous theatricals and games. His flatterers told him that the 150 provinces and 1,155 districts of his Empire held 8,090 million families,—say, three times the present population of the world. All the barbarians sent envoys except Korea, so he declared war on Korea and invaded it with 1,300,000 men, crossing the Liao by three bridges. But the commissariat broke down and the expedition was a disaster, and, behind it, the country rose in revolt. Returning, the emperor found the Turks invading his northern frontiers. He was besieged by them in a place called Yen Mên, but either ransomed or relieved by the arrival of reinforcements, and returned in 616 to his pleasure house at Yangchou. But this was as much as his subjects could stand, and in the next two years eighteen revolutionary movements, important enough to be narrated in the histories, broke out in various parts of China and resulted, after a long and confused scramble, in the downfall of the Sui and the accession of Li Yüan (Emperor T'ang Kao Tsu) as the first sovereign of the far more famous dynasty of T'ang. (624).

(5) *The T'ANG, WU and NAN T'ANG.*

The real hero of the revolutionary war was Li Shih-min, son of Kao Tsu, on whose retirement in 627 he came to the throne to win fame as the great T'ang T'ai-tsung. The T'ang dynasty ruled for nearly three hundred years and revived or surpassed the brightest glories of the Han, but their story belongs to the general history of China more than to that of our special region. The north and south banks of the Lower Yangtze formed the T'ang provinces of Huai-nan and Kiang-nan respectively,—both names being still fairly familiar.

All these south eastern provinces grew in wealth, population and general advancement during T'ang times. Indeed, further south in Fukien, the feeling that they were incorporated in Chinese civilization in T'ang times leads the people to call

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themselves "T'ang-jên" to this day. Cities grew and multiplied; Arab seamen were beginning maritime intercourse with the distant west; the whole Chinese world and its outlook were expanding; Korea was conquered, and through Korea Chinese art, literature and institutions passed, with the Buddhist religion, into Japan.

The first serious breach in the T'ang monarchy came through the usurpations of the masterful Empress Wu, who called herself Wu the Goddess "Wu Tsê T'ien," and her rule the Chou Dynasty (683 to 705). A restoration followed her downfall and from 713 to 755 China was governed by Li Lung-chi (Emperor T'ang Hsüan Tsung the first, more familiarly known as Ming Huang). The early promise of a great reign was clouded later by many extravagances, and by infatuation for the too-famous beauty Yang Kuei-fei, whose goings-on led to An Lu-shan's rebellion and a complex turmoil of civil wars,—the second stage in the decay of the T'ang.

Under T'ang Hsüan Tsung a certain Pei T'ou-t'o, having found gold buried under the monastery hill of Fou Yü or Tsê Hsin at Chinkiang, the name was changed, it is said, to Chin Shan,—"Golden Hill." There is a rock on the hill still known as T'ou T'o's cliff.

To the confused times of An Lu-shan's revolt belongs a person of the utmost importance to the present-day life of Chinkiang,—Chang Hsün, the earthly incarnation of the favourite local deity, the Tu T'ien P'usa. Chang Hsün, a native of Nanyang in Honan, was sent to fight the Turks, and though, or perhaps because, he set aside all ancient ideas of tactics, he was brilliantly victorious. His discipline was so perfect that one of his officers received six arrows in the face without budging from his assigned post. Chang Hsün performed prodigies of valour in the war against An Lu-shan. Later he heroically defended the town of Sui Yang against An Lu-shan's son. Provisions ran short but he would not yield, even sacrificing his favourite concubine. It was said that when water ran short and the enemy were suspected of poisoning the remaining wells, he volunteered to test the truth of the report in his own person, with such a result that he is always represented with a blackened face. Poisoned as he was, at length the enemy broke in among the enfeebled garrison and he was put to death. After his death it was found that he had ground his teeth down level with the gums, so great was his patriotic rage. So later ages held him up as a hero, and by degrees attributed to him all kinds of weather-compelling functions, and somehow his cult has centralized itself

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along the Grand Canal, and especially at Chinkiang. The chief local shrine of the Tu T'ien P'usa is some distance outside the south gate, a little beyond the shell of a Ming pagoda that forms one of the chief landmarks of our district. But there are many others; one in the new Malu, another in a village on the road to the Bamboo Grove; another in the village of Tu T'ien Miao where the battery is on the north shore of the Yangtze abreast of Chiao Shan.

And, every year, in May, Chinkiang is flooded by crowds of country folk, who come to see the show when the Tu T'ien P'usa with dozens of other gods is paraded through the streets.

Once more the T'ang power was restored, chiefly by the exertions of the great general Kuo Tzŭ-i, noted as the conqueror of the Turks, many of whom he settled in north China, where, as at Chinanfu and Newchwang, the present Mohammedan communities declare that they are descendants of these prisoners; noted also as a friend of the Nestorian Christians, even if he was not, as some declare, himself a convert to that faith.

But the continually increasing independence of provincial governors, the infatuation of successive emperors for mystics and charlatans,—the Rasputins of those days,—rivalries, faction fights, border wars, corruption of every kind, in spite of good intentions that paved the successive stages of the road to destruction, gradually sapped the fabric of T'ang greatness during the next hundred years. In 878 the mighty convulsion of Huang Ch'ao's rebellion brought it for the third time to the brink.

Again a shadow of the tottering T'ang dominion was restored, and it was upheld for a generation longer through the prowess of the Turkish Dictator or adventurer, Li K'o-yung (Li the Useful; his surname of Li was acquired by adoption into the Imperial House); but in 907 it collapsed irretrievably.

Under the T'ang flourished, among countless others, China's greatest poets, Li T'ai-po and Tu Fu, Wu Tao-tzŭ who, with Li Lung-mien (Japanese Ririomin) of the Sung period, are her greatest artists, and her greatest musician Li Kuei-nien. In religion, most of the schools of Buddhism and most of the elaborations of Taoism then took root, while Manichaeism, Nestorianism, Mohammedanism and (probably) Judaism were introduced and exerted a certain influence. The old national philosophy was less suited to so artistic and emotional an age, and it is only towards the end of the T'ang rule that we find Han Yü (Han Wên Kung,—768 to 824), in protests against the adoration of an alleged bone of Buddha, indicating the approach

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of that intellectual revival which, as the Confucian Renaissance, was a little later to mark the maturity of the Chinese mind.

Some time before the end of the ninth century an outer wall, called Lo Ch'êng, said to have been 26 *li* in length (but the *li* must have been very small) was built round Chinkiang, with numerous gates; also two connecting walls (chia ch'êng) of which the description suggests that they were walls joining Sun Ch'uan's *tzŭ ch'êng* to the west and south-west parts of the outer wall. By 1208-1224 this outer wall was in ruins, and in 1214 the gates had to be altered and two new ones added.

The fall of the T'ang dynasty laid bare the fact that China had reverted to feudalism again. In Shantung and round Pien-liang (K'aifêng, which, in the late confusions, had become the final T'ang capital) a deserter from Huang Ch'ao's rebellion, Chu Wên or Chu Ch'uan-chung, had usurped authority and proclaimed the Hou Liang (Later Liang) dynasty. But in the old capitals of Ch'angan and T'aiyuan the Turkish chieftain Li K'o-yung, relying on his adoption into the old Imperial family, professed to continue the T'ang succession. Each of these rival powers had, besides their mutual contests, to maintain itself against an outside enemy, Li against the Tangut Toba Ssŭchung and his north-western empire of Hsia, Chu against the Ch'itan (Kitai or Cathayan) invaders who, under Abaki, were building up that realm of Cathay whose name has stuck to northern China ever since.

It is not wonderful that the Yangtze and southern provinces should, under these conditions, have broken out into local independence. I do not propose to waste my time over telling all the revolutions of all the states; you can best picture the situation by thinking of every province as normally an independent state, as commonly at war with its neighbours and as sometimes convulsed by internal revolution as well.

On the Lower Yangtze the process began early. In 894 Ch'ien Ch'iu or Ch'ien Liu, a salt smuggler of Lin-an (Hangchou) and already, for many years before that date, a power in the land, had set himself up as King of Wu. But in 901, on the Governor of Huai-nan, Yang Hsing-mi, also proclaiming himself by the same title of King of Wu at Yangchou, Ch'ien changed the style of his kingdom to Wu-Yüeh. It would be an enticing theme to trace the story of King Ch'ien Ch'iu and his son and grandsons, and all that they did to create an oasis of wisdom and prosperity amid the chaos of tenth-century misery and misrule, but just now we are concerned not with Chekiang but with Chinkiang, and Chinkiang fell to the other Wu kingdom, that of the Yangs.

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King Yang Hsing-mi died in his seventh year, 906, and was succeeded by his son, Yang Wu. But this monarch's innovations causing general discontent, he was murdered (908) and a brother, Yang Lung-yen, became king, and was confirmed by the Hou Liang emperor of Pienliang, who made it his policy to anticipate and legalise such local kingdoms, the rise of which he was wholly powerless to prevent, by recognizing their hereditary titles, perhaps in the hope of finding in them useful allies against foreign foes or dangerous rivals.

King Yang Lung-yen died in 921, and under another brother, Yang P'u, the capital was moved from Yangchou to Nanking.

Two years later the Hou Liang Empire, now ruling in Loyang, collapsed, and for thirteen years descendants of Li K'o-yung restored what they were pleased to call the T'ang, but what history knows as the Hou T'ang (Later T'ang) Empire. This change made little difference to Wu, but, in 936, when this revived T'ang dynasty fell in its turn before the rebellion of Shih Chung-t'ang, and the Hou Chin dynasty took its place, King Yang P'u of Wu thought the time had come to take a leaf out of old Sun Ch'uan's book, and call himself an Emperor too.

But in the following year he was dethroned by a revolution that put a certain Prince of Ch'i, Hsü Chih-kao, by name, on the throne of Wu, and with the accession of this new dynasty the name of the state was changed also, and for the next forty years it was styled Nan T'ang (Southern T'ang).

Under the Hsü dynasty of Emperors of Nan T'ang the walls of Chinkiang were repaired, or perhaps the extensions and repairs mentioned as executed in the previous century were completed, for two of the gates in the Nan T'ang wall are mentioned as having existed in the period 874 to 880.

Emperor Hsü Chih-kao died in 946 and was succeeded by his son Hsü Li-ching, who at once embarked in a policy of intervention in the affairs of Min (Fukien), where he overthrew both the claimants to the disputed throne, and annexed the whole country to the Nant'ang dominions. Thus Nant'ang, which already included the whole of Kiangsi, besides most of Anhui and Kiangsu, became one of the largest states in China, and quite encircled the little Chekiang kingdom of Wu-Yüeh.

Almost at this moment a great wave of Ch'itan-Manchu invasion swept the Hou Chin Empire in the north out of existence, and to save the land from entire anarchy a certain Liu Chih-yüan was proclaimed Emperor of Hou Han. But this power was only momentary. A civil war and another Ch'itan invasion caused its overthrow (951) and Kuo Wei founded the dynasty of Hou Chou.

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In 956 the Hou Chou Empire declared war on Emperor Hsü Li-ching of Nant'ang, and annexed all the latter's territory north of the Yangtze, also forcing him to abandon the use of the title of Emperor. Nant'ang thus became a purely southern state. Though defeated by Hou Chou and unable to recover its old territories from the Sung Power which, under Chao Kuang-yin (Sung T'ai Tsu) took Hou Chou's place in 960, Nant'ang indulged in a war of conquest on its own account and annexed the whole of the kingdom of Ch'u, which had, since 907, reigned over Hunan, etc., under a dynasty of the surname Ma, with capital at Ch'ang-sha.

In 964 the Nant'ang realm split into two, King Hsü Li-ching retiring to Nanch'ang, then known as Hungchou, which he made his principal capital, while his son, Hsü Li-yü, reigning at Nanking, resumed the old title of King of Wu, which had been abandoned when the Yang family were turned out in 937.

It is related of King Hsü Li-yü that he had a favourite concubine Yao Niang, whose dainty feet were imitated by other ladies. So we have another story, like that of P'an Fei 450 years before, professing to account for the foot-cramping practice; but it is not likely that either is authentic.

By this time, however, the age of local feudal kingdoms was passing away before the revived Empire founded by the Sung rulers Chao Kuang-yin (Sung T'ai Tsu,—960 to 976) and his brother Chao Kuang-i (Sung T'ai Tsung,—976 to 998).

In 974 the Emperor sent a famous and scholarly commander, Tsao Pin, who had already distinguished himself in reducing the upper Yangtze Shu kingdom, Ssŭch'uan, to allegiance, on a campaign against Nant'ang and Wu. Tsao Pin swept the Yangtze with his fleet. In order to transport troops for the investment of Nanking, which was held by Hsü Li-yü, he threw a bridge of boats across the river at Ts'ai Shih. He made his officers swear not to slay a single adversary needlessly, then gave the signal for the assault. This merciful policy was rewarded by the bloodless surrender of the city, and the submission of the king of Wu was courteously accepted. Shortly afterwards King Hsü Li-yü proceeded in person to the imperial Sung capital of Pienliang, where he was graciously taken into favour and granted the honourable title of Marquis of Wei Ming. Thus the Sung power was extended over the whole south-east of China, leaving only the little enclave of Wu Yüeh, and four years later (978) the sovereign of that country also acknowledged allegiance in return for a title.

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About two miles west of Chinkiang railway station there is a spot where the floods of last summer necessitated the repair of a railway bridge. On the rising land close alongside will be found a temple called Hsü Wang Miao, the Temple of the Hsü Kings, dedicated to the memory of the Hsü family of kings of Nan-t'ang.

(6) *In the days of the SUNG.*

For three hundred years,—974 to 1276,—this part of China remained faithful to the Sung Empire, that great, solid, mature-minded dominion of the learned that systematised Confucianism and cast China into its modern mould.

The most interesting Sung dynasty relic,—if it is Sung,—at Chinkiang is a remarkable cast-iron pagoda-shaped construction that stands outside a gateway in the eastern side of the group of temples and memorial shrines that crown Kan-lu headland, commonly known to foreigners as "Consular Bluff." This extremely curious object is adorned with numerous Buddhistic figures, but my examination failed to discover any inscription on it. It is commonly said to have been dragged up from the bed of the Yangtze, but of this I have found no evidence. The Tan-t'u Hsien Topography mentions the name of the official who erected it, but gives no date. However, another passage in the same work states that a memorial shrine was erected to this individual by Lin Hsi, prefect of Chinkiang, between the years 1086 and 1092, so it is plain that he was then dead, and we may safely say that this cast-iron pagoda is at least as old as the time of William the Conqueror.

Indeed, it may be very much older. It is described in Captain Granville G. Loch's "Closing Events of the Campaign in China " (London, 1843), where it is stated that Mr. Gutzlaff, the well-known missionary who with Messrs. Morrison and Thom acted as interpreter to the British at that time, told Captain Loch that it was, "from the inscription and characters, marking the epoch by their form, at least 1,200 years old; that would carry its origin back to the T'ang dynasty." But, as I said, I failed to find any inscription when I examined this pagoda.

The Tan-t'u Hsien Chih is also my authority for saying that the little temple of Kuan Yin Tung (Kuanyin's Cave), close to the British Consulate, is a Sung dynasty foundation. The only visible inscription on the very curious and ancient-looking archway over the roadway there, under the heavy Buddhistic dagoba, records that it was restored in the 10th year of Wan-li of the Ming dynasty, or 1582, but of course that implies that it

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was then old enough to require restoration. No doubt there are many Sung dynasty temples in the neighbourhood if one could trace them after the wholesale devastation of religious monuments perpetrated by the Taipings and others in this district.

Already under the third Sung ruler, Chao Hêng (Emperor Sung Chên Tsung,—998-1022) a treaty of 1004 made the Empire practically tributary to the Ch'itan of the north, to whom a yearly subsidy of 200,000 pieces of silk and 100,000 taels of silver was promised, and from this time onwards a perpetual struggle with the nomads served to postpone, but not to avert, the eventual subjection of China to the peoples of the desert.

This same Chên Tsung endowed the Taoist Papacy in Kiangsi, and, on a "letter from God," written on yellow silk, floating down from on high, built the great Tai Miao temple at T'aian and gave to the pilgrimages to T'ai Shan their modern importance. In this reign the Golden Island Monastery at Chinkiang was given the name of Lung Yu Ch'an Ssŭ,—Monastery of Meditation of the Swan's Swim,—in consequence of the Emperor having a dream that he went swimming there. The name was given to the Island in 1012, and extended to the Monastery in 1021. The name implies that the Amidist school of Buddhism, the worship of Omito Fo, had by this time captured the place.

In 1067 the greatest of Chinese "innovators," Wang An-shih, whom some people have lately called the "first Bolshevist,"—round whose projects of reform the whole politics of that age revolved,—became prefect of Kiangning (Nanking), but, on the accession of the sixth Sung ruler, Chao Hsü (Sung Shên Tsung,—1068-1086) he left his provincial post to become the chief adviser of the sovereign in the capital. At that time he was regarded as a heaven-sent regenerator of society, but his schemes and the question how far they failed, and what they resulted in, belong to the general history of China and need not be detailed here.

About this time lived one Shên Kua of Hangchou, Chancellor of the Hanlin College, who was known as "Mêng Ch'i Wêng," the "Brook-dreaming Old Man," because he saw in a dream a stream exactly resembling the scenery at Tanyang. He seems to have collaborated with the best-known poet of those days, Su Shê, commonly called Su Tung P'o,—Su of the Eastern Hillside,—in writing a treatise on medicine, and also, as a military commander, to have got involved in a terrific disaster which cost China sixty thousand lives. Perhaps the theory of the learned that a Confucian scholar was fitted for all forms of public duty did not find in him its happiest exemplification.

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In the Abbot's quarters at Golden Island there is kept a remarkable belt, studded with slabs of jade stone and alleged to have belonged to the above named poet Su Tung P'o (1036 to 1101), and I note that, though Su Tung P'o's career is mainly concerned with Hangchou and partly with the far south of China, he died not so very far off from Chinkiang, namely at Ch'ang-chou.

In the year of his death the throne of China passed to the eighth Sung ruler, Chao Chi (Sung Hui Tsung), who, although as Emperor his reign was disastrous, possesses the rare distinction among sovereign princes of being not only an amateur and collector of artistic objects, but himself perhaps the foremost painter of his age. Many of his studies of bird life, especially, are well known and admired,—in original or copy,- -by every connoisseur of Chinese art. Perhaps he had a better claim than his contemporary, Henry the First of England, to the nick-name of Beauclerk.

The administration, which had been previously brought back to sound and well-tried Confucian principles by the conservative and literary opponents of Wang An-shih, plunged once more under Hui Tsung into revolutionary paths, driven by ministers known as the "six robbers," of whom the chief were Ts'ai Ch'ing and his brother Ts'ai Pien, the latter being a son-in-law of Wang An-shih. This Ts'ai Pien appears to have died at Chinkiang.

In spite of humiliating tribute, the Sung Empire was never free from Ch'itan, or, as it had come to be called, Liao, aggression. In Hui Tsung's reign the notion came to prevail that deliverance might be obtained if a foe could be raised up in the rear of the Liao power, and so alliance was made with Aguda, the rising chieftain of the North-Manchurian tribe of the Nü-chên, or Chin (Kin,—Golden) Tartars of the Sungari. The result was a terrific disaster to China. For eight or nine years Aguda kept his bargain ; the Liao-Ch'itan monarchy was duly crushed,—all but a fragment, the Kara-Khitai, who migrated into the western wildernesses to found, between Samarkand and Bokhara, the Western Liao Kingdom of Kermania. But in 1124 Aguda died and disputes at once began between the Sung and his successor as to dividing the spoil, the Nüchên demanding a far larger share than had ever been anticipated.

This demand caused a panic in the Sung capital of Pienliang. The artist-emperor was forced to abdicate in favour of his son, and to content himself with a Taoist title which reads as if it meant some sort of archbishop, For a while he retired to Chinkiang (1126). But it was no use. The Nüchên-Chin Tartars invaded

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China in force; Pienliang was besieged for thirty-three days; an enormous indemnity was demanded. To this the new emperor, against the advice of his ministers, agreed, but, as it was impossible to raise the sum required, the upshot was that the new emperor, the artist ex-emperor and most of the imperial family were taken into captivity by the enemy, and the whole north of China was lost (December, 1126), and formed the realm of the Chin (Golden) Tartars till the coming of the Mongol. Hui Tsung died their prisoner in 1130.

The disastrous issue of the Nüchên war led to the proclamation in 1127 of Hui Tsung's fifth son, Chao Kou or Prince K'ang (Sung Kao Tsung), at Nanking, as first emperor of the sadly shorn Southern Sung Dynasty. He reigned thirty-six years, but, as even Nanking was too much in the line of fire, his seat of government was moved in 1137 to Lin-an (Hangchou), which, under him and his successors developed into that wonderful city of Kinsay (Ching-ssŭ, "the Capital") about which Marco Polo waxes so eloquent.

The struggle against dismemberment was carried on long and vigorously, the protagonist in these wars being the model patriot of Chinese popular fancy, Yo Fei, ultimately destroyed by the stock example of treason, the infamous Ch'in Kuei.

In 1144, however, a peace was patched up, on the basis of partition,—nearly everything north of the Yangtze going to the Chin,—who, in return, surrendered the encoffined remains of the artist ex-emperor Hui Tsung, whom they had captured eighteen years before.

In this same year, 1144, there was founded at Chinkiang a great government hostelry called the Tanyang Kuan. It was to the west of a bridge called Ch'ien Ch'iu Ch'iao,—the Bridge of a Thousand Autumns,—and beside a canal, with landing places attached. In 1271 it was restored, and a very famous personage, Liu Hsiu-fu, whom we shall hear of again in his proper place, composed a commemorative inscription. After the Mongol conquest it was enlarged so as to have 109 rooms, with stabling for 80 horses, of which 40 were kept constantly saddled, as well as 30 boats, always ready for the use of guests. It seems to have been inside the present city, about where the road from the west gate crosses the canal, before you get to the Ch'êng Huang temple.

War began again in 1160, and, for a while, victory favoured the south. In 1161 the Sung forces, commanded by Wei Shêng, a general of lowly birth, recaptured Haichou from the Nüchên, but in 1164 he fell in battle. This Wei Shêng is reputed to have been the first to use gunpowder in war; not, apparently, as a

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force to drive projectiles, (that does not appear in China till 1407, somewhat later than in Europe) but as the basis of some preparation of the nature of "Greek Fire."

Another commander in these wars, Yang Tsun-chung, of immense strength, fought two hundred fights and bore the scars of fifty wounds. In 1163 the enemy made a raid on Nanking but were severely defeated at Ts'ai-shih, the same place where Ts'ao Po had made his bridge of boats nearly two hundred years before. Shortly after, peace was again patched up.

The reigns of Sung Hsiao Tsung (1163 to 1190), Kuang Tsung (1190 to 1195), and Ning Tsung (1195 to 1225) were the Golden Age of Confucian scholarship,—the times of the greatest of all the schoolmen, Chu Hsi (1130-1200). Also they were the days of paper money, of which over 46 million taels were issued in 1160, and other large amounts in other years. Financial recklessness undermined the Southern Sung in Hangchou just as socialistic vagaries had undermined their predecessors in the Pienliang days.

During the years that bear the nien-hao Chia Ting (1208 to 1224), forming part of the reign of Sung Ning Tsung, a Topographical Encyclopædia of Chinkiang prefecture (Chênchiang-fu Chih) was compiled, apparently by a certain Lu Hsien. This work had been long lost and unknown, when, in 1795, an imperfect manuscript copy, seemingly about half the original, as well as a somewhat less imperfect manuscript of a similar topographical work dating from the fourth year of the nien-hao Chih Shun (1333), came into the hands of the famous writer and statesman Yüan Yüan,—the same who had a good deal of trouble with the English East India Company in the 'twenties of last century. Yüan Yüan presented the manuscripts to the Imperial Palace, after making two transcripts, one of which he kept, while the other was deposited in the library of the Chiao Shan monastery in Chinkiang. From these two transcripts Yüan Yüan, then in his 78th year, had a printed edition made in 1842, with preface, critical notes, appendix, etc., written by himself and others. This edition is now uncommon, but two copies are, or were, in Moscow, one, formerly belonging to Mr. Clement Allen of the British Consular Service, is in the British Museum, and another in the Jesuit Mission Library at Sikawei, which also possesses Yüan Yüan's own manuscript transcript as made ready for publication. These old books are the principal authority for the early history of Chinkiang, and, as we shall presently see, afford evidence as to early Christian activity in our neighbourhood.

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Just at the time when Lu Hsien was at work on his Topography, the greatest convulsion in the whole history of Asia was developing. Genghis Khan, son of Yesukai, born in 1161, succeeded in 1206 to the chieftainship of the rapidly growing power of the Mongols and, ere he died in 1227, he had not only shaken the Nüchên-Chin Empire in North China to its base, but had established himself as overlord of the Western Liao, of all that is now Turkestan, had attacked Persia and was preparing for the conquest of India.

The rise of this Mongol portent, threatening the rear of their old Chin enemy, was quite too great a temptation for the purblind statesmen of the Sung. Just as their great-grandfathers had allied themselves with the Nüchên to break the Ch'i-tan, so did the advisers of Chao Yün (Emperor Sung Li Tsung, 1225 to 1265) fall into the trap of calling in the Mongols to rid themselves of the Chin-Nüchên. In 1233 an alliance was struck between the Sung and the Mongol Grand Kaan, Ogdai. After a short campaign, Pienliang was taken by the allies, the last Chin Emperor was slain, and, by command of the Sung sovereign, his head was severed from his corpse in revenge for the treatment meted over a century before to the artist emperor Hui Tsung and his son. But the Mongols failed to carry out an alleged article of the treaty of alliance whereby they were to have given Pienliang and the burial places of the old Sung emperors as part of the Sung share of the spoil, and, in an evil hour, Sung Li Tsung accepted the advice of certain of his generals to try to recover them by force.

By 1237 the Sung and Mongol powers were at war; in another year or two the Sung armies were beaten back to the line of the Huai, and then from the Huai to the Yangtze.

Had it not been that the Mongol forces were just then diverted westward by Batu's dramatic invasion of Europe (1240-1241) the end of Chinese independence could not have been long delayed. The western wars of the Mongols, the panic of Europe, the recovery from that panic, the sending of Franciscan friars to open intercourse with the new power, the Mongol co-operation with Christendom in the last Crusades, with the immense significance in world-history of these astonishing events, are, however, no part of our present story.

For about twenty years the war between the Sung and the Mongols hung fire. During the reign of Mangu that sovereign's greater brother, Kublai, was busy, from 1251 on, with campaigns in Yünnan and the south-west, and it was not till his succession as Grand Kaan in 1259 that more vigorous measures were taken.

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In an unlucky hour for the Sung cause the army was entrusted to an Imperial Commissioner named Chia Ssŭ-tao, brother of the emperor's favourite palace lady. Chia Ssŭ-ţao's lying bulletins and reports of imaginary victories lulled the infatuated court at Hangchou into inaction, while opportunity after opportunity slipped away.

One of Chia Ssŭ-tao's colleagues in iniquity, Ting Ta-ch'uan, was a native of Chinkiang. He is said to have had a blue face. Like his chief he had relations in the imperial harem and used the resulting influence to enrich himself and play the tyrant. His greed and his deceit in concealing Mongol victories led to his degradation, and in 1262 he was banished to Kueichou, where he was accused of fomenting a rebellion of the aboriginal tribes. A demand was made that he should be marooned on a desert island somewhere, but on the way thither he was pushed overboard and drowned.

For the moment the Mongol storm was bought off by offers of tribute and vassalage, for Kublai was anxious to return to the north. The Mongols therefore withdrew from Wuch'ang and Ch'angsha, but their rearguard was treacherously attacked and their envoys cast into prison in the vain hope of concealing from the public the harshness of the terms of peace, and so, once more, Kublai prepared for the attack.

Before active operations were resumed, however, Emperor Sung Li Tsung died, (1265) after a reign of forty years, and his nephew, Chao Chi (Sung Tu Tsung),—a hopeless drunkard,—came to the throne in Hangchou. Again all power was centred in the hands of the fatuous Chia Ssŭ-tao, who built himself expensive villas by the West Lake, and trusted that Kublai would be too busy with the diversion of a Japanese war and by rebellions in the north to pursue his old policy of conquest.

But in 1273, after a long siege, in which the Venetians, Matteo, Nicholas and Marco Polo, gave valuable advice as to the construction of mangonels, Fanch'êng and Hsiangyang, the two cities that face one another on opposite banks of the Han river, fell to the Mongols, and the road was open for the final onslaught on the Sung dominions. Then Wuch'ang fell, and the conquering army, under the great Bayan, advanced down the Yangtze. Crossing at Wuhu, Bayan there utterly defeated Chia Ssŭ-tao, who fled to Yangchou. Nanking and Chinkiang were then captured, (1275) after a naval action on the river, and when some reinforcements had come up from Jaochou on the Poyang Lake, the march on Hangchou was resumed, along the line of the Grand Canal.

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Meanwhile Emperor Tu Tsung died (1275), worn out at thirty-five by dissipation, and was succeeded by his infant son Chao Hsien (Sung Kung Tsung), aged four, under the regency of the Empress-mother Hsieh.

At Ch'angchou the Mongols met with stubborn resistance, and when the city was at length taken, Bayan allowed the whole population to be massacred. Marco Polo has mixed up this incident with a story of the treacherous murder of certain Alans,—Christians from the Caucasus country, serving with the Mongols,—in revenge for which a similar vengeance had been dealt out to the town of Ch'ênchou in Honan;—doubtless the similarity of the names misled him. With this exception the advancing host met no serious opposition. Soochow, overawed by the example made of Ch'angchou, surrendered without a blow, and in April, 1276, Hangchou, probably at that time the most populous and wealthy city in the world, followed.

It is not part of our purpose to follow in detail the pitiful tale of the fugitive Sung court through its wanderings to the south; how a baby prince, Chao Shih, aged eight, was proclaimed at Foochow, and two years later another little prince, Chao Ping, also aged eight, served as a figure head for the final rally at Yaishan in the Canton delta, till, after a long series of horrors and sufferings, and the loss of many thousand lives, that same Lu Hsiu-fu, native of Chinkiang, who but a few years before had been composing commemorative inscriptions for the government hostelry in his native town, loyally grasped the infant sovereign in his arms, leapt into the sea and disappeared with him in a watery grave. Another famous patriot, Chang Shih-chieh, attempting to escape with the Dowager Empress to Tungking perished in a typhoon at sea. A third, Wen T'ien-Hsiang, after creating various diversions in Fukien and Kuangtung, was taken prisoner and brought to Peking, where, refusing to bend the knee to new masters, he was put to death. There is a memorial to him at Nantungchou, so that he, as well as Liu Hsiu-fu, has a connection with our district. The Sung Empire was ended.

[*To be concluded.*]

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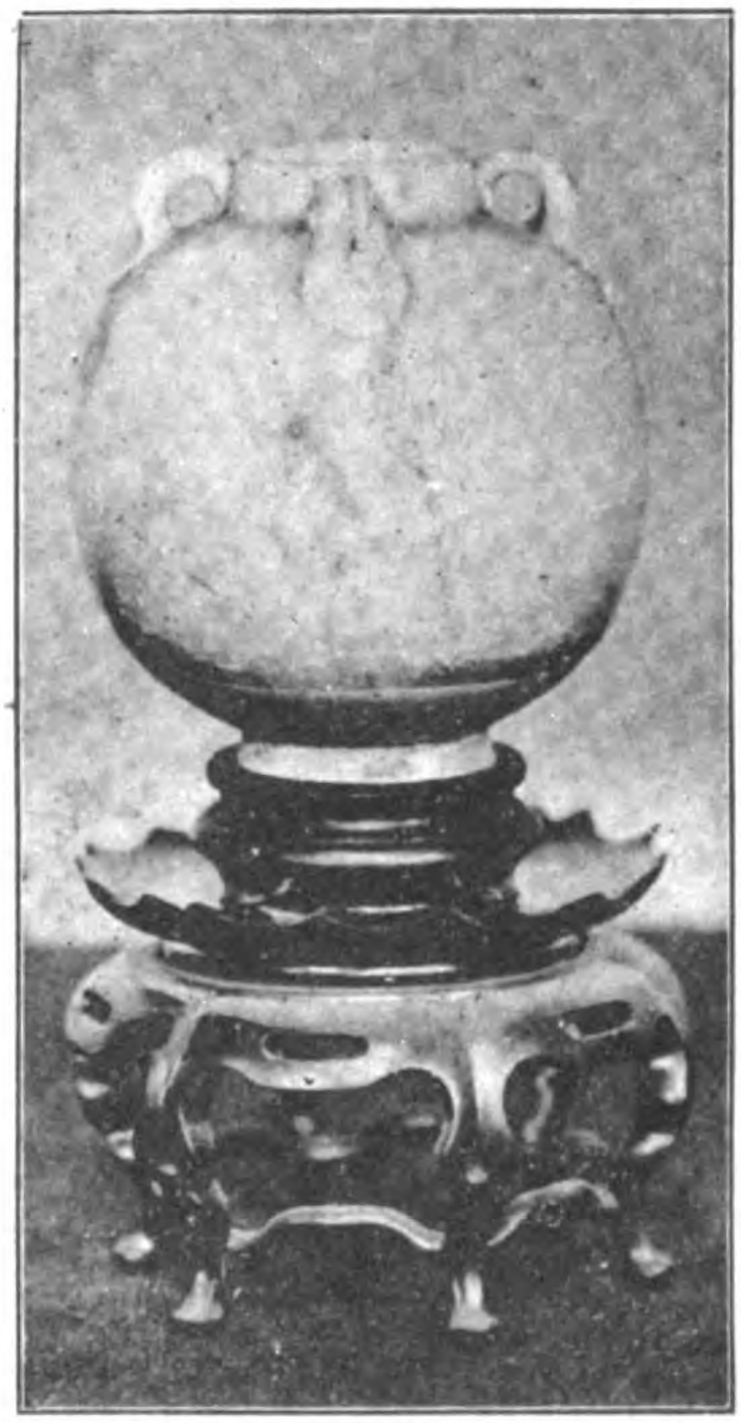

GLOBULAR VASE

SOFT CHUN WARE

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TWO ART OBJECTS

FROM THE

COLLECTION OF R. D. ABRAHAM, ESQ.

Sung. Globular Vase. Liquid Yellow Glaze. Height 3¼-in.—This specimen of Sung pottery is modelled in the shape of an oil container; similar 'oil cans' are used in the interior to-day, strings are passed through the four 'loops' enabling it to be hung on a cart and oil is poured out and smeared on the axles when required.

The glaze is crackled and is of a liquid yellowish tint, smooth, and clear, ending uniformly near the base, leaving it exposed, and showing that the ware is of light buff clay of fine texture. There is an attractive and refined appearance about this piece; although made for a humble use in the humdrum affairs of life, it possesses a charm for those who can see it.

Only one with an artist's soul could have achieved this and one may call this piece a "poem in pottery."

Sung. Vase of Soft Chun Ware. 10½-in.—This Vase is of the Chun type, soft clayey ware covered with an unctuous green glaze, breaking in blue lines in parts and the whole slightly crackled. There are splashes here and there of russet brown.

It is powerfully modelled and one can see that there is Græco-Bactrian influence.

It would be interesting to know whether the ancient shapes of pottery were common in design wherever civilization flourished or whether different civilizations inspired the production of differently shaped wares. Chinese pottery is considered to be artistic: was this achieved at the expense of its utility? Did the ancient moulder study dry and liquid measure, and try to produce vessels to hold a maximum capacity in as little space as possible, and also make them easy to be handled, yet not forgetting balance and proportion, thus making as perfect vessels as is humanly possible to do,—An ornament when not in use, and useful when necessary?

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SOME ELEMENTS IN THE CHINESE RENAISSANCE*

By

PH. de VARGAS, Docteur ès Lettres

(Concluded.)

I should place the beginning of the introductory chapter of China's Renaissance at the moment when its two preparatory currents, indigenous scholarship and Western civilization, joined hands in the attempted reforms of K'ang Yu Wei and Kuang Hsü. But I consider that a more radical departure took place around the years 1915-1920, when the alliance of Chinese and Western learning became complete, making possible the appropriation of the entire range of Western culture by the Chinese mind.

This throwing down of the last barriers which limited the Chinese mind, this complete liberation of Chinese modes of thinking and feeling, had a powerful awakening effect on all phases of the nation's life. It would be a fascinating study to trace the results of this revival in the changing aspects of politics, particularly in the development of a public opinion with which the government had to reckon ; in the growth of commerce and industry leading to the rise of a commercial and banking class conscious of its influence on the national life, and to the beginnings of industrial problems ; in the changes in the daily habits and social customs, sometimes glaring, sometimes elusive, especially the unexpectedly easy progress of feminism ; in the efflorescence of philosophic thought, centering largely around the theme of humanism ; in the stirrings of the religious life and thought : Confucian society, Buddhistic revival, æstheticism, or a truly

* A paper read before the Wên Yu Hui 文友會, Peking, February 15, 1922.

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indigenous Christianity. Among all those complex and often confusing movements, three stand out as particularly definite and clear-cut, having already attained such a measure of success that it is not altogether too early to begin studying them historically.

As we differentiate in the West the Renaissance in the narrow sense, i.e., the artistic revolution; the Reformation, i.e., the religious revolution; the Political Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution; so we may distinguish already, on the very much smaller scale of about thirty years, three revolutions which have at least started in China: the political revolution, the educational revolution, and the literary revolution. It is this last which I propose to sketch here.

We have seen how the most prominent of the literati and the young students in the schools threw themselves enthusiastically into the work of the political revolution. This however ended in considerable disillusion. Mr. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao in his "Chinese Learning under the Ch'ing dynasty" gives as his conclusion about his master K'ang Yu Wei's and his own political writings and activities, that they were a mistake. Some similar feeling has been prevalent among the best of the students after the period of strikes and political excitement.

So the scholars found it best to stick to their books and to their proper work of educating the minds of the nation. And most fortunately they were led by a few of their number to concentrate their attention and their efforts on the problem of a *national language*.

This time the work was entirely in the scholars' line. And not only were they to be fully successful in solving the problem, but through their work in that connection they were to bring about indirectly greater changes in the life of the country, even in the political realm, than they could ever have hoped to cause through the more direct and spectacular methods.

I. The Need of a Living Literary Language.

Westerners have generally been alive to the weakness of the language situation in China. As Mr. Wells puts it in his Outline of History (chapter 31, §8): "Many people are disposed to find the operating cause which has, in spite of her original advantages, retarded China so greatly during the last four or five centuries, in the imprisonment of the Chinese mind in a script and in an idiom of thought so elaborate and so difficult that the mental energy of the country has been largely consumed in acquiring it." But like most foreigners Mr. Wells is hypnotized by the

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difficulty of the Chinese script, the ideographic characters, and thinks that it is the absencé of a phonetic alphabet which is responsible for the traditionalism of China.

Whatever truth there may be in this view, there is another feature in the language situation which has had an infinitely greater retarding influence. And it is rather strange that Westerners should have such a difficulty in seeing it, when there is in European history an exact parallel in the case of Latin. The Latin in which Cicero wrote was already different, as he tells us, from what he used in talking to his servants. But that form of Latin remained in use during fifteen centuries as the sole formal literary medium of civilized Europe. This bondage to the forms of a dead tongue was broken only by the Renaissance movement, the liberating effects of which were largely made possible through the instrumentality of the new national languages.

In the same way, the Chinese which is found in the classics was already a dead language in 120 B.C., when we are told that many public officials were unable to understand the imperial edicts and laws written in it. I should even surmise that, while Latin could be and actually was spoken even after it was dead, the Chinese of the classics never was a true spoken language. The knowledge of this Chinese Latin was kept up by the wonderful but very artificial system of literary examinations, whereby only those with a thorough knowledge of the classical language could receive official appointment. This method maintained the privileged position of the classical language for two thousand years (while Latin did so for fifteen hundred).

As a matter of fact, however effective the examination system was, it could not suppress entirely all literary use of the spoken language, nor keep all literary productions in the language of the people in utter contempt. The popular songs of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries (古樂府) were appreciated by the T'ang scholars, whose poetry they influenced considerably. It is said of one of the greatest poets of that brilliant period, 白居易, that he would reject or revise what an old uneducated woman could not understand in his poems. In the same period an important Buddhistic school (禪) wrote down their discourses in the spoken language and the success of this method led Chu Hsi and other philosophers to use a sort of conversational style in their writings. Under the barbaric Mongol dynasty, the classical tradition suffered greatly : popular drama flourished, even scholars writing drama in the vulgar language, and the novel had its beginnings. This healthy growth of the literary use of common par-

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lance was arrested by the native and conservative dynasty of the Ming, who again prescribed very rigid forms for prose and poetry composition at civil examinations and so stopped the reforming spirit among scholars. Novels, however, continued to be written in the conversational style, but they were published anonymously, and it was not until the Ch'ing period that the growing prestige of the novel allowed gentlemen to sign their works of fiction. In the 19th century, the translation of the Bible into the popular tongue, and its diffusion among the less cultivated classes, was a demonstration of the possibilities of the spoken language in the expression of new ideas and for the education of the common people.

But with these few exceptions, wen-li reigned supreme and the crushing weight of the official regulations for admission to civil service made virtually all writing an imitation of the classics, an empty formalism. The worst feature of the system was that the whole of education was poisoned by it ; as Mr. Lin Yü T'ang 林玉堂 writes in the Peking Leader's " China in 1918," p. 123 : " The old monster tyrant, the science of literary acrobatism, has killed *my* time in *my* school days, and positively hindered the development of my reasoning powers . . . leading youth away into tortuous paths that require years of stumbling and lead only to the mirage of a false literary garnish and the self-deluded glory of the mere ability to handle a pen at the cost of a total death of thought." Such is the hardly avoidable result of the exclusive use of a dead language as contained in an ancient literature of limited range : the student must have his mind shaped in the image of the ancients ; he cannot allow himself new thoughts since they would require terms non-existent in the classics ; if he is to speak as they spoke, he must think as they thought.

People in foreign countries often ask : " Have the Chinese any choice in the matter of a literary medium ? Are they not compelled to use the oldest form of their language because it is the only one that is common to them all ? Has not the ancient speech subdivided itself into an infinite variety of dialects, from Cantonese to Foochowese and Shanghaiese and so on throughout the country ? When there are so many hundreds of dialects, how can you speak of *the* national language ?" This is one of the deepest misconceptions about China. Early foreigners, sailing by way of India, happened to hit first the coast from Canton to Shanghai, where the different regions are separated by mountain barriers, within which the people have lived undisturbed for a thousand years, and for that reason have indeed developed

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numerous distinct dialects. But all the remaining country, about nine-tenths of the area of China, has been swept by vast migratory movements which have caused a constant readmixture of the population, whether invading barbaric tribes which had to learn Chinese, or Chinese settling in new territories. Throughout this vast area, practically the same language is spoken, i.e., the people are intelligible to one another from Kirin to Yünnan. This region being that where popular poetry, popular drama, and the popular novel were started, its language was adopted even by the Southerners when they wrote those forms of literature. The fact that the court was in the North and that its language was the official one for all " mandarins " (官話), also made it the indisputably best candidate to the dignity of a national language.

What was needed then, was a conscious movement among the educated class of China, to recognize and to proclaim mandarin, or better, *pai hua* 白話, the plain speech of the vast majority of the people, as a real national language, the fit instrument of a living literature in all of its forms.

II. The Literary Reformers.

The favourable environment for this literary revolution was provided by the National University in Peking, especially after its reorganization by Chancellor Ts'ai Yüan P'ei 蔡元培 in 1917 ; and the organ for its expression was ready in the magazine " La Jeunesse," Hsin Ch'ing Nien 新青年, started in September 1915, By Professor Ch'en Tu Hsiu 陳獨秀, dean of the College of Letters in that University. This monthly dealt in a very fearless way with political and social problems ; in literature it stood for realism. Of course, like all other magazines and newspapers which had appeared in the preceding years, it was written in the classical language.

The revolutionary doctrine, the literary theory which was to form the basis of the movement, was in the meantime slowly working itself out in the discussions of a group of Chinese students in several colleges of the United States. In 1915, one of them, Mr. Suh Hu (胡適 or 胡適之) wrote in their monthly that the Chinese classical language was dead, or at least half dead. The following year, he criticized a friend for using in a poem several antiquated words from the Book of Odes, words really unintelligible save to a very few scholars. To an indignant protest he retorted by a poem in the *spoken* tongue : in it he said that *pai hua*, the popular language, should be used in all forms of writing, in poetry as well as in prose, if a " living literature " was to be produced. In August Mr. Hu took the solemn decision never

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more to write any verse except in *pai hua* (the resulting poems were published in book form in March 1920 under the title "Experimental Poetry" (嘗試集). The outcome of the lively discussion which had thus been raised among college friends was a paper by Mr. Hu which was sent to the home land and appeared in January 1917 in the magazine Hsin Ch'ing Nien, under the title "Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature" (文學改良芻議). It should be noted that this article was in wen-li. It gave some very pointed advice: "Do not imitate the ancients; discard time-worn literary conventions, classical allusions, and the parallel construction of sentences. Be not afraid of the common speech: the popular language alone is a fitting medium for the living literature which China must create."

Dean Ch'en Tu Hsiu, with a leader's insight and true revolutionary vigour, at once supported the new idea. The February issue of Hsin Ch'ing Nien contained an article by him, entitled "A Literary Revolution" (文學革命論) which was the hoisting of the insurgents' banner. He proclaimed three principles:

"Overthrow the old aristocratic literature and establish a literature of the people.

Overthrow the literature of classicism and establish a literature of realism.

Overthrow the literature which is secluded from the world and establish a social literature."

The new popular realistic, social literature could not come to be except in the spoken language. While Mr. Suh Hu was still keeping an open mind on the subject and inviting discussion, Mr. Ch'en affirmed: "The theory that *pai hua* must be the proper form of Chinese literature is now self-evident. We cannot allow any discussion on this point." This dogmatic attitude aroused a great deal of opposition, and thereby of attention and interest.

One of the first to join the reform movement was Mr. Ch'ien Hsüan T'ung 錢玄同, a man with a great prestige in academic circles, being professor of Chinese philology at the National University and a disciple of the famous scholar Chang Ping Lin 章炳麟. He made a number of valuable contributions to the new doctrine and his support gave added impetus to the movement.

In March, 1917, Hsin Ch'ing Nien gave its first article in the popular language: Dr Suh Hu's translation of Maupassant's "The two Fishermen." During the rest of the year, a number of pieces in *pai hua* were printed, chiefly translations, letters to the editor and speeches.

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Beginning with January, 1918, Hsin Ch'ing Nien was written practically entirely in *pai hua*, giving even poetry in the popular language. This bold departure was decided by a new board of editors, which included Messrs. Ch'en Tu Hsiu and Ch'ien Hsüan T'ung, already mentioned, Dr. Suh Hu, now professor of philosophy, Mr. T'ao Lü Kung 陶履恭, professor of sociology, Prof. Li Ta Chao 李大釗, librarian, and Mr. Liu Fu 劉復, professor of Chinese, all of the National University. Apart from the six editors, the most important contributors were probably Mr. Chou Tso Jen 周作人, a remarkably able translator of modern Russian, Polish, Greek and Japanese authors, and his brother, a most successful writer of original short stories, who uses the *nom-de-plume* 魯迅; also Mr. Shen Yin Mo 沈尹默 perhaps the best *pai hua* poet of these years.

In September 1918, some of the students of the National University in Peking undertook to publish a magazine of their own. One of them, Mr. Fu Szŭ Nien 傅斯年 made a very good chief editor. They called their magazine "The New Tide," Hsin Ch'ao 新潮 and chose as its European name "The Renaissance." Those young men succeeded in creating a really first-class student paper, mature in judgment and substantial in argument, which helped the movement a great deal. In December of the same year, the untiring Ch'en Tu Hsiu launched "The Weekly Review" 每週評論 which also promoted the new literary ideas, at the same time dealing with political questions. A powerful ally joined the ranks of the reformers when Mr. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao, probably the living writer with the greatest fame, took position against imitative literature, and began writing his Sunday lay sermons in the spoken language. Also several dailies, such as the Kuo Min Kung Pao 國民公報 of Peking and the Shih Shih Hsin Pao 時事新報 of Shanghai, began to write some of their editorials in *pai hua*.

The literary revolution was warmly discussed in numerous magazine articles and open letters. The adversaries of the use of the spoken language could not oppose very strong arguments as far as prose was concerned, since the great novels are in that language. But how could poetry which is the essence of beauty be produced in a language which has long been that of the low and vulgar and has never been polished by the usages of refined literature? The fight centred in Peking where some of the professors of the National University started an opposition magazine called "The National Heritage" 國故. The chief editor was Mr. Liu Kuang Han 劉光漢 or 劉師培, formerly connected with

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Yüan Shih K'ai's monarchical movement. But only four issues were published.

In the spring of 1919, the fight grew hotter, the animus of the conservatives expressing itself particularly in the attacks of Mr. Lin Shu 林紓, a well-known writer. He did not raise new arguments, but wrote a series of short stories in the classical language, ridiculing the leaders of the literary revolution. These stories appeared in the Hsin Shen Pao 新申報 of Shanghai. Chancellor Ts'ai Yüan P'ei, Messrs. Suh Hu, Ch'en Tu Hsiu and Ch'ien Hsüan T'ung figured in them under very transparent pseudonyms and were spoken of in abusive terms. In one of the stories, there occurs a description of a giant punishing the heretics in which it was easy to recognize an appeal to General Hsü Shu Cheng 徐樹錚, whose teacher Mr. Lin Shu had been. Hsü was at that time the all-powerful henchman of Tuan Ch'i Jui 段祺瑞, the chief of the military party then in control of the government.

In fact the reactionary politicians thought the time had come to call a halt to the radical movement of which the National University in Peking was the center. In March 1919 the members of the Anfu 安福 conservative party in the Senate talked of impeaching the Minister of Education and the Chancellor of the University for allowing corrupters of youth to hold positions in that institution. The minister, Mr. Fu Tseng Hsiang 傅增湘, was in sympathy with the University. He was satisfied by Chancellor Ts'ai's explanation that the professors who were publishing Hsin Ch'ing Nien were doing so in their individual capacity ; therefore that magazine was left unmolested. But the minister felt himself compelled to address a letter of censure to the University authorities for allowing their students to publish Hsin Ch'ao.

The main efforts of the reactionaries were concentrated on Mr. Ch'en Tu Hsiu who was indisputably the mainspring of the revolutionary spirit ; attacks on his private life were resorted to and succeeded in compelling him to leave the University.

A fine statement of the University's right to intellectual freedom was made in March by Chancellor Ts'ai Yüan P'ei in an open letter to Mr. Lin Shu, which was widely quoted.

In this moment of highest tension, Dr. Suh Hu published his second great article—in the spoken language this time,—entitled "A Constructive Literary Revolution" (建設的文學革命論). It appeared in the April number of Hsin Ch'ing Nien. In it he took up again his previous arguments which he summed up under four principles :

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"Write only when you have something to say."
"Write what you have to say and write it as it is actually said."
"Write in your own words, not in somebody else's."
"Write in the language of your time."

This article sounded a war cry: "No dead language can produce a living literature. If China wants a living literature, it must be in the living language." And as a constructive policy for making the despised vulgar tongue a language of beauty, Dr. Hu repeated with driving emphasis: "Produce literature in the national language and you shall have a national language of literary worth" (國語的文學, 文學的國語).

By this time, the brilliant attacks of the literary revolutionists, their fair measure of success, still more, the bitter attacks of the conservatives, had thoroughly stirred the scholars and students throughout the country. Still it was as yet nothing more than an academic debate which did not extend further than a narrow circle in the nation.

But just two or three weeks after Dr. Hu's second article, the news reached China that the Shantung question had been decided at the Paris Peace Conference in a way which was utterly unjust to China. Beginning on May 4th, 1919, the students, especially those of the National University in Peking, took the lead in rousing the country. When the government used forcible measures of repression, the students resorted to the strike; the merchants followed them in many cities, and even working men began to stir. This unexampled pressure of the public opinion, although it was backed by no armed force, compelled the government to release the students they had kept confined and to dismiss three high officials who were typical representatives of the pro-Japanese party and were popularly considered national traitors.

And there we have an historical puzzle: how on earth could these students' and merchants' strikes affect the academic debate on the language of literature?

Yet so they did: was it that the National University, which had taken the lead of this victorious agitation, had become so popular throughout the country that its popularity extended to its literary theories? Was it that the students, under a new sense of their responsibility as leaders of the people, realized that the task of transmitting modern education to the common folk could only be done through *pai hua*? The fact is that the opposition against the literary revolution was drowned under a flood of literature in the spoken tongue, which was now recognized

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as the Kuo Yü 國語, the national language. This literature was practically all in the form of periodicals, weeklies or monthlies, started mostly by students. It is estimated that about four hundred new periodicals in the vulgar tongue were started in 1919. The daily newspapers also took to writing editorials and the more important news correspondences in the spoken language ; their daily supplements, formerly devoted to largely imaginary news of actors and sing-song girls, were now filled with reports of educational and philosophical lectures and with translations of short stories from Western writers, virtually all of it in Kuo Yü. One paper, the National Language Daily 國語日報, was and is still entirely in the spoken language. Innumerable poets published their effusions in *pai hua* in magazines and in dailies.

Possibly the most significant of all the indications of victory was the recommendation of the National Educational Association 全國教育會, in October, 1919, that the spoken language alone be taught in primary schools and used in text-books for those schools. Consequent to this, the Ministry of Education decreed in January, 1920 that, beginning in the autumn of that year, the Chinese taught in the first two years of primary schools should be spoken Chinese. This order seems to have been obeyed, not only in the provinces recognizing the authority of the Northern Government, but still more universally in the Southern provinces. And many Middle and Normal schools have voluntarily adopted text-books in Kuo Yü.

III. The Outcome of the Movement.

Now that the first wave of enthusiasm has passed, it is natural to find that the four hundred magazines started in the spoken language in 1919 have been considerably reduced in number, to possibly about one hundred. Most of them being published by students, they were likely to be short-lived. And in proportion to the number of available writers and translators, four hundred was certainly an excessive number, and its reduction is no serious loss.

Taking that mass of magazines as a whole, one may roughly estimate the number of original articles therein contained to be 40 per cent., translations or adaptations forming the remaining 60 per cent. Only about 10 per cent. of the articles are of a scientific nature, about 40 per cent. are purely literary, mostly short stories and poetry ; and practically 50 per cent. of the total is devoted to philosophical, ethical and political discussions of a rather general and popular nature.

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This can be truly called a magazine movement. Books play in it only a secondary part. And even the books are published in series, *ts'ung shu*, 叢書; at least two hundred have been published since 1918 in fifteen or twenty series, each of them edited under the guaranteeing leadership of some well-known scholar or publishing house. The main object of most of these series is to furnish reliable translations of ıportant foreign works.

In fact one may say that 95 per cent. of all the books issued in Kuo Yü are translations, among which scientific works are few; these are very often adaptations rather than translations, and there are more of them on social science than on physical science. Most translated books are novels, short stories and plays.

The books published in the national language which are original works are generally collections of short stories and poems. As to original works of a strictly scientific character, they can probably be counted on the fingers of one hand. Dr Suh Hu's "History of Chinese Philosophy" 中國哲學史大綱 of which one volume has appeared in 1919, is probably the most important. Although not written in the pure spoken language, three books of Mr. Liang Ch'i Ch'ao should be mentioned here because of their modern scholarship and because in vocabulary, style and punctuation they show the influence of the literary revolution: "The school of Mo-ti" 墨子學案; "Chinese Scholarship under the Ch'ing dynasty" 清代學術概論, published in 1921; and "Methods for the study of Chinese History" 中國歷史研究法, published in January of this year and intended as an introduction to further writings on Chinese history.

Another type of books should be mentioned: the reprints of classical novels in popular language. Dr. Suh Hu has edited four of them: the "Shui Hu Chuan" 水滸傳; the "Hsi Yu Chi" 古本西遊記, made known by Dr. Timothy Richard as "A Mission to Heaven"; "The Literati" 儒林外史; and "The Dream of the Red Chamber" 紅樓夢. This edition gives the original text with modern punctuation, which of course contributes greatly to a proper understanding, and provides critical introductions.

A word should be said about the aspect of all the new magazines and books. They are not on thin old-fashioned paper, but on stronger paper printed on both sides, and bound in Western fashion, generally in paper covers, occasionally in cloth. Sometimes the text is in horizontal lines reading from left to right. Always modern signs of punctuation are used: commas, semicolons, colons, stops, exclamation and interrogation marks, etc.

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In spite of the fact that probably only a minority of students and other educated people have become convinced adherents of the movement, still we may say, on the basis of the count we have taken of the literary work already achieved, that the movement has conquered. It is no longer fashionable to oppose writing in Kuo Yü. The great publishing houses, which in 1917 refused to consider printing *pai hua* novels, find considerable profit in doing so now and they are competing for the publication of school texts in the popular language.

Of the considerable mass of literature already produced, little will be of permanent value. It includes chiefly literary effusions in which very young men and women attempt to express new and old modes of feeling in a language in which very few are experts as yet, and wordy generalizations along good old deductive lines on popular social, ethical and philosophical subjects of which the youthful minds have hardly begun to see the intellectual implications.

Words only ! a critic might say. But is not the learning of words a fundamental part of mental education ? A new thought life requires the creation of a new vocabulary and its adoption by a reading public out of which and for which creative writers can grow. And that is the work which is being done. It will make an interesting chapter of Chinese history when the tropical growth of the national vocabulary in these recent years can be studied and described. The thesaurus of Chinese monosyllabic words provides inexhaustible material for the composition of the polysyllables of the spoken language. New terms are easily coined in a manner similar to that of Greek and besides which the German method is clumsy. Quite a number were originally composed by the Japanese, who had to draw on Chinese for scientific terms as Europeans on Greek, and later taken back by the Chinese.

The forces of the Renaissance have practically concentrated during the last five years on this Kuo Yü problem. One may say that the Renaissance has so far not accomplished anything else. But how much it has done thereby ! It has provided an effective vehicle for the expression of foreign modern thought of which Chinese formerly could acquire a correct knowledge only through the medium of English or another tongue, wen-li being lamentably inadequate for translation. Now Western philosophy and science can be presented with a great degree of accuracy in the flexible and adaptable new language. Original thought, freed at last from the iron-bound categories of classical logic, can come to a conscious existence through self-expression. And a

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point of importance for foreigners : we who were in effect debarred from a real understanding of the Chinese mind as long as it expressed itself in a language which it took a lifetime to master, are now enabled to come into immediate contact with modern Chinese thought as formulated in the quite manageable mandarin.

Besides its enormous effect on the development of the general Renaissance movement, the establishment of the common speech as a literary language has greatly strengthened two other reforms which are in fact also parts of the literary revolution.

One is the unification of the spoken language. The republican government has been conscious of the value it would have for the political unity of China if the Southern coast region could adopt to as large an extent as possible the use of the dialect of the rest of the country. But nothing the government could do was so effective as the enthusiasm for the literary use of the national language. If it was good for writing, it was surely good also for speaking. And students in places such as Soochow, who before then would not have listened to a speaker in the Northern dialect, formed now eager audiences for lecturers from the North. Students in Shanghai took to wearing badges with the inscription : " Unify the national language " 統一國語, as a sign that they were studying Mandarin.

The second movement is that for the use of a phonetic script. If Chinese throughout the country are to understand one another when they speak, the pronunciation must be unified, and the standard pronunciation must be indicated by a phonetic notation. So in order to facilitate the unification of the spoken language, which was so desirable for political purposes, the government called a nation-wide " Conference for the Standardization of Pronunciation" 讀音統一會. This conference met in 1913, determined on a set of 39 symbols 注音字母 to represent Chinese sounds, and by the method of a majority vote, settled what should be the pronunciation throughout China of every word in the language. Foreigners, hypnotized by the mysteriousness of Chinese characters, are apt to see in this last movement the essential part of the literary revolution. To quote again Mr. Wells, giving his reference to both the movements for the use of the spoken language in literature and of the phonetic script : " What stands in the way of any phonetic system of Chinese writing to day is this, that while the literary script and phraseology is the same from one end of China to the other, the spoken language of the common people, both in pronunciation and its familiar idioms, varies so widely that men from one province may be in-

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comprehensible to men from another. There is, however, a standard Chinese, a rather bookish spoken idiom, which is generally understood by educated people ; and it is upon the possibility of applying an alphabetical system of writing to this standard Chinese that the hopes of modern educational reformers in China are based at the present time."

The phonetic script is used now to indicate the pronunciation of new words in the primary school readers : this of course is in line with the main purpose of the government in creating it. Still, the most vigorous promotion of this greatly simplified writing is being done by the Christian Church whose aim is to make every Church member a reader of the Bible, and to this end the whole of the New Testament has already been printed in phonetic script, without any ideographic characters. But we can hardly maintain Mr. Wells' statement that this alphabetical writing is the basis of the hopes of educational reformers. I shall not attempt to decide whether the foreigners are wrong in giving too much importance to the difficulty of characters, or whether the leaders of the literary revolution, in remaining faithful to the traditional script, prove themselves to be still insufficiently revolutionary.

Whether the Chinese of the future be written with characters or in phonetic script, the new language assures the possibility of the development of a new thought, and consequently a new life, adapted to the new circumstances, and a fitting contribution to the new world. I would therefore not hesitate to say that this literary revolution, the crisis of which was in 1919, is of deeper and more far-reaching importance than the political revolution of 1911.

The above having been prepared to be read as a paper was not provided with notes and references. It should be mentioned, however, that I have, at Dr. Suh Hu's own suggestion, freely borrowed facts and occasionally phrases from Dr. Suh Hu's following articles in English :

A Literary Revolution in China, in the Peking Leader's "China in 1918," p. 116.

Intellectual China in 1919, in the Peking Leader's "China in 1919," p. 9.

The Literary Revolution in China, in "Some Aspects of Chinese Civilization,' privately printed for the World's Student Christian Federation Conference at Peking, April, 1922.

The National Language of China, to be printed in a volume published by the American University Club of Shanghai.

Most of the important articles and letters written by Dr. Hu and others in the *pai hua* polemic are reprinted in Dr. Hu's "Selected Writing" 胡適文存.

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NOTE BY EDITOR:

The grateful reader will notice that this number has rather more than the usual amount of reading matter; but we are obliged to omit Notes and Queries and Recent Literature. This is because the editor is in such a state of extreme weakness that he can give no attention to business and has the doctor's orders to do no work.

There are in hand a number of interesting articles and we hope to be able later to make up for deficiencies and probable errors in the present number.

The foregoing note has proved to be the last word of the Editor to his readers. After a long and brave struggle with ill-health, he became rapidly worse and died on June 15th. At his request the *Review* will be continued to the end of the year through the collaboration of his widow, his secretary, and another personal friend.

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THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

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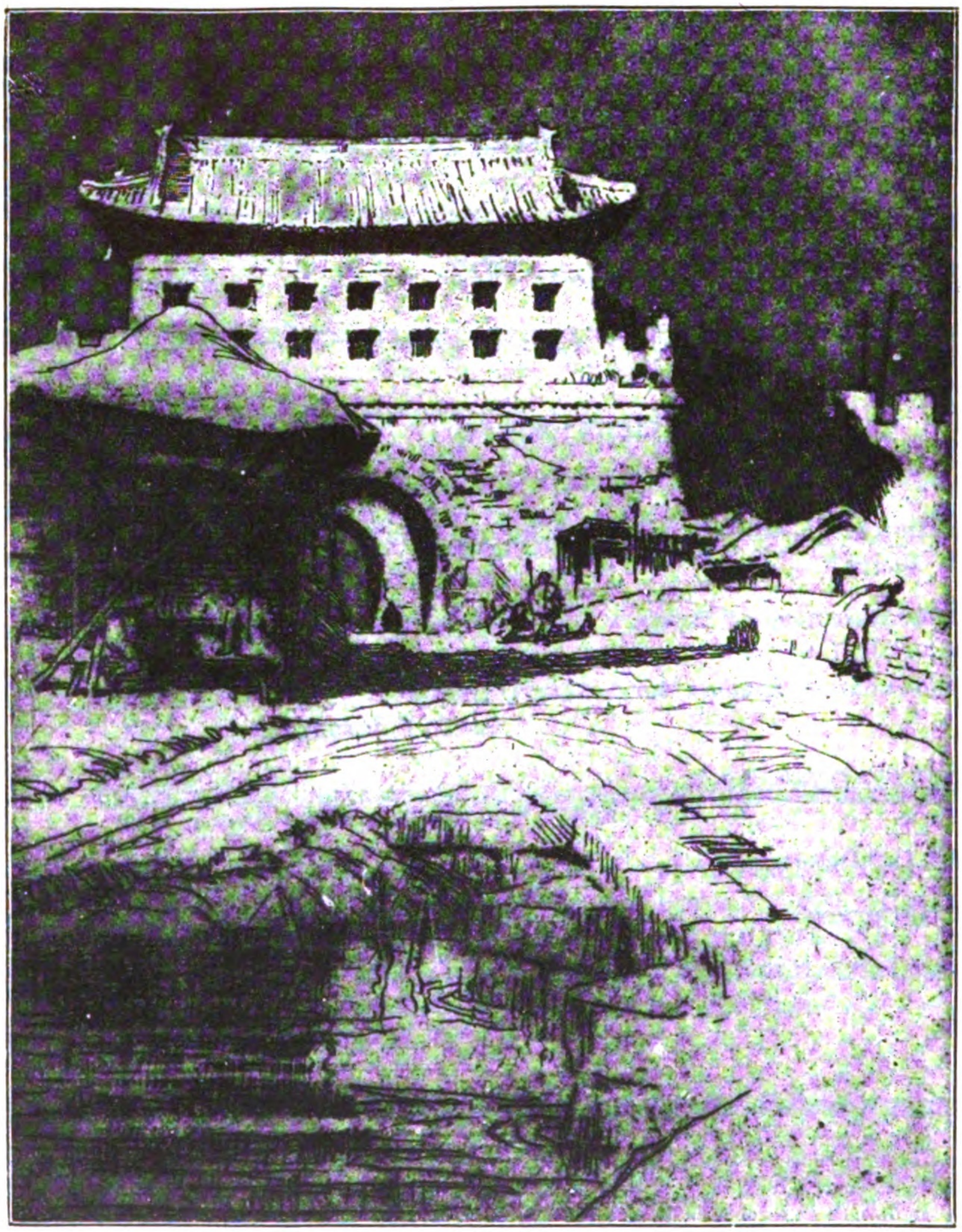

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. IV. AUGUST, 1922. No. 4.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF CHINKIANG OR A BIT OF "CONSULAR BLUFF"

BY

W. J. CLENNELL, one of H.B.M.'s Consuls in China.

(*Continued from p. 232*)

(7) *CHINKIANG in the days of the Mongol Dominion.*

It was the policy of the Mongol-Yüan Dynasty, after the conquest of China, to disarm the natives and to entrust the government of the conquered provinces to foreigners, of whom a large and varied assortment, of many races and religions, followed in their wake. This was the fate both of Yangchou and Chinkiang.

Yangchou was placed for three years under the rule of Marco Polo the Venetian, who had ingratiated himself with Kublai, not only by useful advice about mangonels as already mentioned, but by fearless exposure of the true causes of the assassination of Kublai's Finance Minister, Achmet (Ahmad), at Peking in 1281 and by preparing valuable and interesting reports on several south-western regions whither he had been sent as an envoy. What effect the Venetian rule had upon Yangchou at the time does not appear, but it is worth noting that in the next generation Friar Odoric mentions, somewhere about 1324, that there were a Franciscan Monastery and three Nestorian Churches in Yangchou in his time and a pamphlet by Pelliot (Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient,—1914) mentions that Pelliot discovered an

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edict of 1317 relating to one of the latter, which had been founded about the end of the thirteenth century by a rich merchant named Abraham.

As to Chinkiang the available information is, all things considered, extraordinarily full and precise. The officer put in charge of Chinkiang was a Nestorian Christian (*yeh-li-k'o-wen*, sc. the Chinese transcription of a word "ärkägün" of rather disputed origin, used in those days to designate the Christian peoples of Central Asia) named Mar Sargis, of a Samarkand family.

This fact is mentioned by Marco Polo, who describes Chinkiang, in his usual formula, as a city of the Manzi, with idol atrous people, subject to the Great Kaan, using paper money, living by merchandise and arts, with plenty of silk, making many kinds of cloth of silk and gold, among them being rich merchants enjoying plenty of hunting of beasts and birds and plenty of corn and victuals. Then he adds that two churches of Nestorian Christians were built there in the year 1278 by one of the Great Kaan's barons, Mar Sargis, who had been put there as governor and who ruled in Chinkiang for three years and that before that time there had been no Christian church in the place.

This little notice is curiously confirmed and amplified by the particulars given in the Topographical work of 1333, whose rescue from oblivion by Yüan Yüan I have already described. The whole evidence, with Chinese texts and plentiful notes, is set forth in the pamphlet "Christians at Chênchiang Fu," by A. C. Moule and Lionel Giles, 1915, but it is so extremely interesting that I am sure these gentlemen will excuse me if I venture to abstract it here.

The Archimandrite Palladius, having got on the track of some of this matter, published an abstract of it in Russian in 1873, and then in English in the Chinese Recorder of 1875, and Father Havret, S.J., printed the more important Chinese texts in Variétés Sinologiques, No. 12, (1897). But it is Messrs. Moule and Giles' brochure that shows the extraordinary fulness of the details that have come down to us across the intervening six centuries about these affairs.

Mar Sargis,—called in the Chinese records Ma Hsieh-li-chi-ssŭ, with other variants,—was, it appears, a disciple of a certain Mar Elijah of Samarkand, at which place was one of twelve "Monasteries of the Cross," remarkable for a chapel containing four pillars, forty feet high, each made of an enormous tree-trunk, of which pillars one hung in mid-air more than a foot from the floor. (This tale, and a legend to account for the miracle, will also be found in Marco Polo's notice of Samarkand). Here

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follows a short explanation of the Religion of the Cross, to the effect that it is not the same as the Indian Religion of Nirvana, that its votaries worship towards the east, for which practice a somewhat mystic reason is alleged, that the "figure of ten" is an image of the human body, which they set up in their houses, paint in their churches and wear on their heads and breasts. The grandfather of Mar Sargis, named George (I omit the Chinese transcription), his father, Mieh-li, and his maternal grandfather, Chepi, were court physicians. When Genghis conquered Samarkand (summer of 1220, spring of 1221) the crown prince fell ill. The above Chepi administered sherbet to him and the Ma-li-ha-hsi-ya (? Bishop Ma-li, *hasia* being saint, or bishop, in Syriac) and novices prayed, whereon the prince recovered. So Chepi was appointed Imperial Sherbet Maker and Tarkhan of the Samarkand Christians.

In 1268 Kublai ordered Mar Sargis to come post-haste to present sherbet and rewarded him liberally. Here follows an account of the manufacture of sherbet. As he had inherited his ancestors' skill in preparing this drink, Kublai bestowed a gold tablet on him, granting him the exclusive right to the office of Shê-li-pa-ch'ih, sc. "Sherbeter," to the Court. In 1272 he went to Yunnan, and in 1275 to Fukien and Chekiang, in each case to make sherbet.

In 1277 he was appointed assistant *ta-lu-hua-chih* (Mongol, *darugha*, "governor"), of Chinkiang Prefecture, with a Tiger Badge and a title of rank. "Though raised to splendor and prominence, he did not cease to be a faithful adherent of his religion and constantly had plans for the propagation of the faith. One night, in a dream, he saw the seven-fold gates of Heaven thrown open and two angels addressed him, saying: 'You must erect seven monasteries' (? churches) and presented him with some white thing as a token. On awaking he felt himself inspired and forthwith resigned office and devoted himself to building monasteries."

This would seem to refer to a resignation of the office of darugha, for he evidently remained assistant darugha for several years longer.

First, at the T'ieh-Wêng ("Iron Pot," see above, in the account of Sun Ch'uan's reign) Gate, he gave up his own house and built the Pa-shih or Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery in Chia Tao lane (1281), from the commemorative inscription on which monastery, written by one Liang Hsiang of Hangchou, who became Director of Classical Studies in Chinkiang in 1299, the particulars in the 1333 Topography are copied. Next he obtained the

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Shu-tu Hill at Hsi Ching (sc. Western Ford ; this must mean the present British Consulate hill) and built there the Ta-shih or Yün Shan and the Tu-ta-wu-êrh or Chü-ming Shan Monasteries. (Evidently, both of these were on the ridge of hills running inland from the British Consulate towards "Hillcrest"). Below these two monasteries he founded a free cemetery for Christians. (Where ? Can it have been where the present Foreign Cemetery belonging to the British Municipal Council is now ?). At K'ai Sha (some sandbank or recently accreted land along the Yangtze) in Tant'u Hsien he built the Ta-lei or Ssŭ-tu-an Monastery. On Huang Shan (Moule and Giles seem to be at a loss to locate Huang Shan, but to us, who know Starkey's and Rasmussen's Bungalows, the identification is not difficult) outside the Teng-yün Gate, he built the Ti-lien-hai-ya or Kao-an Monastery. Near the Ta-hsing-kuo Monastery (i.e., the one on the site of his house) he also built the Ma-li-chieh-wa-li-chi-ssŭ, or Kan Ch'üan Monastery.

Besides these six foundations in or near Chinkiang (six, not two, as one would gather from Marco Polo), Mar Sargis also built the Yang-i, or Ta-p'u-hsing Monastery at the Chien-ch'iao Gate in Hangchou.

These seven monasteries were, says Liang Hsiang, the genuine result of Mar Sargis' zeal. He showed loyalty to his prince and devotion to the empire, not seeking to become conspicuous himself, but only making his monasteries so. Wan Tsê, one of the high ministers in the Capital, presented a memorial on the subject, and, in reply, was favoured with a letter under the Imperial Seal promising protection. An immediate grant of thirty *ch'ing* of government arable land (say, 510 acres) in Kiangnan and thirty-four *ch'ing* (578 acres) of privately-owned arable land in western Chekiang was made, and the land purchased for the perpetual endowment and maintenance of the seven monasteries. Mar Sargis held office in Chinkiang for five years.

A later passage in the Topography states that Mar Sargis arrived as darugha on 18th February, 1278, that on the 20th August he was granted a gold tablet and made assistant darugha and subsequently made his home in Chinkiang and that he built seven monasteries. Every year he paid tribute in sherbet, forty jars, which he made of grapes, quinces, oranges, etc. He was granted boats and horses to send it up to court as tribute. In raising all this masons' and carpenters' labour, he did not oppress the common people and those who took monastic vows were all *yeh-li-k'o-wen* (This, it is suggested, means that they were all non-Chinese Christians). He sent ceremoniously to invite

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the Ma-li-ha-hsia,—Ma-êrh-shih-li-Ho-pi-ssŭ-ko-pu (Whatever the rest of this rigmarole means, the last five syllables are plainly "episcopus") to expound the secrets of the religion and formally deposit the scriptures,—i.e., doubtless he asked the Bishop of Samarkand to come and consecrate the Churches, —and then the seven monasteries were all complete. Moreover, he enjoined his sons and grandsons to maintain them through the ages to come. As to sherbet-making, it was a hereditary business, to be carefully fostered and not allowed to decay.

Another "monastery," called Ta Kuang Ming Ssü, south of the Tanyang Kuan hostelry, was built by one An Ma-chi-ssŭ in 1295. There is nothing to say that this person was a Christian, but the name of the building suggests that it might be either Christian or Manichaean.

Another Christian church, the Ta-fa-hsing monastery, on the Fu T'ien Hill, outside the Tung Wu Gate, is mentioned as existing in 1333, but there is no mention of when or by whom it was founded. It is the only certainly Christian establishment there recorded other than Mar Sargis' foundations.

Such seems to have been the position of Christianity in Chinkiang in the days of Kublai. There is nothing to connect the effort with the far earlier Nestorian missions of T'ang times, which can hardly have penetrated so far south and east, and, anyway, had evaporated or become merged in Buddhism in those parts of China which they did reach. Rather it was the effect of the flood of strangers of all kinds and nations who were wafted hither and thither across Asia by the Mongol whirlwind. But it is none the less an interesting and most curious episode.

The great Kublai died in 1295. Even before he died, the foreigners in China in his service, being apprehensive of what might follow his death, had begun to find excuses to clear out. The Polos left in 1292, coming down, very likely, this way on their journey to Zayton,—Ch'uanchou,—their port of shipment for Persia.

As the Chinese began to recover from the stunning blow of the conquest, the cosmopolitan features of the Mongol *régime* weakened and old national traditions came to the fore again. Kublai's successor, Timur Olchaitu (1295-1307) studied and favoured Confucian literature, but earthquakes, floods and comets were popularly regarded as omens of Heaven's displeasure at "barbarian" rule over the "cultured people." The next emperor, Kaisun (1308 1312), had much trouble to get his paper money taken at face value, or anything near it.

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Under his reign, in 1309, the monk Ying Shên took charge of Golden Island at Chinkiang by command of the Emperor, and was granted, with Golden Island, the two convents which Mar Sargis had "taken possession of" (surely, he founded them ?), east and west of Yin Shan. (Yin Shan, modern Yin T'ai Shan, is the hill on which the British Consulate stands) and the convents refer to the Yün Shan and Chü-ming Shan Monasteries). Then an Imperial Commissioner was sent to restore the great Shui Lu Congress, according to the custom of the Liang Dynasty.

Under Kaisun's successor, Ayuli Palpata (1312-1321) the Congress was accordingly revived in two successive years and a commemorative inscription, composed by the same monk Ying Shên, was written out by Chao Mêng-fu (1254-1322), a scion of the old Sung imperial family and reckoned the foremost artist of the time. The Congresses, for which a generous allowance of money was allotted by the emperor, lasted seven days and seven nights each. (Edicts of March 7, 1314, and September 9, 1315).

In the third year of Chih Chih,—the nien-hao of Emperor Kolpola (1321-1324), there was a third Congress (August 10 to 17, 1323) in the "Ancient Temple of Chin Shan."

The great Buddhist sanctuary of Golden Island being thus restored to prominence and imperial patronage, it was perhaps only natural that its inmates should seek to suppress some of Mar Sargis' establishments. So, in 1311, we find that the Yün Shan and Chü-min Shan Monasteries were changed into a Buddhist convent called Po-jo Yüan, on the top of Shu-tu Hill, dependent on Chin Shan.

The same famous artist, Chao Mêng-fu, already mentioned,—whose spirited pictures of Tartar horsemen will be remembered by lovers of old Chinese art,—composed an inscription for a commemorative stone tablet. This inscription records how, in 1311, a certain judge and counsellor were sent post-haste to inform the Provincial Government that the Christians had taken on themselves to build Monasteries of the Cross on lands belonging to Chin Shan, and to beg that the crosses be torn down and destroyed. The artist Liu Kao, who formerly did the painting and modelling for the Pai Ta Monastery, was ordered to paint Buddhas, P'usas, etc., on the walls of the chapels and rooms, the officials preparing and supplying all that he should need, so that the monasteries might revert to Chin Shan. Another edict forbade the Christians, under severe penalties, to question these proceedings and in the eleventh moon, the Minister Hai Yin-tu, received a special commission from the Emperor directing that

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now that the images had been destroyed and torn down in the monasteries of the Cross, built by the heretic Christians relying on their strength, new images of Buddha should be made, the walls painted again and the places be regarded as forever dependent on Chin Shan. And Chao Mêng-fu, "His Majesty's servant, devoid of eloquence," having respectfully saluted and prostrated himself, goes on to repeat the history of the Monastery of Golden Island from the Ssŭ-ma Chin times to Liang times, down the ages, asserting that Sung Chên Tsung had, between the years 1008 and 1017, granted arable and hill land at Hsi Ching,—West Ford,—for its support, but that in 1279 the heretic Mar Sargis had built two monasteries of the cross on this very land, seizing the property of Golden Island. (There is some muddle about dates here, both those of the building of the churches, those of Mar Sargis' term of office, and those of the reversion of the sites to the Buddhists;—but, whether after twenty-seven or after thirty-two years of Christian use, it is plain that the two places, Yün Shan and Chü-ming Shan, were both confiscated in 1309 to 1311).

Then follows an exultant rhapsody of an ode, called an inscription, by one P'an Ang-hsiao, celebrating the glories and beauties of Chin Shan, and relating how the Christian Mar Sargis "rendered exceedingly arrogant by his successive terms of office," selected the most beautiful site on the precipitous cliff and put up on the summit a temple for his foreign religion, and laid out the waste land as a burying place for those of his sect. "Alas, the sects of the West are ninety-six in number, but our Buddhism alone is the true religion. In view of the truth of our religion, can a false or foreign faith be tolerated?"

So the present Emperor had ordered the old images to be cast out and Indian figures from the temples in the capital to be copied in vermilion and gold and purple and blue, all new and bright, and the buildings to be handed over, so that the whole district might raise its voice with one accord, to celebrate this return to the True Faith, and that an inscription, engraved on hard serpentine, should make this known forever.

It is implied, though not definitely stated, that at the time of the compilation of the 1333 Topography, the other Christian churches were still in existence.

Other evidence as to Christians in Chinkiang in Mongol times may be culled from lists of officials and census returns of that age. A Christian named Kuɔ-li-chi-ssŭ held office as *darugha* from August, 1308, to January, 1313,—just at the time of the confiscation above described. Another, T'ai Ping, was in office

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from January, 1313, till November, 1316, and the gentry and people set up a monument beside the Tanyang Kuan hostelry to express their regret at his departure. Of fifteen *darughas* mentioned as ruling since the Mongol conquest, nine are described as Uighurs, three as Moslems, two as Christians, one as a Kankali, none as Chinese. In 1296 a Christian, Ma Aolahan (Mar Abraham ?) was district magistrate of Tant'u Hsien and in 1329 another, Wo Lo-ssŭ (? "The Russian"). Several others are named in subordinate posts.

The census returns given in this old Topography point to a fairly large population,—something like one-third of the present numbers. It is to be remembered that, in thē reign of Kublai, probably in 1289, the Canal connections, partly in existence long before, were linked up all the way from Hangchou to Peking, and that, though there was another entrance to the Yangtze at Ts'in Shih Huang-ti's old prison-camp of Tant'u Chên,—the main communication from the southern branch of the Canal to the Great River was by this time that which passed the walls of Chinkiang. The importance accruing to Chinkiang as the junction of Canal and River trade is obvious.

We are told that the oldest name of Chinkiang was Jun,—another old name being Ching K'ou (see above, under date A.D. 403). Till after the end of the T'ang dynasty its inhabitants were few in number, but by the Chia Ting period (nien-hao of Sung Ning Tsung, for the years 1208-1224) it had much increased. After the unification of the Empire under the Mongols, the prefecture filled up its old territory and enclosed new and as there was no more fighting nor interruption of trade, a census of 1290 had been about equal to that of the Chia Ting period. In August 1301 a great storm washed away the sandbanks. (Perhaps some present frequenters of the port wish this might happen again !) In 1307 and 1329 there were visitations of plague.

Then come the census figures, apparently for the year 1331, divided under six headings,—natives, settlers, sojourners (?), paupers, Buddhists and Taoists. The total seems to work out at 114,218 families,—for the entire prefecture, including Tant'u, Tanyang, and Chint'an Hsiens,—say, about 650,000 individuals. Of these, 174 families, or 2,421 individuals, are classed as foreigners. In Chinkiang city there were 15,758 families, or 69,325 people. There were 106 Christians living in families of whom 92 were in Chinkiang, 7 elsewhere in Tant'u Hsien and 7 in Chint'an Hsien, besides 109 "solitary individuals" (Christian monks, probably), of whom 102 in Chinkiang city and 7 in Chint'an Hsien. Mongols, Uighurs, Moslems, Tanguts, Cathayans, Nüchên and

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Han-jên (Chinese) are similarly enumerated, the last vastly outnumbering all the rest.

The monks at Hai Ch'ao Ssŭ, the Temple near the Railway siding at Hsiao Mat'ou, told me that their temple is a foundation of the Yüan Mongol dynasty and they have tablets with the names of head priests from that time down, but I left the place with the impression that the earlier names might refer to some parent monastery, not necessarily on the same site. The point might be worth clearing up.

The date of the Topography, 1333, is the first year of the last Mongol sovereign of China, Timur Tohan. The remaining years of the Yüan were few and evil. Floods, famines, plague, rebellion, with reports of many miracles and portents, rain of blood, rain of yak's tails, etc., fed the rising tide of Chinese discontent, while a prophesy that the Buddhist Messiah, Mi-lo Fo (Maitreya Buddha) was about to be incarnated upon earth, afforded a rallying flag for every malcontent. Disturbances multiplied year by year and everywhere the Buddhist priesthood led these movements.

In 1336 an old regulation was renewed, ordering the Chinese to be disarmed. In 1337 a rumour was circulated that the Mongols were about to put to death everybody of the surnames Li (probably the commonest of all Chinese surnames, besides being that of the T'ang dynastic family), Liu (the Han imperial surname), Chao (the Sung), Chang (that of the Taoist Pope), and Wang (because Wang means a King). In 1344 the sale of offices was resorted to as a means of raising famine relief funds. A famous artist, Ni Tsan, of Wuhsi, between Ch'angchou and Soochow, distributed his wealth and art collections among his relatives and wandered about the rivers and lakes of Kiangsu, prophesying the downfall of the Yüan. The public examinations were suspended from 1340 on and the money saved diverted to the support of the Imperial guards.

In 1348 Fang Kuo-chên rebelled in Chiang-chê (the Mongol province including southern Kiangsu, Chekiang, Fukien and parts of Anhui), and set up an independent state called Ch'ing Yüan.

In 1350 trade was paralysed by over-issue of paper money and the people reduced to a system of barter. In the same year there was a breach of the Yellow River; immense levies of workmen were raised to repair the dykes, but the only effect was further exasperation of the people.

In 1351 Liu Fu-tung, a wizard of Yingchou in Anhui, revolted in Kiangsu and defeated a brother of the great Mongol general, Toto. But in 1352 Toto captured his stronghold of Hsüchou by

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the use of powerful mangonels. He had a hundred thousand followers who wore red handkerchiefs as their badge. Though beaten in 1352, he set up Han Lin-êrh in 1353 as Emperor of Sung and his power lasted till, in 1358, he captured P'ienliang (K'ai-feng).

In 1353 a salt dealer of T'aichou, Kiangsu, named Chang Shih-ch'êng, proclaimed himself King of Wu. Though he failed, 1354, in an attempt to capture Yangchou, Hangchou and Soochow surrendered to him in 1356. But either this measure of success satisfied him, or he feared the result of a contest with other rebel leaders, for, though in fact independent, he chose this moment to return to the Mongol allegiance.

Hsü Shou-hui, a Hupei man, was chief of a band formed in Kiangsi to prepare for the coming of the Buddhist Messiah. He, too, declared himself an Emperor and though failing in an attack on Anch'ing, reigned for some years with Hanyang as his capital. Then the governor of Foochow, Ch'ên Yu-ting, declared himself independent.

But the chief row began in Anhui, where Kuo Tzŭ-hsing had declared himself a supporter of the "Sung" Emperor Han Lin-êrh. During this disturbance a monastery near Fêngyang, called Huang Hsueh Ssŭ,—the Temple of Imperial Studies,—was burnt. In this monastery there dwelt an orphan novice, Chu Yüan-chang, left there by obscure parents when an elder brother had died of hunger during one of the famines of that time and employed as a temple coolie by the monks. This youth joined Kuo Tzŭ-hsing's band and in due course married an adopted daughter, or slave girl, of that chieftain, who proved a wise, studious, tender and devoted wife, under whose guidance Chu Yüan-chang developed into a great leader of men. In 1354, on Kuo Tzŭ-hsing's death, Chu Yüan-chang succeeded him as head of the whole movement.

He waged many contests with other rebel bands, as well as with the Mongol authorities and the story needs a deal of sifting to be made intelligible. But in 1357, when Chu Yüan-chang crossed the Yangtze, he was hailed everywhere as a deliverer. His lieutenant, Ch'ên Yu-liang, captured Anch'ing, which had held out heroically through a four years' siege.

Finding that Chang Shih-ch'êng,—the T'aichou rebel,—to whom Hangchou and Soochow had fallen, had returned to the Mongol allegiance, Chu Yüan-chang declared war upon him, seized Nanking and in 1358, as leader of a vast horde of insurgents, proclaimed himself Duke of Wu.

In 1360 Ch'ên Yu-liang, the taker of Anch'ing, started on his own account, murdered Hsü Shou-hui, the Hanyang Emperor

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and proclaimed the Han Empire ruling most of Hupei and Kiangsi. Another follower of Hsü Shou-hui, sent to Ssŭch'uan for supplies, on account of famine in Hupei, started a revolt of "Red Turbans" there, which he called the Empire of Hsia and conquered most of the west of China, from Shensi down to Yunnan.

These dissensions among the rebels naturally gave new life to the Mongol cause and some territory was recovered, but in 1363 Chu Yüan-chang defeated Ch'ên Yu-liang in a decisive overthrow, in a naval battle in the Poyang Lake and really settled the whole question. I landed to escape a lake squall, in 1905, at a place on an island or peninsula in the Lake, called Chu Ch'i (sc. Chu Yüan-chang's Flagstaff) and there saw the masonry base that during this victory supported the standard of the conqueror.

Chang Shih-ch'êng fled to Nanking and there committed suicide, Han Lin-êrh was taken prisoner to Nanking and died there in 1367. Other leaders sent in their submission one by one, till, in 1368, Duke Chu Yüan-chang of Wu deemed the time ripe to despatch his general Hsü Ta to Peking, which, after a few fights on the way, he captured with so little pillage that the markets were not even suspended for a single day. The Mongol Emperor Timur Tohan fled into the desert, and the MING dynasty,—already practically in power for ten years in Nanking, was proclaimed in the old capital of Kublai as well as in the south.

(8) *In the days of the MING.*

In some respects, the revolution that ousted the cosmopolitan Mongols from China looks rather like a reversion to a narrow, reactionary nationalism and has led some critics to scold that fourteenth century world for missing an opportunity to effect the unity of mankind. The Mongols, it is suggested, had, at one stage at least, hankered after an understanding with the culture, even with the religion of Europe, but Europe had not risen to the occasion. Practically Europe meant the Christian, mainly the Catholic church, which was distracted by the rival claims of Roman and Avignon popes and anti-popes and in spite of bright exceptions from Francis of Assisi to Thomas-a-Kempis, was passing through the most unspiritual stage of its history. France and England, which allied, might have led the western world, were involved in long dynastic wars and rivalries and no one cared or realized what was happening in the east. The east, which, might have found some use for the Kingdom of God, was as indifferent to the claims of Rome and Avignon as it was ignorant of those of Plantagenets and Valois.

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Also, when all is said, the Mongol rule was a chaos of tribes in a very low stage of political development, barbarous and violent. What wonder that the Chinese, with a long memory of national culture behind them, turned against all foreign ways and sought to restore the ancient time-proven practices of their race ?

Chu Yüan-chang (Emperor Ming T'ai Tsu) reigned under the nien-hao Hung Wu in great splendour at Nanking, till 1399. He expanded the city to more than three times its previous area, building the present walls and the palace whose ruins are familiar to modern tourists. A little to the east of the city, under a gigantic mound of earth and stone, said to have been brought from all the provinces of China and almost worthy to rival the burial-hill of Ts'in Shih Huang-ti itself, approached by a semi-circular avenue of statues and strange stone beasts, he lies at the foot of the Mountain of Purple Gold.

The temple of Ch'i-hua Ssŭ, on the hill behind Huang Shan, to the south-west of Chinkiang, belongs to this reign. It is an offshoot of the far more famous Monastery of the same name in Anhui and like the latter a shrine of that Ti-tsang P'usa, whom the Japanese call Jiso, of whom it is said that he descended into the nether world to assuage the pains of souls in torment and that he is the special friend and lover of little children. There is another shrine of Ti-tsang in Chinkiang, a conspicuous red temple near the bend in the railway line not far from the south-west corner of the city wall and there a large, fallen, stone tablet bears an inscription, with no legible date, but which looks as if it might be very old.

All through the Ming period, Japanese piratical raids form a feature in the history of the coast provinces of China, not least in that of Chinkiang and the Yangtze estuary. In 1374 a Japanese Emperor, whose name is given in Chinese as Liang Hui, promised to put an end to piracy. But he failed to keep his word, and one Wang Chên, sent to Japan with a fleet, captured the whole Japanese navy at the Loo-choo Islands.

In 1387 T'ang Ho was entrusted with the defence of the coast. He established fifty-nine mutually supporting naval stations and enrolled a force of 58,000 men. It was decreed that one in four of the coast population should serve against the Japanese.

Ming T'ai Tsu was succeeded, 1399, by his grandson, Chu Yün-wên (Ming Hui Ti,-nien-hao Chien Wên), but either he was arrogant to his uncles or they were disloyal to him. In his fourth year (1403) he was displaced by his uncle Chu Ti (Ming

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Ch'êng Tsu, famous under the nien-hao Yung Lo) who had already, as Prince of Yen, ruled for thirteen years past in Peking. He reigned till 1425, and was as great a warrior as his contemporary Henry the Fifth of England. He is said, first in his march to the north, then in his march south again, to have swept the whole plain northward of the Yangtze with his besom; the one city that dared resist him was removed, brick by brick, till not a trace of it remained. At Nanking he rebuilt and decorated the famous Porcelain Pagoda—266 feet high—which formed the chief ornament of the city till its destruction by the T'aip'ings. In the courtyard of the Bridge House Hotel in the riverside suburb of Hsiakuan a very fine stone turtle bears on its back a large slab dating from this reign. What happened to the little emperor, his nephew, is variously told; he disappeared, and one tale tells how forty years afterwards, he was discovered in a monastery by the attention attracted to some verses that he had written.

During the Yung Lo reign Peking became again the Capital, as it had been under the Mongols and the chief interest of Chinese history passes to the north, where struggles with this or that Mongol chief or tribe, rebuilding or duplicating of Great Walls, construction of Imperial Mausolea, fortification and embellishment of the metropolis, organization of a field force with artillery, development of the administration, etc., shared with vast literary enterprises the attention of the government. Yet Nanking preserved, all through the Ming era, the paraphernalia of a second Metropolis, with Six Boards, as at Peking, as though it was kept in reserve to afford, if need should arise, a help in time of trouble. It remained a vast city, adorned with its palace and its porcelain-lined pagoda and from it fleets under eunuch commanders, Ch'êng Ho, Wang Ching-hung, Ma Pin and others, set sail down the Yangtze at various dates from 1405 to 1429, to visit Siam, Malacca, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, Persia and perhaps, Zanzibar, returning with presents which they called tribute rendered in acknowledgement of the Ming pretention to the universal sovereignty of the world.

Far beyond the stone walls of Nanking, an immense earth rampart, some fifty to sixty miles in circuit, enclosed all the outer suburbs. The various openings in this rampart may be traced to this day by the occurrence of the word "mên"—gate,—in the names of surrounding villages and localities.

In those days there lived a Mohammedan poet, Ting Ho-nien, whose grandfather had served Kublai. When his native place, Wuch'ang, was taken by the Mings, Ting and his mother fled to Chinkiang (1364), where, by five years' abstention from regular

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food, he won the name of Ting Hsiao Tzũ,—Ting the Dutiful Son. He steadily refused to serve the Ming and his poems, written among the ruins of his old home, are laments of the fallen greatness of the Mongols. But, ere he died in 1424, he had become a pious Buddhist.

In 1417 Japanese raids were renewed, but they were beaten off in 1419, with great loss, and piracy stopped for a long time.

In 1420 a witch, T'ang Sai-êrh, originally a serving maid at an inn, deluded vast multitudes in Shantung by her enchantments and raised a revolt. About the same time, the Peking government being busy with a war against a Tartar chief named Alutai, who claimed to be the heir of the Mongol-Yüan dynasty, Chu Kao-hsü, a son of the Yung Lo Emperor, enrolled three thousand men and created a rebellious disturbance in Nanking. But he was pardoned in 1417 and later rose to be governor of Shantung. There he rebelled again in 1426, was taken prisoner and brought to Peking in chains. The Emperor, Chu Chan-chi (Ming Hsüan Tsung, nien-hao Hsüan-Tê, 1426-1436) went to see him, stumbled over a shackle and upset a caldrom of boiling water, whereby the prisoner was so severely scalded that he died of the injuries.

In this reign the manufacture of brass ware flourished so greatly that you will find quite half the brass pots in China marked to this day with the nien-hao "Ta Ming Hsüan Tê." After all, these words are as easy to cast or engrave in brass as any other in the Chinese language and the attribution need not be taken too seriously as evidence of date.

The next reign, that of a son, or, some say, a supposititous son, of Hsüan Tsung, named Chu Chi-chên, affords the only instance since Mongol times of the use of more than one nien-hao by a single Emperor. He (Ming Ying Tsung) called his reign Chêng T'ung till 1450. Then he was captured by the Oirad (Wala) Mongols, and till 1457 his brother Chu Chi-yü reigned in his stead, as "Substitute Emperor" (Ming Ching Ti, or Tai Tsung, nien-hao Ching T'ai) better than Ying Tsung ever did. But Ying Tsung was ransomed from the enemy and after a while, restored, to reign again under the nien-hao T'ien Shun,—1457 to 1465, and with others, the Prime Minister, Yü Hsien, who had conducted affairs for the substitute emperor, was put to death by th *ling ch'ih* process. At a later date they were revered as patriots only second to the famous Yo Fei and Yü Hsien's memorial temple, at the southern side of the Hangchou West Lake, to-day balances Yo Fei's grave at the northern end.

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The history of Chu Chien-shên (Ming Hsien Tsung, nien-hao Ch'êng Hua, 1465 to 1488), under whom porcelain manufacture flourished and the Manchus were first heard of, is made up of palace intrigues and the misdeeds of various eunuchs and is wholly unedifying. A governor of Shansi, Ho Ch'iao-hsin, who had dealt wisely with a famine there, was transferred in 1487 to Nanking, where he put down the oppressions of the eunuchs. Of another good minister of the time, Wang Shu, it was said that the two Capitals have twelve Boards, but only one Wang Shu.

Chu Yu-t'ang (Ming Hsiao Tsung, nien-hao Hung Chih, 1488 to 1506) came next, reputed the best of the Mings. Under him the law-code "Ta Ming Hui Tien" was prepared and the great Temple of Confucius at Ch'üfou, Shantung, burnt down and restored.

The reign of Chu Hou-chao (Ming Wu Tsung, nien-hao Chêng Tê—1506 to 1522) saw the first serious internal rebellion against the Ming, that of a prince of the blood, Chu Hao, who revolted in Kiangsi. The Emperor wanted him to be left at large in the Poyang Lake till His Majesty should have leisure to come and hunt him in person and the people said that though the rebels combed them with combs and the troops with fine-toothed combs, the officers shaved them with razors. The rebels took Anch'ing and would have come down river to attack Nanking but that the imperial commander forestalled the move by a counter-offensive and marched straight at Nanch'ang, the heart of the trouble (1518), without waiting for the emperor.

Just at this point of time Portuguese navigators appear on the scene; in 1511 Alphonso de Albuquérque took Malacca; in 1515, Raphael Perestrella and in 1519 Fernando Pirez de Andrade landed in China. The intercourse with the west, which the Ming nationalist reaction had combined with militant Turkish Islam to interrupt, was restored by this turning of the Turkish flank, never to be wholly broken off again.

With the reign of Chu Hou-tsung, brother of the last (Ming Shih Tsung, nien-hao Chia Ching, 1522 to 1566), we come upon the oldest gravestones on which I have read legible dates in the vast collection of cemeteries that extend over the little hills south and west from Chinkiang. One such grave, with a stone of some fine white marble, bears a date answering to 1553. But there must be others far older; one, for instance, with remains of stone horses outside the south wall of the city, appears to be the remnant of a very ancient monument, but I found no inscription on it and have not traced its origin.

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And now, after an interval of over a century, we hear again of Japanese raids. Henceforth, in one part or another of the coast, they are of almost yearly occurrence.

One Yü Ta-yu won a victory over the Japanese in 1542. In 1550, however, they raided up the Yangtze again, took T'ungchou (?) and Chinkiang and threatened Nanking. On many of the hills round Chinkiang beacon mounds are still plainly to be seen that date from this period. There is one on "Mount Stronach" a little beyond Mr. Bovyer's school for orphan girls. Another is on the high hill behind Ch'i-hua Ssŭ. Two or more are on high land by the Yangtze, a few miles lower down, at Ta Chiang. There are plenty of others. Indeed, almost every hill top seems to be scarred with trenches and earthworks and mounds, dating, I dare say, from many different periods, but some of them belonging, I suggest, to the days of the Japanese raids.

For three months the Japanese plundered the country round Chinkiang, then retired laden with their booty. In this, or some other raid of the time, they would seem to have met a severe check between Langshan and Nant'ungchou, where, by the roadside, stands a great cairn, said to cover the remains of a vast number of their dead and near it is a statue and memorial to the Chinese general who repulsed them.

In 1562, angered, it is said, by stoppage of trade, they invaded Fukien, taking and sacking Hsinghua and other cities, but the same Yü Ta-yu who had beaten them before repeated his triumphs, by the use of some instrument called a "Tu Lun Ch'ê" (Single Wheeled Chariot ?).

The next short reign, of Chu Tsai-hou (Ming Mu Tsung, nien-hao Lung Ch'ing, 1567-1572), was occupied by a war with a Mongol chief named Anda, and by Yellow River troubles, and I possess no notes of local occurrences.

But there are, round Chinkiang, quite a number of graves with dates in the long and miserable reign of Chu Yi-chien (Ming Shên Tsung, nien-hao Wan-li, 1573 to 1620). Also, as I have already mentioned, there is still legible an inscription over the gateway spanning the road at Kuanyin's Cave recording a restoration of that monument in the 10th year of Wan-li, 1582. This was the year in which the head eunuch, Fêng Pao, who had till then held the emperor under his thumb by telling tales about him to his mother, was banished from court and died at Nanking.

When not kept busy by a Japanese raid, those Ming dynasty Chinese must have lived rather stagnant lives. There were pilgrimages, of course; temples were well patronised; Chin Shan and Chiao Shan were adorned with fine halls and pagodas.

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The tall, stone pagoda whose shell still stands by the canal bank about a mile outside the south gate is a Ming erection. The Bamboo Grove (Chu-lin Ssŭ) was then, as now, a place of resort, and so no doubt, further afield, were Mao Shan and Hua Shan, whither the spring pilgrims flock in such numbers to-day.

A Ming worthy left his jade-studded belt at Chiao Shan, where it is kept by the Abbot in just such a box as that which contains the belt of the Sung poet, Su Tung-po, at Golden Island.

The city walls were rebuilt,—those dating from Nan T'ang times having, it would seem, been pulled down under the Mongols.

Though there was but little increase of population from the Hung Wu to the Wan Li reign, the amount of land under cultivation and the revenue from it had about doubled, when one might infer a fair degree of diffused prosperity.

In 1592 occurred the great Japanese invasion and conquest of Korea, under the reign of the famous Shogun Hideyoshi. The Japanese generals sent home shiploads of human ears, pickled, to make a "hill of ears" at Kobe and prove that, this time, Korea really was conquered. In 1594 China intervened in the struggle, and we hear of victories both by land and sea. The spirit of old Kuan Yü, the third century hero of Shu-Han whom Sun Ch'uan put to death in 219, was credited with having frightened the Japanese out of Korea and consequently he was imperially proclaimed to be a god and has ever since been worshipped as Kuan Ti, the War God, all over China. Otherwise, the net result of this war, which lasted till 1600, was that Korea was laid desolate and has never since recovered its ancient prosperity, that the weakness of China as a fighting power was demonstrated to watchful Manchu neighbours on the north of Korea, that the finances of the Ming Empire were seriously strained and that Japan toppled over towards that revolution,—Hideyoshi having died in 1598,—whereby his dynasty was replaced in 1603 by Ieyasu of the Tokugawa line, who soon shut up the country against all foreign intruders and held sway in feudal seclusion till past the middle of the nineteenth century.

In 1595 the Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci, who, with Roggero and others, had been in the south for sixteen years, attempted to settle in Nanking. He was refused admittance, but, after some travelling, came back in 1598 or 1599 and had better luck, for a Mission was established by the Hung Wu gate. Shortly after, he started up the Grand Canal for Peking, and got as far as Linch'ing chou in Shantung, where, some official wiseacre taking him for a Japanese spy, he spent a season in jail, till the peace

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set him free to go on to Peking (1601), to labour there with immense zeal and no small success and die in 1610.

For the seventy years or so that begin with the reign of the Wan Li emperor, the history of China is as tragic a tale as any in human records. Ming Shên Tsung himself was a cypher, though a greedy and grasping cypher, a degenerate never seen but by his eunuchs and harem women, who only once in the thirty-five years from his attainment of majority to his death, received his Ministers in public audience. Strife of parties, offices kept vacant, unrelieved distress in the provinces, iniquitous taxes arbitrarily levied by eunuchs, absurd monopolies and regulations about silver mines, the middle classes ruined, the poor driven by intolerable conditions to brigandage, brigandage breeding famine, famine deepening to cannibalism;—such is the picture met with year after year, mingled with risings of aborigines, Mongol invasions, floods of the Yellow River (1578, 1588, 1592) which there were no funds to deal with, so that a little later, 1624, the town of Hsüchou had to be evacuated because the government was too poor to repair the dykes.

Just one year before "the avaritious monarch left a ruined country to his feeble successors" (Giles), a portent had appeared in the far north-east. Ever since the Japanese-Korean war, storm clouds had been gathering in that quarter, where the little confederation of Nüchên tribes, now known as Manchu, had been gradually shaping themselves into a nation under a chieftain of genius, Nurhachu, and giving trouble along the Liaotung border. In 1619 Nurhachu's capture of Fushun—where the South Manchuria Railway Co's coal-mines are now,—was followed by a series of battles at and round Shahu, to the east of Mukden, in which the Chinese lost fifty thousand men and in a moment, the Manchu trouble, from being a mere frontier disturbance, grew into a contest involving the whole future of eastern Asia.

Chu Ch'ang-lo (Ming Kuang Tsung,-nien-hao T'ai Ch'ang) son of Shên Tsung, reigned but one month of 1620, but is credited, ere he was poisoned, with having tried to start reforms.

His infant son and successor, Chu Yu-ch'iao (Ming Hsi Tsung, nien-hao T'ien Ch'i, 1621 to 1628) was a mere tool in the hands of an unscrupulous nurse and her paramour, the sham eunuch Wei Chung-hsien, the "Lord of Nine Thousand Years" to whom temples were ordered to be erected for his worship as the peer of Confucius. It is useless to detail the tale of their profligate tyranny. The Chinese paid the price.

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Two stones with long inscriptions dating from the T'ien Ch'i reign stand in the village outside the south gate of Chinkiang. And on the road to the Bamboo Grove Temple, a little beyond a very interesting village temple, Chang Kung T'zŭ, with an elaborately carved p'ailou in front and a large theatre attached, there is a little bridge over a stream, with the name Mi Fên Ch'iao. In a neighbouring field are two monuments, of which one is weatherbeaten and all but undecipherable, but the other modern and in good repair, with a record that it marks the resting-place of Mi Nan Kung, poet and local historian of Chinkiang, who died in the fourth year of T'ien Ch'i.

In the same year the Governor of Fukien captured twelve "red haired" Dutchmen at Amoy ;—another portent, some might say another of the vultures that gathered round the dying carcase of the Ming Empire. Portuguese, Spaniards and Dutch sometimes took a leaf out of the Japanese book in the south and confirmed the suspicion that all over-sea strangers were pirates.

By the end of the T'ien Ch'i reign the Manchu power, with Mukden as its capital, had absorbed everything from the Amoor to the Great Wall except Ningyüan and Shanhaikuan.

The northern provinces inside the Wall had risen, too, under Hsü Hung-ju of the "White Lily" secret society.

Chu Yu-chien, brother of the last Emperor (Ming Huai Tsung, commonly called Chuang-lieh Ti, nien-hao Ch'ung Chêng, 1628 to 1644) began his reign by removing eunuchs and evil counsellors. But ere long the old clouds gathered ; eunuchs were set to spy on the doings of the regular officials ; the government trusted nobody and nobody trusted the government. Graft was universal, armies existed only on paper, the very guns on the gates of Peking were merely painted boards.

Year by year the Manchus raided more widely and more boldly. Thrice they were at the very gates of Peking (1629, 1636, 1638), twice they crossed the sea to Shantung (1633, 1639),—all eastern Mongolia was theirs. In 1636 the son of Nurhachu proclaimed himself Emperor of the Ch'ing Dynasty. But Shanhaikuan and Ningyüan, though blockaded nearly twice as long as Troy had been by the Greeks of old, still held firm and while they were true to the Ming, the Manchu raiders could hold none of their conquests.

But there had arisen in China itself a force which undid all that the defenders of these two fortresses could accomplish. In the year 1629 arose two brigand kings, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng and Chang Hsien-chung, whose deeds read more like the nightmare of a diseased imagination than the doings of sane humanity. For

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many years they were driven from province to province and though never reduced to impotence, held more or less in check. With all his faults, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng was a born military genius; if he taught his cavalry horses to drink out of the stomachs of slain men, or if he drowned three hundred thousand by opening the Huang-ho dykes at K'aifêng, he ceased from indiscriminate slaughter when the purposes of his rebellion seemed likely to be attained.

After the capture of K'aifêng (1642) the rebellion rose like a flood. The T'ungkuan pass was forced; the horde, hundreds of thousands strong swarmed through Shensi, putting to the sword the garrison of every city that opposed them; then, crossing the north of Shansi, poured down through Nank'ou into the Peking plain and took one of the city gates. On April 9, 1644, Li Tzŭ-ch'êng was master of the town. The Emperor slew the eldest princess, commanded the Empress to commit suicide, sent his three sons into hiding, wrote a last decree on the lapel of his coat, to say that he had incurred the wrath of God on high, had been deceived by his ministers and was ashamed to meet his ancestors, and hanged himself on an acacia tree on the Wan Sui hill behind the Palace.

Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, now proclaimed Emperor of the Shun Dynasty, only held Peking, however, for two months. Wu San-kuei, who was holding Shanhaikuan for the Ming, hearing of these events and that his father and his wife were both captives in the hands of the insurgents, suddenly determined on a bold stroke.

T'ai Tsung of the Manchus, son of Nurhachu, had died the previous year. He is buried in a splendid sepulcre among the pine woods of Peiling at Mukden,—his father being entombed a little further from that city at Tungling. At the moment the Manchus were under the nominal rule of a little boy of five years old, Prince Fu-lin, for whom an uncle, Durgan, acted as Regent. With this Durgan Wu San-kuei put himself into communication and when Li Tzŭ-ch'êng marched eastward he was met at Yung-p'ing Fu by Wu and his new Manchu allies defeated and driven back in disorder to Peking (June, 1644).

Four months later (October) the little prince Fu-lin was installed as Emperor of the Manchu-Ch'ing dynasty in Peking, with nieh-hao Shun Chih. The bulk of northern China, too exhausted with a generation of famine and civil war to do otherwise, submitted readily enough. Li Tzŭ-ch'êng was chivied from pillar to post through Shansi, Shensi, Honan, Hupei, to some place among lonely mountains where the rotting remains of

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his corpse, only recognizable by the imperial robes which wrapped them, were discovered by a party of peasants.

His former pal, Chang Hsien-chung, now "Emperor of the West," after placing all the women and children of Yochou on boats, floating them to the middle of the Tungting Lake and setting fire to them all, was rapidly depopulating Ssŭch'uan by a series of massacres that puts anything told of Mongols in Persia or Turks in Armenia quite out of court. But gradually, after he had put about six million people to death, Chang and his crew were hemmed in and within a few years the desolated provinces that he had ruined were occupied for the Manchus and the relics of his armies slipped away southward to join the last supporters of the lost cause of the Ming.

(9) *CHINKIANG a Manchu Garrison Town.*

Very large parts of China, deeming the Manchus to be merely northern barbarians, were by no means ready to forsake their old allegiance. In the Wan Li reign a son of the then Emperor, suspected of disloyal designs, had been rusticated to Loyang in Honan with the title of Fu Wang and given some feudal privileges. He was slain in 1641 during Li Tzŭ-ch'êng's revolt, but had left a son, Chu Fu, also known as Fu Wang, a notoriously worthless voluptuary, round whom a loyalist party, led by a very notable statesman Shih K'o-fa, rallied. At the time of the Manchu entry into Peking this party held a long line of mutually-supporting garrisons from Shensi down the Yellow River to Shantung, besides the canal to the lower Yangtze and it looked as if either a treaty of partition might be patched up or that the struggle of Ming and Manchu would be fought out in Shantung.

Even at the first, however, there was a doubt as to which of several Ming princes it would be wisest to enthrone. Shih K'o-fa himself favoured a certain Prince of Lu, as being of better character than Prince Fu, but to avoid dissensions acquiesced in the latter's elevation, and he was accordingly proclaimed in Nanking. Thereupon one Kao Chieh, who had been holding the T'ung Kuan pass in Shensi, abandoned his station and marched with his troops right across China to Yangchou, murdering one of the other commanders on the way. Shih K'o-fa went out to meet him and was taken prisoner at Kuachou, opposite Chinkiang, but escaped.

These and other dissentions among the Ming partisans naturally enabled the Manchus and their now numerous Chinese allies, to suppress the resistance that had been set up in Shantung and by January, 1645, they were in front of Hsüchou and Such'ien.

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At Such'ien Shih K'o-fa inflicted a temporary check upon them, but Kao Chieh deserted to their side and ere long, the Ming armies were in open anarchy, fighting one another and letting the Manchus advance along the canal to Tsingkiangpu and Huaian. Shih K'o-fa, with thirty thousand men, was preparing to defend Yangchou, when the news that another pro-Manchu army was marching by a more westerly route on Nanking induced him to fall back on P'uk'ou. But when the Manchus were before Yangchou, Shih hurried thither. After a siege of only two days the place was stormed and an appalling ten days of pillage and massacre, vividly described in Backhouse and Bland's "Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking," laid the town in ruins, Shih K'o-fa was among the slain.

At Nanking all was confusion. By June, 1645, the Manchus were on the banks of the Yangtze, encamped at P'uk'ou and Fu Wang in flight to Wuhu, where he was captured and sent a prisoner to Peking. Some of the Manchus crossed over to Chinkiang and occupied Golden Island, but the bulk remained camped along the northern shore, for a diversion from an unexpected quarter had arisen and the lower Yangtze was in the hands of a new power, professing allegiance to the Ming, though not to Fu Wang and certainly little inclined to submit to the Manchus.

This new power was that of the Fukien pirate clan of the Chêngs. Their family temple may still be seen on the shore, near the mouth of Anhai harbor, a little to the north of Amoy, for the clan is not a little proud even to-day of its seventeenth century representatives and their prowess and preserves interesting portraits of these redoubtable buccaneers.

At the time we are speaking about the Chêngs had been influential, not to say practically independent, for about twenty years. In 1629—the year in which Li Tzŭ-ch'êng had emerged in the north,—their chief Chêng Chih-lung, till then a free lance, had made his peace with the government, who, either then or later, gave him the right to adopt the Imperial surname of Chu, whence his son Chêng Ch'êng-kung,—born in Formosa of a Japanese mother,—came to be known as "Kuo Hsing Yeh"—the "Gentleman with the National Surname," or, as the European writers of the time spelt it, Koxinga.

About the time when the Manchus began to menace the Yangtze and Fu Wang seemed shaky, several other Ming princes were proclaimed further to the south. For instance a prince of Lu, Chu Chang-fang, had been enthroned in Hangchou,—not, apparently the same Lu Wang whom Shih K'o-fa had been

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disposed to favour. But he soon fell, to be replaced by another claimant, Chu Yu-chieh, a descendant in the tenth generation of the twenty-third son of old Chu Yüan-chang, the founder of the line (Ming T'ai Tsu), and known as T'ang Wang, whom the "pirate" chief of Fukien, Chêng Chih-lung, found and set up as sovereign in Foochow. In the T'ang Wang's name Chêng sent a naval force forthwith up the Yangtze, under a cousin named Chêng Hung-kuei.

Arriving at Chinkiang just as the Manchu army was crossing over to Golden Island, they obliged the Manchus to desist from that operation and go further up stream. From Nanking, however, the Manchus floated down on rafts and after receiving some cannonading from Chêng Hung-kuei, they took Chinkiang and Tanyang, whereupon Chêng retreated to the mouth of the River. What else might have happened had the Ming party possessed any unity of leadership it is useless to speculate, for just then Chêng Chih-lung deserted to the Manchu side.

For the south was not solid in favour of the pirates' sovereign. A powerful party in Kuangtung had set up yet another Emperor, Chu Yu-lang, a brother of the Ch'ung Chêng emperor who had hanged himself on the acacia tree in Peking and known as K'uei Wang. The adventures of this K'uei Wang are a long story that does not particularly concern our subject, but from his court at Chao Ch'ing he held out for a good many years and he is noteworthy for the fact that he allowed the Jesuit Missionaries to baptise him, with his mother, his wife and about fifty members of his court, wherefore Father A. Koffler called him the "Constantine of China."

Meanwhile Prince T'ang, deserted by Chêng Chih-lung, was rounded up and eventually slain at Tingchou in Fukien (1646). But Chêng Ch'êng-kung, the Japanese half-caste "Koxinga," now head of the clan, so far from following his father's example and advice and making terms with the conquerors, proclaimed his allegiance to the Cantonese K'uei Wang and had the luck to conquer, in that prince's name, nearly all the coast-line of the south of China.

The history of the next ten years is one of confusion and turmoil all over the south of China, and I need not try to disentangle the details. Canton was taken twice by the Manchus, finally in 1650. Yet it sometimes looked as if the Mings were consolidating a south-China empire as they swarmed up through Kiangsi or Hunan and gathered up the floating fragments of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng's or Chang Hsien-chung's hordes. But, on the whole, the Manchus

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made good and drove the K'uei Wang back step by step to the Burmese frontier and the final dêbacle there in 1660.

In 1656 the Manchus, under a certain Ch'a Chi, won a naval fight off the mouth of the Min, against Chêng Ch'êng-kung. But in 1658 he was out again at the head of 100,000 men and took Wenchou and T'aichou, but the loss of many junks in a storm compelled him to retreat.

Next year, 1659, hearing that the Manchus were preoccupied in Yünnan, Chêng sailed to the mouth of the Yangtze, whence a portion of his fleet, commanded by Chang Huang-yen, sailed up the river, captured Chinkiang and proceeded up-stream as high as Wuhu. Chêng Ch'êng-kung himself occupied Ch'ung-ming Island and after a march into Anhui, entered Nanking in triumph, proclaiming the restoration of the Ming dynasty,—though his sovereign was then at bay, somewhere on the borders of Burma.

He was besieged in Nanking by the Manchus under Liang Hua-fêng and at the end of four months (July to November, 1659) had to surrender the city and flee to Amoy, having lost 500 junks in this expedition.

The failure of the Chêngs' second raid up the Yangtze was promptly followed by energetic steps on the part of the now triumphant Manchu government. Manchu garrisons (Chu Fang), such as had already been posted in twenty-five places in the metropolitan province of Chihli, were stationed in twenty-two centres in other provinces, among them Canton, Foochow, Ch'apu, Hangchou, Chinkiang and Nanking. In each city a special quarter,—in Nanking it was that surrounding the old Palace of the founder of the Mings,—was set aside for the residence of these garrisons and lest pride should fail to keep them apart from the general population, they were forbidden to intermarry with the Chinese. They were supported by a system of doles which was continued long after their military functions had become derisory, but, as we shall see hereafter, at Chinkiang at least, they long preserved their ancient spirit and courage. At first they were feared; to the end they were disliked; in their later years they were despised. There is a remnant of them still in Chinkiang, a remnant whose poverty makes the care of them a serious burden both on the authorities and on public charity, but in the days of their vigour their quarter would seem to have been not only the pleasantest part of Chinkiang but a district of wide, well kept streets and beautiful gardens possessing far more amenities than are at all usual in Chinese cities. There are considerable burial grounds of Manchus of the White and Yellow Banners,

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outside the south-west suburbs, the graves that I have observed dating from the K'anghsi to the Taokuang reign.

At the same time the whole coast population was ordered to retire thirty *li* inland and in fifty-eight districts this order was actually put in force (1660).

Chêng Ch'êng-kung now saw that the Ming cause was hopeless, but he determined, rather than give in to the Manchus, to set up on his own account. To secure a base for operations, he raised a force of twenty-five thousand men and attacked the Dutch settlements in Formosa, which, after nine months' resistance and the loss of 1,600 men, were forced to surrender to him.

It was about this time that the Manchus put to death old Chêng Chih-lung,—the first "pirate king," who had gone over to them in 1646,—together with two of his sons, being annoyed that they had failed to bring about Chêng Ch'êng-kung's submission. This act the latter denounced as treachery and declared he would avenge by carrying on an inplacable war, but shortly afterwards (1662) he died.

A little before Chêng Ch'êng-kung's death, the second Manchu Emperor of China, Hsüan Yeh, so famous under his nien-hao of K'ang-Hsi (1662-1723) came to the throne.

For nineteen years longer Chêng Ch'ing, son of Chêng Ch'êng-kung, carried on the contest against the Manchu, till his death in 1681, and it was not till 1683 that *his* son, Chêng K'o-shuang, bribed by the offer of a title, tendered his submission and the Fukienese Pirate state at length came to an end. But neither Chêng Ch'ing nor Chêng K'o-shuang ever came near Chinkiang.

By this time, too, the great revolt of Wu San-kuei and the other viceroys of the south, that had threatened the newly-formed Manchu Empire with disruption during several years, had been suppressed and China had begun at length to settle down into that long century of internal tranquillity which has given western observers the idea that the Chinese are a peaceful people.

Just a hundred years had elapsed since Nurhachu had succeeded his grandfather (1583) as *beira* of the little Manchu settlement of Hutuala and the command of a band of one hundred and thirty henchmen.

In 1682 a proposal was made that tribute rice from the south, instead of being sent up by canal, should be transported by sea, but on the advice of Isanga, Imperial clansman, inspector of the Yellow River and president of the Board of Revenue, it was not carried out. So the tribute continued to pass Chinkiang as of old.

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For many years Chinese history is concerned with frontier affairs with Russia, with the chieftains Galdan, Tsewang Arabdan, Tsening Arabdan, Amusana, etc., who successively rose to power in the north-western wildernesses, with the organization of Turkestan into the "New Dominion," with Tibet, with Burma, with Nepal, with risings of south-western aboriginal tribes, sometimes with European traders and missionaries, but China herself went on imperturbably and seemingly contendedly, with scarcely a ripple to diversify the steady course of her inward recuperation. The only big fact that characterised the time is a vast increase in population.

1685.—The K'ang Hsi Emperor performed his first southern tour of inspection, visiting Nanking.

1686.—Edict opening the whole coast of China to foreign trade.

1688.—Emperor's second tour, to Nanking and Hangchou.

1692.—Missionaries report 100,000 converts in Kiangsu, Anhui and Kiangsi, and obtain the repeal of an edict of 1671, which, though permitting churches to be reopened, had forbidden proselytising. This is counted as an edict of toleration.

1699.—Emperor's third progress to the south, as far as Hangchou.

1703.—Emperor's fourth progress, all through Kiangnan. At this time Chiang Chün (Manchu Commanders-in-Chief, or "Tartar Generals") were appointed to all provinces, ranking above the Provincial Governors and Governors-General.

Quite a number of the temples in and near Chinkiang have stone tablets of about this date. It might be worth ascertaining whether any of them refer to visits of the Emperor to the town.

In 1705 there were riots in Nanking, caused by an accusation of treason brought against a popular prefect, Ch'ên P'êng-nien. He was imprisoned and condemned to death, but afterwards pardoned and summoned to Peking.

About this time the long controversy between the Jesuits and the Dominicans as to whether Chinese ancestral rites were "idolatrous" and as to whether "T'ien" is a sufficient translation of "God," came to a head and the Pope deciding in favour of the narrower contention of the Dominicans, the prospect of Catholic missionary success in China was darkened. In 1705 the papal Legate, Tournon, reached China and promulgated decrees supporting the Dominican view.

To these decrees the Emperor replied, 1706, by a counter-decree granting toleration only to such Christians as preached

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the "doctrine of Ricci," ordering others to leave for Canton within five days. Tournon, 1707, thereupon forebade the missionaries to submit to investigation by the Emperor's examiners. By 1716 Missionaries had been, with a few exceptions, expelled from China.

In 1720 a new papal Legate, Mezzabarba, attempted to negotiate for the return of the missionaries, but his proposals for a compromise satisfied neither side and the Emperor told him that, the Pope's decree being incompatible with the customs of the Empire, the Christian religion could no longer subsist within it.

In 1722 the K'ang Hsi Emperor died, succeeded by his fourth son, Yü Chêng, nien-hao Yung Chêng,—1723-1736, under whom not only Christianity was rigoriously proscribed, but foreign seaborne trade was confined to the one port of Canton, while the Russian frontier trade was regulated by the Treaty of Kiachta of 1727.

Till this time there had been a good many western commercial visits to various parts of the coast. England had been looking for openings ever since the latter years of Elizabeth, but till the journey of Weddell in Charles the First's reign had had no ships on the coast. But, as the East India Company grew in importance, these ventures multiplied, especially after the reorganization of the Company in William the Third's time. Thus there are two or more English graves at Amoy, with dates 1698 and 1700, and in 1702, Company's ships had been at Ningpo and had "occupied" Chusan. Portugal, though already fallen from her high estate, kept her leasehold of Macao, while Spaniards from the Philippines ran in and out of Amoy and Ch'uan-chou, Hollanders maintained a precarious and humiliating intercourse with Japan and had not forgotten that they had once held Formosa and the Pescadores, and Louis the Fourteenth of France was not blind to the business opportunities that might accrue from patronage of Catholic missionary enterprise. But now all these openings were shut down and apart the neighbouring settlement of Macao, business could only be done through the agency of a "Co-hong" of Cantonese monopolists.

In 1727, Hui Shih-chi, of some celebrity as a poet and writer, was cashiered for remissness in building (repairing ?) the walls of Chinkiang.

In 1736, began the long reign of Hung Li (nien-hao Ch'ien Lung, 1736 to 1795; an able ruler with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, but as determined an opponent of missions as his father.

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1747, Shên Tê-chien, native of Ch'angchou, became tutor to the Emperor's family.

1757, The Emperor and Empress Dowager visited the southern province, staying at Nanking and other places.

1762, Second visit of Emperor and Empress Dowager to Nanking.

1765, Third visit of Emperor and Empress Dowager to Nanking.

1776, The Emperor visited T'aishan and other places in Shantung.

1780, The Emperor made a progress tc the south, building a palace and library on an island in the West Lake at Hangchou and also visiting Nanking.

1785, Fifth and last visit of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor to Nanking.

All these travels of the Ch'ien Lung Emperor afforded occasion not only for festivities, but for the composition of innumerable inscriptions and poems,—he himself being an indefatigable versifier,—and specimens will be found in almost any temple of any pretentions that was favoured by his visits. There are five stone tablets at the Bamboo Grove temple connected with such a visit. He was often at Chinkiang, had a particular love for Golden Island and occupied some ornamental Gardens,—Wu Yüan, the Five Gardens,—at Kuachou.

In 1792, Lord Macartney passed Chinkiang on his way up to Peking to attempt arrangements for diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese court, returning the same way in 1793. He and his party were much impressed with the crossing of the Yangtze and the pagoda-crowned islands.

On the abdication of the old Emperor, his fifteenth son, Yung Yen (nien-hao Chia Ch'ing, 1796-1820) succeeded,—the Ch'ien Lung emperor dying in 1799.

The whole Chia Ch'ing reign is a tale of trouble with pirates, rebels, secret society machinations and palace intrigues, in startling contrast to the tastely dignity of the age that had gone. But the pirate war was too far to the south and the chief rebellion,—in Ssŭch'uan and Hupei,—too far to the west, to have any immediate repercussion on Chinkiang.

In 1813 an assassination plot was made the excuse for giving up the old imperial hunting trips. Henceforth the emperors of the Manchu line were prisoners in their palaces. Twenty thousand executions are alleged to have followed this affair.

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In 1815 drought caused a severe famine, and 170,000 refugees had to be fed in Nanking.

In 1818, Lord Amherst's Mission visited Chinkiang and Nanking on their way to Peking, where they were treated with gross discourtesy.

The next Emperor, Mien Ning (nien-hao Tao Kuang, 1821 to 1850) was a man of amiable character, whose secluded life unfitted him for government.

During the first forty years or so of the nineteenth century quite extraordinary activity seems to have prevailed in and round Chinkiang in the erection of "P'ai-lou"—memorial arches—to faithful widows. Very few are to be seen older than the Chia Ch'ing reign and again, except in a sort of garden attached to a temple on the north side of the new Malou, not many are newer than the Tao Kuang period.

Two very remarkable specimens stand close to the north-west corner of the British Consulate, in its grounds. They bear inscriptions containing several hundred names, arranged chronologically from the beginning of Yung Chêng to near the end of Chia Ch'ing, which date may be taken as that of the erection of the archways. Most of the ladies are described as having received diplomas for fidelity to their husbands, some for fidelity to the memory of their betrothed. An association seems to have been charged with recording such instances and applying to the authorities for diplomas;—perhaps it still exists.

The p'ailous beyond the first village, a little past the Chinkiang railway station on the highroad towards Nanking, bear dates in Taokuang. Those in the valley whence a winding path through woods leads up to Ch'i-hua Ssŭ are rather earlier; of the two still standing one is dated 1806, the other 1813. In almost any ramble in the country round Chinkiang such monuments are to be found and though a few are Ch'ien Lung, the "great age" for faithful widows in these parts seems to have dawned with the year 1800.

In 1824 a serious breach of the Yellow River dykes resulted in the dismissal of the Nanking Viceroy, Sun Yü-t'ing, who was held responsible and in the blocking of the Grand Canal. T'ao Chu, Governor of Kiangsu, and No Yen-ch'êng, Viceroy of Chihli, reviving the old project of 1682,—arranged to have the tribute rice sent north by sea instead of by the Canal.

In 1828 this same T'ao Chu had the Woosung Bar dredged. In 1830 he was promoted to be Nanking Viceroy, and reformed the salt tax administration, making it possible for government tax-paid salt to compete with the unlicenced, smuggled, article.

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But ere long China had graver things to consider. The abolition in 1834 of the East India Company's monopoly, become futile since American (1784), Danish and all sorts of other free-lance ships had entered the trade, threw Canton open to British private enterprise and renewed in far acuter form that question of the need of direct diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese court that the murder of Finch in 1757 had raised and that Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst had failed to settle.

The dispute rapidly deepened into a quarrel and being complicated by tiresome side-issues about the smuggling of opium, led in 1839 to war.

(10) *The coming of the YANG KUEI TZU to Chinkiang.*

At first the operations of the war were, apart from a flying naval visit to the Gulf of Chihli, confined to the south coast, far from Chinkiang. But in the summer of 1842 the British determined to cut the struggle short by such an occupation of the lower Yangtze and its canal communication with Peking as should strangle the conveyance of food and tribute to the capital and to have a look at Nanking.

The Woosung forts were dismantled in June and Shanghai occupied. After the return of some survey ships sent to reconnoitre the river, a fleet of seventy-three sail and several steamers, bearing four brigades of troops, accompanied by the Plenipotentiary Sir Henry Pottinger, started up stream at daylight on July 6, and after various small adventures and delays, were opposite Chinkiang on the 18th.

The story of what happened is, to say the least, very curious as well as tragic. On the whole the local population showed hardly any animosity, except among the official classes, to the invaders. Rather they were anxious to amuse and entertain them, whenever there seemed an opportunity to earn a dollar or two by so doing. Charts of the Yangtze had been copied by Chinese in Macao and sold to the British early in the summer and though a few ships ran aground at one point or another, no really serious difficulty in navigation seems to have been encountered.

It is commonly said in Chinkiang that the fleet anchored in what was then a southern branch of the river between Golden Island and the present railway line, but I have found no explicit confirmation of this in the accounts that I have seen of the operations, though there are references to visits to the island and implications that it was then quite surrounded by navigable water. If I understand the description, there was a creek, supposed to bend round the base of the hills to the south and communicate

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both with the canal below the city (a geological impossibility) and again into the river higher up, and at the mouth of this creek bottom could not be found at twenty fathoms, so the party visiting Chin Shan anchored in ten fathoms, almost among the rushes.

It was the British in this expedition who chose the name of "Silver Island" to designate Chiao Shan,—called in the description before me "Seung Shan" (which may stand for Hsiang Shan the fortified bluff on the mainland abreast of Chiao Shan.) The name, as we all know, has stuck and is still in use among foreign residents, but has no Chinese justification; indeed one of the Chinese names for quite a different hill, that on which the British Consulate stands, is Yin Shan, or Yin T'ai Shan, Silver or Silver-Top Hill, possibly a variant on the Yün Shan of old Mar Sargis' time.

It was chiefly on the north shore, round Kuachou, and up to Shiherhwei, that the British landed or made reconnaissances, or were entertained by Chinese anxious to concilate their good graces. Thus:—"19th July. The *Modeste* . , . was anchored on the "northern shore, across the mouth of the canal and upon my arrival was surrounded by punts full of men and vegetables, fish, bullocks and all the good things the country provided. These were intended as 'cumshaw' . . . ," etc. (Captain Granville G. Loch's "Campaign in China," p. 86).

Meanwhile the Manchu garrison in Chinkiang city prepared to put up a strenuous resistance and had planted batteries along the heights beyond the south western suburbs. On the 21st the British landed and scaled the bluff on the mainland opposite Golden Island,—this must mean the Consulate hill or its extensions southward,—then moved as fast as the great heat would allow up a valley leading to the heights (Paokai Shen ?) which the garrison had manned, and took those positions at the point of the bayonet, driving the defenders back to the city walls. Then, by a well directed shot, the west gate of the city was blown in, the shot driving the gate itself down the street beyond, yet doing no damage whatever to the brickwork of the gateway.

In a moment the British were in Chinkiang to find there a scene of indescribable horror. What the Manchu garrison expected the troops to do to them I find it hard to understand. Perhaps it was not the British but the native population and the wrath of their own Imperial court that they were afraid of. The General had set fire to his own quarters and burnt himself in the flames. In almost every house in the Manchu quarter were dead or dying women, slain by their own or their relatives' hands. The whole town seemed to have either fled or committed suicide and

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Chinese plunderers were looting everywhere among the bloodshed and confusion. Some of the garrison seem to have been massacred by the people of surrounding villages, where the whole country side broke into an orgy of anarchy, but one body made its way through to Nanking to reinforce the garrison there.

This horrible affair brought the Chinese government to its knees. An Imperial Commissioner arrived on the scene almost at the moment that Chinkiang fell and on the 28th of August the Treaty of Nanking was signed on board H.M.S. *Cornwallis* abreast that city.

I do not propose to pursue the story of Chinkiang in detail during the eighty years that have since elapsed. Its capture by the British was a very heavy blow to Manchu prestige and it reverberated through the south in a manner that shook the stability of the dynasty. Within a few years rebellion on a far wider scale than had been seen since the middle of the seventeenth century had the land in its clutches.

Early in 1853 the Ch'ang Mao,—"Long Haired" rebels,—under Hung Hsiu-ch'uan,—swarmed down the Yangtze, taking Nanking on the 24th of March, Chinkiang on the 1st of April, Yangchou on the 2nd,—and proclaiming the "T'ai P'ing T'ien Kuo,"—the Heavenly Kingdom of Peace.

They held Chinkiang till 1857, though the Imperialists, who early recovered Yangchou and Kuachou, established a blockade almost from the first and made many efforts to retake the city. It was during this siege that the T'aip'ings dug the remarkable line of trenches, ten or eleven miles in total length, that begin on Ewo Shan and sweep round over hill and dale till they approach the bank of the Yangtze away beyond the eastern side of the town. They made a fairly complete devastation of the surrounding country, especially of its temples and religious monuments of every sort. Nearly all will be found to have been rebuilt, or to have needed wholesale restoration, since those days and many are either still in ruins or at the present time being repaired, not always on their old scale.

Then, in 1858, came the second war with England, when, though the British and their French allies were fighting the Imperial government both north and south, they preserved a neutrality, much more benevolent to the government than to the rebels, in those provinces which the latter were devastating.

About 1860 a very able military Commander of the T'aip'ings known as Chung Wang, the Faithful King, greatly revived the flagging fortunes of the rebellion. For a time Shanghai itself was in imminent danger of capture, but, thanks to the efforts

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of the "Ever Victorious Army"—of which Gordon, somewhat later assumed command, disaster to the imperialists was averted and the T'aip'ings gradually hemmed in till the end came with the fall of Nanking in 1864.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the Treaty of Tientsin, negotiated in 1858 but only ratified after a further campaign and the occupation of Peking in 1860, Chinkiang, or such ruins of Chinkiang as the combatants in the T'aip'ing war had left, was declared a Port open to foreign trade. In 1861 a site was leased and laid out for a British Concession and just outside the Concession, on the side of Yin T'ai Shan, land was acquired for a Consulate.

Some years passed before that site was occupied. At first the British Consul lived at Chiao Shan (so-called Silver Island). Then a house was rented on the slope near Kuanyin's Cave,—the spot and, subject to later alterations, the premises, now occupied by the Chinese Life Saving Association which professes to be part-owner of most of the river foreshore.

A very interesting old photograph shows Chinkiang in 1867, with the Concession lots marked out by boundary walls, but only one house completed, about the position of the present Post Office. The Consulate hill is shown bare of trees and with no buildings on it above the line of the Kuan-yin Cave except the memorial arches of the eighteenth-century widows. The T'aip-ings had destroyed the temple that had once stood alongside these arches, and of which carved stones and other scraps are discoverable, here and there, in the Consulate garden.

In those days, though the 1867 photograph indicates very little, if any, building on Kan-lu Ssŭ headland, Consuls used sometimes to resort to that picturesque spot to spend week-ends, whence the place came to receive the name of "Consular Bluff."

After a while a Consulate was built on the site acquired in 1861, as shown in a plan of 1874. But on 5th February, 1889, that first Consulate was burnt in a riot with several other neighbouring houses, both inside and outside the Concession and in 1890 the present British Consulate was erected.

By degrees the city recovered and its holy places, Chiao Shan, Chin Shan (no longer an island, unless at very high floods), Ch'i-hua Ssŭ, the Bamboo Grove temple, etc. etc., were restored and redecorated. Especially on Kan-lu headland a charming group of memorial temples was built, into the walls of which were inserted such inscriptions as had been preserved from the old buildings,—one or two date from the first Manchu reign, Shun

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Chih,—and became a favorite resort for native picnic parties. One of these shrines is dedicated to the great Sung schoolman, Chu Hsi, another to the famous Admiral of the Yangtze, P'êng Yü-lin, who had done such excellent service against the T'aip'-ings, yet remained to the end a simple-minded, incorruptible barbarian of the old school, who never could understand why modern delicacy frowned when, in the French troubles of 1885, he proposed to send emissaries to Singapore to poison any French officers who might be enjoying British hospitality there. And there are many others.

Here my tale must end, or I might be tempted to dilate on the hopes and disappointments connected with the fluctuations of foreign trade, to discuss Sir Robert Hart's anticipation that Chinkiang might some day eclipse Shanghai as a commercial centre, to describe the introduction and development of mission enterprise (by the way, among the graves in the present foreign cemetery, is that of Dr. Hudson Taylor who founded the China Inland Mission in 1866),—the coming of the Railway, diverting much of the old trade of the port to its terminus at Nanking, yet admitting that this loss is set off by gains in other ways,—modern motor-launch traffic up the canal and how much more there might be if the brigands would permit,—oil tanks, flour mills, match factories, silk and silk brocade works,—not to mention corn and produce exchange projects,—the rearming of the Hsiang Shan, Chiao Shan and Tu T'ien Miao batteries and the part these played in the abortive "second revolution" of 1913,—and most burning question of all, the onward-creeping growth of the Chêng Jên Chou spit and the great debate whether the British Concession has a right of pre-emption over foreshore accretions or whether these have been bought up by Chinese purchasers. But these and all such topics are present-day Chinkiang politics, not yet ripe to form the material of history.

[CORRIGENDA:—P. 195, line 24, for "1. Preliminary of Yangchou (B.C. 200)" read "1. Preliminary:—(to B.C. 200). Yangchou." P. 201, line 32, for "Sun Wu" read "Wu Tzŭ-hsü."]

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ANCIENT RELIGIONS OF CHINA

BY

REV. C. WAIDTLOW,

Danish Missionary Society.

INTRODUCTION.

While the ancient history of most countries generally is interwoven with the religion current at those times and is full of mythological tales, this is not the case with the existing records of Chinese history. The classical works contain hardly a hint of religion, and with very few exceptions, mythology is not to be found in them. This seems strange, and we are led to ask for the cause. Something unusual must have happened to create this remarkable fact. According to my understanding the answer must be, that some of the leading men of old China had a tendency to leave religion alone and stick to moral philosophy only. Man (大夫, i.e., the great master) has taken the most important place in the religious system, and the said leaders have at the same time sought to transfer certain designations from the gods to man. The name "Son of Heaven," originally used for a god, has been transferred to the emperor, and other religious designations have been given to the high dignitaries of the empire. In the same way, names of ancient gods have been given to countries, stars, etc. In short, the religious has in many ways been explained away.

This method was already being followed during the time of the Chou Dynasty, but the end of the Western and the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty saw the work accomplished, i.e., during the first Christian century. Great men such as the historians Ssŭ-ma-t'an (died B.C. 110) and more especially his renowned son, the Herodotus of China, Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien (died B.C. 85), were then flourishing, as well as Liu-hsiang (died B.C. 9) and his son, Liu-hsin (about the time of the birth of Christ), the historian Pan-ku (died A.D. 92) and the philosophers Yang-hsiung

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(died A.D. 18) and Wang-ch'ung (died A.D. 98). Pan-ku seeks in his history of the Western Han Dynasty to supplement the work of his great colleague, Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien. In the classification of the subject he follows Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien's method, a proof of the renown already attained by the work of this author. But the two historians had different religious opinions, because these changed with the different dynasties. Though Wang-ch'ung himself had very little to do with the religious reformation at the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty, he may nevertheless be said to show the materialistic tendency of the time. He is not only a great opponent of superstition* but really a materialist†. At least it is certain, that the official religious opinion in vogue at the time of the Eastern Han Dynasty has been continued with little or no alteration until the present day. It is strange to notice, that just when Buddhism enters China the religious stagnation of the country is beginning. We may well ask: What would have happened, if Christianity at that time, which seems to have been a "fullness of time" for China, had come to the country?

As the Eastern Han Dynasty at its beginning took up the position, with regard to religion which it throughout maintained, we are justified in making use of remarks made in two books written at that time. They are Pan-ku's *Pai-hu-t'ung* and Hsü-shên's *Shuo-wên*, and we will quote the last-mentioned work partly from the Chinese original and partly from Dr. Wieger's "Chinese Characters," which is written with the *Shuo-wên* as its basis.

It is a well-known fact, that the ancient Chinese were apt to make alterations in religious books, if the sentiments expressed in an older work did not correspond with the religious opinion of the ruling dynasty. It is, e.g., very distinctly noticeable in the work of Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien, especially in his "Imperial Sacrifice." We can, therefore, not be quite sure whether any alterations have been made in the *Pai-hu-t'ung* and the *Shuo-wên*. However, as the same official religion, as already stated, generally speaking, has been continued from the time of the Eastern Han Dynasty until the present day, such alterations cannot be of much significance. In the *Lu-shih*—a work from the time of the Sung Dynasty (from A.D. 960)—it is said, that "as to the five sacrifices, both the Wei State and the Chin Dynasty have followed the instructions of the Han Dynasty." In this essay we will not refer to the original works in every instance when quotations are given, but these quotations will often be taken from a work 群源 that is

* De Groot: "The Religious Systems of China," Book II.

† Grube: "Geschichte der chinesischen Litteratur," page 220.

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published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai (9th edition, 1917). It gives quotations from Confucian as well as from Taoist Writings. The said work is divided into twelve parts according to the twelve earthly branches (地支), and we shall refer to the different parts in Roman ciphers from I to XII, also giving number of page and the heading of the passage, the last mentioned with English letters according to Wade's system.

In the 6th part of the Chou-li—a part added during the Han Dynasty instead of the original lost 6th part*—different colours are mentioned, which I suppose refer to those forms of religion which had been current from the later time of the Chou Dynasty until the Eastern Han Dynasty. As it is also customary to mention the four gods (emperors)† ruling the different seasons of the year by names of colours, and to give a religion the name of a colour (e.g., Taoism ‡), we will in the following essay specially use the colours as designations for religions and gods.

In closing this introduction we will quote some remarks made by Mr. Fr. le Sage de Fontenay in his "China's Oldste Historie og Chou Dynastiet" in "Eylendal's illustrerede Verdenshistorie," I, p. 138, etc.

Referring to the most ancient history of China (circa 2000-249 B.C.) he says: "The principal sources of the history of ancient times consist of Confucius' *Shu-ching*, the so-called *Bamboo Books* from circa B.C. 300 and the Chinese Herodotus Ssü-ma-ch'ien's voluminous "Historical Memoirs" (*Shih-chi*) from the beginning of the first century before Christ, which is the principal work of the whole ancient history of China. Confucius' *Shu-ching* ("Speeches and Admonitions") rests on old traditions, and forms the basis of the generally used official chronology. But an eminent investigator, Dr. F. Hirth, mentions it as "a historical source, which becomes more suspicious, the more it goes into detail regarding the state of culture of the period. Its sublime theories regarding social and public life set forth in speeches by emperors and their ministers from the time of Yao, Shun and the great Yü down to the criminal Chou-hsin (B.C. 1122) may be regarded as mere philosophical meditations by Confucian sages, who placed these speeches at certain periods according to their own choice,

* II 50 Chou-li 周禮.

† We translate Ti, 帝 by "god," not by "emperor," because it at all events in the time before the Han Dynasty had this signification.

‡ VII 2 Hsüan-chiao 玄教.

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thereby to make the greater impression, in which they succeeded very well indeed." The ancient imperial wisdom taken out of its chronological frame must be regarded as dramatized social meditations from the 6th to the 5th century before Christ. . . It becomes apparent then, that it is impossible to give a continuous historical report of the time before the Chou Dynasty. About the emperors of the Hsia and Shang Dynasties not much more than their names is known, and the dates given for their reigns plainly rest on calculations made at a much later period. We have thus every reason to look at the whole of this traditional history from a very much shortened visual angle, and it is most probable, that the whole of the ancient history of China only covers a few centuries before the beginning of the Chou Dynasty. . The renowned Chou Dynasty (B.C. 1122-249) is that founded by Wu-Wang, Duke of Chou, and it is not until this time that we can tread on partly historical ground. The Chinese were still only ruling the country around the Hoangho. . . . Like Germany during the Middle Ages, China was broken up into feudal states. . . From among the 60 feudal states 12 greater states were formed by degrees. These were constantly striving among themselves, seeking to conquer as many of the lesser states as possible. In the 7th century before Christ, the duchy of Ch'i, a neighbouring state to Lu, on the Shantung peninsula, for a long time held the supremacy over all neighbouring states. Also the title of king (wang) was adopted by its princes. This was the case also with the prince of Ch'u towards the south on the Yang-tze, with the prince of Ch'i in Shantung and then many others. It was not until the Han Dynasty that Chinese society, was spiritually and politically speaking, firmly established."

THE EIGHT GREAT GODS OF ANCIENT CHINA. *

The question of Chinese gods is very complicated, so I will first mention the leading features of what I assume to be the oldest gods in China, without any attempt at proofs.

These eight gods belong to two families, one consisting of three members and one consisting of five. They have a connection with a diagram † well known from ancient times, where the numbers 1 to 9 are placed in such a way that their sum is always

* This part is not in the original of the article, which has already appeared in Denmark, but is a later addition.

† *i.e.*

6	1	8
7	5	3
2	9	4

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fifteen, no matter in which direction they are added. . . This was thought so remarkable that the gods have been given numbers and places in the universe according to it. The numbers 1 to 3 belong to the first family which consists of father, mother and son. The father whose original number was 1, has been given the north as his seat, the mother number 2 in the south-west, and the son number 3 in the east. The father in the only one of the eight gods who originally had two numbers, for number 9 belongs to him too, which shows that he holds an unique position among the eight gods. He is called "Heaven" in the *Shuo-wên*; the mother, "the Holy Mother," and the son, "the Son of Heaven." In the *Li-chi* (禮記) the father is called 厲山氏 (or 烈山氏) and the son 農 ("tiller of the ground"). This is changed later to 神農 when the son is made into an emperor. The father is also known by the name of the mountain Liang-fu (梁父).* The name that the mother is best known by is 西王母, and the son is called 苗 (a shoot) or 苗末 (the last shoot). The three gods collectively are called 三苗 (the three shoots).

On the whole, there are frequent allusions to these three gods in the ancient literature of China, though they are often found in disguise. For instance, we find them in the work called 說苑 as the three most renowned physicians of old. The father is called 苗父, and the story goes, that he could heal all who thronged to him, by prayer. He is supposed to have turned to the north and uttered ten words.—The mother has become the physician 會稽 who among other things could raise the dead. In the physician 扁鵲 (the little magpie) we recognize the son, who also performed the most wonderful cures.—We find the three gods again in the mythical story of the broken metal-mirror (破鏡) where the father and mother separate, taking half each. The son brings his parents together again and the mirror is smelted and the son's symbol, the magpie (鵲), is stamped on the back.—With but small differences we find the same thought again in the myth of the weaving girl (織女) and the cowdriver (牽牛) who meet once a year; the magpies forming a bridge for them across the Milky Way.—An allusion to the same is found in the book 穆天子傳. The son, later made emperor in the Chou Dynasty, is originally the son of Heaven for whom the father (造父) is coachman on the way home to the mother (西王母). Notice the coachman's strange name 造父, creator-father. Even the eight horses 造父 drives

* *Vide infra*, p. 293.

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are nothing less than the eight gods of ancient China. Of these horses 白 義 corresponds to the father. Again, we notice the strange name: "white righteousness." 豫 翰 corresponds to the mother and 山 子 to the son. We find the family also under the names of the three stars 降 婁, 大 梁, 實 沈; and once more in the inscription where the Ch'in kingdom curses the Ch'u kingdom. They are here found as 巫 咸, 大 沈, and 久 洫. The order is mother, father, son.

The numbers 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the above-mentioned diagram belong to the other family. We find first a woman, or virgin, to whom the number 4 belongs. She is the eldest in this family and is generally known by the name, Virgin Wa (女 媧). According to the *Shou-wén* she is the holy virgin of olden times, who transformed all things. Then comes the father, whose number is 5 and whose place is in the centre. Then come his three sons with the numbers 6, 7 and 8. This father is also a very important god, which is shown by his position in the centre. He also appears as creator. He is best known under the name P'an-ku (盤 古), the first man, but we will discuss him more particularly under the religion of the Ch'in Dynasty, of which he is the chief god. Each of these five gods have their own colour. While the father in the first family has white as his colour, in the second family green is the colour claimed by the virgin Wa. The father has black and his three sons blue, yellow and red respectively. These three sons are chief gods: the blue in the Eastern Han, the yellow in the Western Han and the red in the Chou Dynasty and will be discussed later when we come to the religions of these three dynasties.—Of the eight horses before mentioned 綠 耳 corresponds to the Virgin Wa, and 盜 驪 to the black god. Notice the first half of the name 盜, meaning robber. The last part of the name means black. The red god's name is 赤 驥. In the book 楚 詞 he goes continually under the name 騏 驥. 渠 黃 and 華 騮 are the yellow and the blue gods respectively.

In the *Tsoa-chwan's* mention of 八 凱 and 八 元 we can also trace the eight ancient gods. The last four in 八 元 are seen as wild animals. In the tiger we recognize the father of the first family. In the bear we find the black, in the leopard the blue, and in the fóx the red god.

We will now pass on to the study of the worship of the different dynasties. For certain reasons, the chronological order has not been followed, but we begin with the Ch'in Dynasty, followed by the Han Dynasties, and the most difficult of all, the Chou Dynasty, is left till last.

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Gods of the Ch'in Dynasty.

Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien gives in his book "Imperial Sacrifice" (Fêng shan-shu 封禪書) the names of the eight gods to whom Ch'in shih-hwang (秦始皇)—B.C. 246-210—built temples in the province of Shantung. The exact situation of these shrines can, even now, pretty well be shown. It is at all events quite certain as regards the places of sacrifice to the three principal and greatest gods. They are found in a straight line from the North-East to the South-West at an equal distance from each other.* We will deal with these three principal gods separately.

1. *The Lord of Heaven* (T'ien-chu 天主). Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien says about him†,—"The first of the eight gods is called "Lord of Heaven." Sacrifice to the Centre (or "Navel") of Heaven. The centre of Heaven is Yüan-shui 淵水‡. The god resides at the place of sacrifice to Heaven, situated to the south of the town of Lin-chih and below the mountain." In another book the following explanation is given§: "To the south of the town of Lin-chih is found the centre of Heaven. Five springs rise from the same place, which is uncommon. It is said that the place resembles the navel of Heaven." The meaning of T'ien-ch'i 天齊 as centre and navel originated I should think from the god who originally had the number 5 and was placed in the centre of the diagram. It is a common custom in other countries that the centre of the earth is called the navel of the earth. From evidences which will be mentioned later it seems clear that the god is the black god. The original meaning of T'ien-ch'i 天齊 has, I presume, no connection with the black god but rather with the three gods Father, Mother and Son, and here the meaning of T'ien-ch'i in the *Shu-ching* as "Heaven who put the people in order" (天齊於民) is more correct.—In the inscriptions on the fragments of bone—the so-called "oracle bones" recently found in the province of Honan—the character translated "centre" ("navel") is written thus 𠙵. Exactly the same form of writing is used on

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* The place of sacrifice to the principal god, "the Lord of Heaven," is near the present town of Lin-chih (臨菑) situated close to the railway line from Tsi-nan-fu to Tsingtao on the northern side of the railway and about midway between these two cities. The place of sacrifice to "the Lord of the Earth" is the renowned mountain Tai 太山 situated to the south-west of Lin-chih. And the place of sacrifice to "the Military Lord" is situated at a corresponding distance to the south-west of the mountain T'ai, in Shou-chang-hsien (壽張縣), due west of the Yellow River.

† II 217 T'ien-chu 天主.

‡ Yüan-shui can be translated: "The water of the abyss."

§ II 223 T'ien-ch'i 天齊.

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coins from the time of the Chou Dynasty and in inscriptions from the Kingdom of Ch'i (齊). In inscriptions from the empire of (Ch'in 秦) it is, however, written 畮, the bottom part being the character shīh (示), thus giving the word a religious significance. In the *Shuo-wên* it is written 畬, but I do not think that the explanation this work gives either in this or in many other instances is the original one.* The *Shuo-wên* explains it thus: "The equal height of the ears in a field of corn." † But these three symbols, which the *Shuo-wên* explains as representing ears of corn, are not placed at the same height, and the explanation, that the character must be understood perspectively, that the lower one of the two horizontal line represents the foreground, the upper one the background, because the distant ears look as if they were standing on a higher level seems to me rather far-fetched. I cannot give any decisive proof of my supposition, but I believe that the character must signify the three gods, who, as special gods for agriculture, bear relation to a field of corn. Regarding these three we read in another passage of the *Shuo-wên* ‡: "The Goddess of the olden days, the holy Mother," moved "Heaven and gave birth to the Son," who is therefore named "the Son of Heaven." Here are three gods mentioned in the following order: "The holy Mother," "The Heaven," and "The Son of Heaven." We may add to this the following passage from the *Li-chi* ("The Book about Custom and Habit") §: "He, who resided on the mountain Li, ruled everything under heaven. His son was called: 'Tiller of the ground.' He was able to grow all sorts (literally: the hundred sorts) of corn." The last of these gods—for such they must be; how could they otherwise have got the corn to grow?—later becomes the ideal-emperor, Shên-nung ("God-tiller"). From this name we may also infer, that he originally must have been a god. He is the same as the above-mentioned "Son of Heaven," and "He who resides on the mountain Li" is the same as "Heaven."

We will now pay attention to the special term for the "Lord of Heaven," *i.e.* Yüan-shui 淵水, "the water of the abyss." We know from Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien ¶ that Ch'in-shih-hwang chose the element water as his special element and black as his lucky colour, as also the number 6 as his lucky number. Ssŭ-ma-

* See my article in "The Chinese Recorder," July 1918.

† Wieger I, page 334.

‡ The Chinese Shuo-wên, ch 12 b, page 1.

§ I, 408 Li-shan-shih 厲山氏.

¶ Fêng-shan-shu 封禪書, page 7.

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ch'ien also relates, that several matters were adapted to suit this number, e.g., the foot measure should contain 6 inches, etc. We must discriminate between the number of the principal gods and the lucky number of the dynasty concerned.

The following quotation* will show, that the "Lord of Heaven" may be called "the black dragon": "The Duke Wên of Ch'in (B.C. 765-710) went hunting and captured the black dragon, on account of which Ch'in-shih-hwang chose this as his symbol of luck." We obtain the same result by considering the name Kung-kung 工共, which in Chinese history is given to several persons living at different times†, who under a common name are called "water officials." This is supposed to have its origin from the god Kung-kung, who is the same as the "Lord of Heaven." It is said of Kung-kung‡ that he "butted against the mountain Pu-chou 不周山, so the pillars of heaven burst, and the four corners of the earth were broken." Such an act can only be ascribed to a god. To this must be added—as we shall see later on—that "the mountain of Pu-chou" is an expression for the Chou Dynasty's divine worship. It is, therefore, plain that Kung-kung is the principal god of the Ch'in Dynasty, who destroys the Chou Dynasty's worship. Finally it may be mentioned, that when we are told that the goddess Nü-wa (女媧) makes reparation for the devastation made by Kung-kung, the expression used is that she killed "the black dragon."§.

The Emperor Shun (B.C. 2256-08) caused Kung-kung to wander about—the word used denotes especially flowing water—in the province of Yu 幽||. Yu signifies¶ dark, mystic, hidden, jail, the lower regions. We meet this Yu again in the following quotation from the *Shan-hai-ching*卌: "In the northern sea is found a mountain called the Yu-Metropolis-Mountain. The black water flows from this, and there are Yüan-birds, Yüan-serpents, Yüan-leopards, Yüan-tigers and Yüan-monkeys on the mountain." "Yüan" 元 signifies beginning, the original, head. This seems to imply, that the religion of Ch'in-shih-hwang was an ancient religion adopted by this emperor. Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien says it plainly in his mention of the eight gods, when he declares, that they are "what were revered from ancient times." We are led in the same direction by the fact, that the emperor adopted for himself the name "Shih-hwang-ti," i.e., Commencement-emperor. He hardly did this solely to show his self-consciousness in regard

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* VI, 6 Shui-tê 水德. † I 294 Kung-kung 工共. ‡ II 219 Tien chu 天柱. § II, 254 Nü-wa-shih 女媧氏. || 1, 294 Kung-kung 工共. ¶ Wieger II, Page 502. 卌 Shan-hai-ching (山海經), 18, 5-6.

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to the former regents, but specially to accentuate, that in religious respects he would return to the very oldest system. This is no doubt a further indication that his was the ruling religion among the nomadic hunting and fishing tribes, that lived beyond the boundaries of the agricultural Chinese, and who in all probability first populated the present China. At all events the religion represented by the principal god of Ch'in-shih-hwang cannot originally have been the religion of a ground-tilling people, but could very well have been in vogue among nomadic, fishing and hunting tribes. He is the god of the winter and the north, which can be seen distinctly from the *Pai-hu-t'ung* 白虎通. We will now pass on to an investigation of this book.

In its section on the five elements (wu-hsing 五行) it is said, concerning the element water, which has a special signification for the form of religion which we are treating here: "The place of the water is in the north. He who is the north, is the principle of Yin (陰); he dwells below the spring, that is, beneath the earth." Again it is said about the north: "The north is water; everything (wan-wu 萬物) hides itself. Here the above mentioned expression Yu (dark, secret, hidden, jail, the lower regions) is used together with "ts'ang" 藏, also signifying "to hide." Furthermore it is said about the winter: "Its place is in the north; its Ti 帝 (emperor) is Chuan-hsü 顓頊, i.e., the frost binds (the waters).* Its Shên 神 (i.e., soul) is Hsüan-ming 玄冥 (i.e., pitch dark or the dark night). Its Ching 精 (i.e., spirit) is Hsüan-wu 玄武 (i.e., the black warrior). The three Chinese words "Ti," "Shên" and "Ching" are difficult to translate, but correspond most probably to "the great man," "earth" and "heaven," and in a way to our classification: body, soul and spirit.

But also in our own times we meet with "the Lord of Heaven" under the name of "K'uei-hsing" 魁星 (the star K'uei). The character for k'uei can be dissolved into two: "demon" 鬼 and "bushel" 斗. We often see this god portrayed black, with a "demon-like appearance and with horns in the forehead. He is standing with one leg on a marine monster (the crake)."† He has a bushel in his hand. The bushel is a symbol of the four wheel-stars in the constellation "Charles' wain," by the Chinese likened to a bushel.‡ I do

* At another place in the *Pai-hu-t'ung*, in the section on the five emperors, Chuan hsü is explained as "the only correct one."

† It is explained in this way, at least, in Father Doré's "Chinese Superstitions," VI, pages 59-60.

‡ See Doré, ibid.

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not think it is correct as Doré is inclined to do, to make this god identical with Wên-ch'ang (文昌) the god of Literature. · Wen-ch'ang is—as will be shown later—another of the great gods of old. That they are different from one another is also evident from the fact, that we find separate temples for each of these two gods in China at the present time.

At the time of Ch'in-shih-hwang the people were called "black heads." * It is supposed that the reason for this name was, that a piece of black cloth was to be worn on or around the head.

The character for Kung-kung in the *Shuo-wên* is written thus: 𢍏 工. The latter part 工 signifies now: "workman, work or working time," but in the *Shuo-wên* the meaning of it is: "skill in works of art," with the connotation of artfulness "or cunning." As to the character 𢍏 it signifies "two hands stretched upwards in fear and worship": 𠬜; and 廿 which signifies "20." According to the *Ku-wên* (古文) it is written 𢍏, two hands below and two hands above. The character for two hands is on the whole of great consequence in this religion, while the character for one hand is most important in the religion of the Chou Dynasty.

2. *The Lord of the Earth* (Ti-chu 地主). Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien mentions † two mountains: a high mountain named T'ai (太) which is the same as T'ai-shan so renowned in the history of China, and a small one due north of it by the name of Liang-fu (梁父). "The Lord of the Earth" therefore comprises two gods, one on the mountain T'ai and another on the mountain Liang-fu. As "fu" signifies "father" and as Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien adds: "Heaven is called Yin (陰)‡ and sacrifices are to be offered on the summit of the small mountain, below the high mountain," one must conclude that it is Heaven which is worshipped on the mountain Liang-fu. But from Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien's expression we must also infer: "Earth is called Yang (陽)§, and sacrifices are to be offered to it on the high mountain." Both facts are quite against the generally expressed Chinese idea, according to which heaven is *yang* and is worshipped on a high place, while the earth is *yin* and is worshipped on a low place. I suppose that "the Holy Mother" and "Heaven" are identical with the two gods, who together form "the Lord of the Earth." As to the third god: "the Son of Heaven," who in the time of the Chou Dynasty is dethroned ("killed") and of whom we shall hear more below, it is said in "Imperial

* XII 121 Ch'ien-shou 黔首. † Fêng-shan-shu, page 8. ‡ The female principle. § The male principle.

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Sacrifice," page 15, "that during the time of the Ch'in Dynasty he was only a very small god." We may therefore leave him out of consideration here. We suppose that it is "the Holy Mother" who is worshipped on the mountain T'ai, and "Heaven" to whom sacrifices are offered on Liang-fu.

Hwang-ti (the yellow god or emperor) was—as we will more explicitly try to show afterwards—the principal god during the time of the Western Han Dynasty (following the Ch'in Dynasty). In the passage in the *Li-chi* (禮記), where the seven gods, whom the emperor worships for the sake of the people, are mentioned, the middle one of the five last is named by the double name T'ai-Li (泰厲) *. Of the two characters for this, T'ai is the same as used for the mountain T'ai and Li, the same as used for the mountain Li. † We may also mention, that in the 6th part of the *Chou-li* the colours which are supposed to correspond to forms of religion, ought according to their order in that passage to show black and white as the colours of the Ch'in Dynasty. These two colours are called fu 黼 and translated by "Embroidery adorned with figures." These figures, consisting of two axes, are found on the imperial sacrificial robe.‡ As "the Lord of Heaven" is black, "the Lord of the Earth" must consequently be white.—Though we must confess in all this to have no decisive proof, we think nevertheless we are right, when we suppose that T'ai corresponds to "the Holy Mother," also called Hsi-wang-mu (西王母), and that Heaven is the same as Li (厲) or Li-shan-shih (厲山氏) "he who resides on the mountain Li."—We think that we are right in assuming, that the white colour applies at all events to "Heaven" if not also to "the Holy Mother," and to "the Son of Heaven." We will, therefore, mention this family of gods as the gods of the white religion and later on deal more with them.

3. "*The military Lord*" (Ping-chu 兵主). Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien says § of him: "Sacrifice is made to Ch'ih-yu" 蚩尤. Ch'ih-yu has been translated by "idiotic criminal." It was, of course, not under this name that he was worshipped by Ch'in-shih-hwang, but it must be the name given to him by the Western Han Dynasty and therefore also by Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien. The principal god of this dynasty—at all events from the time of Wu-Ti (B.C. 140-87),—

* I 16 Ch'i Ssŭ 七祀.

† Compare the already quoted words from the Li-chi: "He who resided on the mountain Li, ruled everything under heaven."

‡ XII 126 Fu 黼.

§ Fêng-shan-shu, page 10.

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Hwang-ti, is as will be shown afterwards, a sworn enemy of the "Military Lord." Under the contemptuous name of Ch'ih-yu in my judgment the principal god of the Chou Dynasty, the Fire and Sun god, of whom we shall hear more, is hidden. His colour is red, the principal colour of the Chou Dynasty.

As we from analogy with the gods of the Chou Dynasty are inclined to assume that the remaining five of the eight gods of Ch'iu-shï-hwang are mere duplicates of the principal gods already discussed, we shall not make them the subject of any further inquiry. The names of these five gods are: Yin (the Lord of the female principle), Yang (the Lord of the male principle), the Lord of the Moon, the Lord of the Sun, and the Lord of the four seasons (Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter).

The Yellow Worship (during the time of the Western Han Dynasty, B.C. 206—A.D. 25).

During the beginning of the Western Han Dynasty the custom of the Ch'in Dynasty of having Water and Black as religious symbols was still continued.* The Emperor Wên-Ti (B.C. 179-157), according to Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien,† added the red colour, and it was only because the Yellow dragon appeared that the Yellow god was to be recognized as the chief god. By studying the 28 constellations and especially the 24 periods of time ‡ arranged by Liu-hsin in the year A.D. 7 it appears that during the latest period of the dynasty, Wood and Green had been adopted as the principal symbols. Still, when we consider the Western Han Dynasty, we must more especially dwell upon the time of the Emperor Wu-ſi (B.C. 140-87). This emperor is in religious matters and perhaps also in other respects, the most remarkable ruler of the dynasty. It is during the time of this emperor that Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien flourishes. Although this great historian, who begins his Chinese history with the Yellow Emperor, describes the religious position of the Emperor Wu very circumstantially, especially in his "Imperial Sacrifice," it is nevertheless difficult to get the thread of it. It seems as if the Emperor Wu is constantly trying new forms of worship. The reason for this difficulty may partly be found in later emendations of Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien's work. It seems to me, that the Emperor Wu, who is a most despotic ruler, also wishes to assert his power in the religious sphere. He will not have three principal gods as in the Ch'in Dynasty but only one,

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* VI 6 Shui-tê 水德. † Fêng-shan-shu, page 19. ‡ I, 111-112 二十八宿 and 二十四氣.

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the Yellow, and this god is both the god of Heaven, the god of the Earth, and the "great man." This trio adopted by former ages cannot be deviated from.

1. *Hwang-ti as God of Heaven.*—His name is T'ai-i * 太一, i.e., the one extremely great. According to the book *Huai-nan-tzŭ* † the author of which, Liu-an, died B.C. 122, T'ai-i is "the venerable (尊) god of Heaven." According to the historian Pan-ku's book, the *Han-shu*, the same is the case ‡. Here we are also informed that he is identical with the Polar star. Many of the gods towards the end of the Western Han Dynasty, and in the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty are placed in the firmament as stars. In the *Pai-hu-t'ung* this "god of Heaven" is not mentioned, but only the god of earth and the great man—the yellow emperor. The *Pai-hu-t'ung*, which was written at the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty is hostile towards the predecessor of the dynasty—the Western Han. Pan-ku mentions, however, in his history of the Western Han Dynasty, the "god of Heaven" as the Middle Emperor and "Yellow-Spirit." §

2. *Hwang-ti as God of the Earth.*—His name is Hou-t'u 后土¶. He is the god of the centre. The *Li-chi* remarks: "The middle belongs to the element earth, its god is Hou-t'u." In the *Pai-hu-t'ung* in the section on the five elements it is said: "Earth is the middle constellation, its emperor is Hwang-ti (the yellow emperor), its Shên (soul) is Hou-t'u, *i.e.*, the prince or princess of the earth).

3. *Hwang-ti as the Great Man* (the ideal emperor).—Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien begins his history with him. An attempt is also made to arrange genealogical tables of persons (both gods and men) with him as the first ancestor.

As already stated, Hwang-ti was, as god of heaven, deposed by the Eastern Han Dynasty, but he was allowed to remain as god of the earth and as "the great man." But it was done in such a way that earth was only reckoned as the fifth element, and Hwang-ti is not allowed to be the only existing "great man" any longer, but takes his place beside others. The *Pai-hu-t'ung* does not even class him amongst the three sovereigns (san-hwang 三皇)# but only among the five emperors (wu-ti 五帝). ♆

Both the Yellow Emperor who, when the power of the dynasty was at its zenith, was very generally worshipped, and Nü-wa

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* II 229 Tai-i 太一. † VI 108 Huai-nan-tzŭ 淮南子. ‡ VI 66 T'ai-i 泰一. § XII 111 Hwang-ling 黃靈. ¶ II 30 Hou-t'u 后土. ♆ *Pai-hu-t'ung*, the chapter named Hao (號).

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女媧 (the woman or virgin Wa), with whom this was the case towards the end of the dynasty, are represented as "god-killers." Hwang-ti disposes of the principal god of the Chou Dynasty, who is trying to get a position in the Western Han such as he got in the Ch'in Dynasty, and Nü-wa slays the principal god of the Ch'in Dynasty, Kung-kung. About Hwang-ti and Ch'ih-yu it is said*: "During the reign of Hwang-ti the princes loved war and took pleasure in revolting. They made knives, spears and cross-bows and worried all men . . . During the battle Ch'ih-yu produced a dense fog, which the yellow emperor scattered by the help of the *chih-nan-ch'ê*, 指南車 (i.e. the chariot pointing towards the south). By this chariot may be meant the constellation "Charles'wain," which is also named "the imperial chariot."† Ch'ih yu's most important place as god is the south. The mention of the dense fog shows, that it is gods that are spoken about, not emperors.

About Nü-wa it is said: She melted together the stones of the five colours to repair the Heavens (after the havoc made by Kung-kung). She broke the feet of the tortoise and raised the four corners of the world. She killed the black dragon and saved the province of Chi 冀. She collected ashes of rush and stopped the rising water (this can also be translated: the water of immorality)‡. All this does not appear to have reference to the principal god of the Ch'in Dynasty, Kung-kung, but some of it, for instance, the breaking of the feet of the tortoise, may refer to the principal god of the Chou Dynasty. The feet of the tortoise indicate probably the four cardinal points: South-east, North-east, South-west and North-west,§ while the corners of the world raised by Nü-wa are East, South, West and North.

(To be Continued.)

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*IX 119 Ch'ih yu 蚩尤. †III 175 Ti-ch'ê 帝車. ‡ II 254 Nü-wa-shih 女媧氏. §Compare Yüan-yüan's inscriptions (積古齋鐘鼎彝器), ch. 5, page 4.

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LE CONFUCEISME SOUS LA RÉPUBLIQUE 1911-1922.

PAR

R. P. HENRI DORÉ, S.J.

I. LA PRÉSIDENCE DE SUEN WEN 孫文 (29 XBRE 1911 À 13 FÉVRIER 1912.)

Un coup sensible porté au Confucéisme, à la fin des T'sing 清 fut l'abolition des examens classiques chinois, par le décret du 2 Septembre 1905, la 33e année du règne de Koang-Siu 光緒. Ce document capital marque une date mémorable dans l'histoire de l'Éducation en Chine, parce qu'il donna le coup de mort à cette vieille composition littéraire, dite "Wentchang" 文章 basée uniquement sur une certaine connaissance des anciens "Canoniques" chinois, et brisa la tenace opposition des lettrés à l'étude des sciences modernes.

A partir de cette époque, les Universités commencèrent à s'organiser méthodiquement, et l'Etat chinois, sans aller jusqu' à admettre officiellement leurs diplômes, les laissa vivre en paix ; dès lors commença à s'opérer dans les idées une réaction, lente encore, mais réelle et continue : finalement, une crise violente amena un changement de régime et Suen Wen 孫文 était élu Président de la Nouvelle République chinoise.

La Constitution provisoire de Nan-kin, 11 Mars 1912.

Quand la République fut déclarée, le 29 Décembre 1911, on pouvait s'attendre à ce qu'une réaction se produisît aussi sur le terrain religieux. De fait, au début, la Révolution rompit radicalement avec le passé. Dans l'Article VI de la Constitution provisoire de Nan-kin, 11 Mars 1912, on avait proclamé la plus complète liberté de conscience, et déclaré tous les cultes égaux devant la loi. "Tout homme a la liberté de croyance religieuse."*

中華民國臨時政府新法令

* Tchong-hoa-ming-kouo ling che tcheng fou sin fa ling. 6e fasc. p. 36. Commercial Press.

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Ce fut seulement deux ans plus tard, sous le gouvernement de Yuen Che-k'ai, le 1 Mai 1914, lors de la révision de la Constitution, qu'on ajouta la clause restrictive : " Dans les limites des lois." *

Ce changement subit ne faisait pas l'affaire des Confucéistes, qui avaient eu jusque-là une situation privilégiée, aussi ne tardèrent-ils pas à intriguer pour le rétablissement des honneurs rendus à Confucius. Bientôt les gouvernants se montrèrent plus réservés. Au gouverneur du Tché-kiang qui proposait la question, les Ministres de l'Intérieur et de l'Education répondirent : " En attendant qu'on ait légiféré sur les rites, continuez les sacrifices à Confucius comme par le passé ; mais sans costume spécial, en remplaçant les prostrations par de simples inclinations de corps."†

Cette décision fut transmise à toutes les provinces ; c'était, on le voit, une interprétation au moins surprenante de l'Article VI de la Constitution. C'était une exhortation à garder la cérémonie, mais à en atténuer le sens religieux. Les autorités nouvelles montrèrent en général peu de ferveur pour Confucius, cette première année de la République. En beaucoup de localités, les pagodes avaient été converties en écoles ou affectées à des usages profanes, et les temples de Confucius n'avaient pas été tous épargnés dans la tourmente. On conçoit que les lettrés vieux style, qui voyaient le pouvoir s'échapper de leurs mains, remuèrent ciel et terre pour rendre au culte de Confucius son ancien prestige. La réponse qu'ils venaient d'obtenir des nouveaux gouvernants, était déjà un premier succès.

II. La Présidence de Yuen Che-k'ai 袁世凱 et la Restauration, 1912-1916.

Le 12 Juillet 1912, se tenait à Pékin une " Conférence sur l'Education." Tsai Yuen-pei, qui était alors Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, proposa d'abolir dans les écoles, les cérémonies en l'honneur de Confucius. Il appuyait sa proposition sur deux excellentes raisons.

1° Confucius n'a point révélé de religion. Le culte que les Chinois lui rendent, est une forme de superstition. Il suffit que nous honorions le " Sage " comme les autres peuples honorent leurs philosophes.

2° La liberté religieuse est reconnue par la Constitution ; imposer dans les écoles le culte de Confucius, c'est violer la liberté religieuse.

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* Cf. id. Fascicule 70. Section Hien-fa p. 2.

† Tchong hoa ming kouo ling che sin fa ling. Fasc.7. p. 36. Etudes T. 153, p. 494.

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Ce langage était bien trop clair, aussi souleva-t-il de nombreuses protestations parmi les lettrés chinois, trop sectaires et trop hautains pour souffrir la tolérance religieuse.

Le 24 Septembre 1912, le Ministère de l'Education publia un règlement sur les cérémonies à accomplir dans les écoles.

L'Article I prescrit des cérémonies à accomplir dans les établissements scolaires, au jour anniversaire de la naissance de Confucius.

L'Article V porte : " La réunion pour les cérémonies d'anniversaires, parmi lesquelles figure celle de la naissance de Confucius, pourra être organisée par le Directeur de l'école ; mais les prostrations et les rites religieux n'y sont pas à propos."

L'Article VI traite de l'uniforme à porter au cours de la cérémonie.

L'Article VII dit : " Le détail des pratiques relatives à l'application de ce règlement, sera arrêté suivant l'occurrence, par le Directeur de l'école."

Donc, les cérémonies en l'honneur de Confucius, loin d'être abolies dans les écoles, sont maintenues et prescrites par une circulaire du Ministère de l'Education, seul, le cérémonial pour l'année courante est laissé à l'arbitraire du chef de l'établissement.

La plupart des Directeurs d'écoles, se contentèrent de réunir leurs élèves devant l'image ou la tablette de Confucius, et de leur faire exécuter trois inclinations. Un jour de congé termina la cérémonie.

Yuen Che-k'ai 袁世凱, alors Président provisoire, avait bien d'autres soucis, il laissait se dessiner le mouvement en faveur de la restauration du culte pour Confucius. Dès que la situation intérieure fut un peu raffermie, il fit plus favorable accueil aux réclamations des lettrés, d'autant plus que ce mouvement Confucéiste favorisait grandement son plan de réaction.

En homme prudent et avisé, il se contenta d'abord d'encourager les revendications de la secte ; puis sous couleur de Consultation de l'opinion, il leur laissa tout le loisir d'organiser leur campagne et de mettre en œuvre tous leurs moyens d'action.

Dès le 10 Janvier 1913, Monsieur Kou Hong-ming 辜鴻明, lettré très connu à Changhai et à Pékin, organisait des réunions de lettrés, et prononçait un grand discours, à la suite duquel il fut décidé, qu'on fonderait la Revue mensuelle de la Religion Confucéenne.*

* Cf. Nouvelles de Chine et Kiao-yu-pou-ling, 1 Fasç. N. 5. Ecole en Chine, Tome II. p.154.

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Le Referendum au pays.

Avant d'établir des règles fixes, le gouvernement voulut prendre l'avis du pays, du moins pour la forme, car le Président, qui se préparait à donner le coup de barre pour rétablir l'empire à son profit, avait besoin de se concilier les bonnes grâces des lettrés et déjà il travaillait à réintégrer les classiques confucéistes dans les programmes des écoles primaires et secondaires.*

Puis dans son mandat du 22 Juin 1913, avant même que les autorités provinciales, consultées sur l'à-propos du culte confucéen, n'eussent donné leur réponse, il profitait d'un télégramme envoyé par Yn Tchang-hen, 尹昌衡 pour faire connaître nettement ses intentions. " Yn Tchang-hen nous a adressé un télégramme, il nous prie d'ordonner que les écoles de toutes catégories, accomplissent comme précédemment le rite " Che-tien " (offrandes sacrificales en l'honneur de Confucius). Les idées exprimées par le pétitionnaire sont très droites et très nobles. Mais avant qu'il y soit donné suite, il est nécessaire d'attendre que toutes les provinces aient écrit leur réponse à Pékin. Ensuite, en tenant compte à la fois des idées républicaines et de celles de l'antiquité, sur les rites à observer en l'honneur de Confucius, on décidera ce qui convient et l'on fixera le détail des règles à suivre."†

La question n'était pas encore solutionnée, quand le 24 Septembre, trois jours avant l'anniversaire de la naissance de Confucius, le Ministre de l'Education expédia une circulaire télégraphique aux provinces, où apres diverses louanges décernées à Confucius, il était dit : " Les rites légaux en l'honneur de Confucius attendent encore leur règlement, le 28 de la VIII lune, (27 Septembre), étant le jour anniversaire de sa naissance, il faut faire de ce jour une date sacrée. En conséquence, il est enjoint à toutes les écoles de donner ce jour-là congé à leurs élèves, et de faire à l'école des cérémonies rituelles. Notre Ministère vous prie de communiquer aussitôt cet ordre à vos subordonnés, afin‡ que tous s'y conforment de la même manière."

Ici, c'est un ordre formel du gouvernment de Yuen Che k'ai, émané du Ministère de l'Education, avant même d'avoir reçu la réponse des autorités provinciales à la circulaire consultative.

De sa propre autorité, il s'arrogeait le pouvoir d'abroger la loi républicaine sur la liberté des cultes.

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* Ecole en Chine, Tome I, p. 98—101.

† Ecole en Chine, Tome II, p. 154—155.

‡ Revue Kiao-yu-tse-che 教育雜誌 Livre V, N. 5. Section Ki-che, p. 55. Le texte chinois se trouve : Ecole en Chine. Deuxième année. p. 155.

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Deux mois plus tard, le Président trouvait encore une magnifique occasion de manifester sa sympathie aux réclamations du parti confucéiste. Ling-i 衍聖, le descendant de Confucius et le chef-official de la famille, fit le voyage de Pékin, et, sur la présentation d'un rapport du gouverneur du Chan-tong, il fut introduit devant le Président Yuen et lui montra une grande quantité de documents relatifs au culte de Confucius, ainsi qu'aux dignités et charges conférées à ses descendants. En guise de réponse, le 26 Novembre 1913, parut un mandat présidentiel, où sont élevés jusqu' aux nués Confucius et sa doctrine. On y lisait en outre: "Les statuts honorifiques et cultuels, accordés par les souverains des précédentes dynasties, au descendant de Confucius et à ceux des Sages philosophes associés à son culte (dans le temple de Confucius), ont une grande importance. Le Ministère chargé de l'affaire étudiera avec soin le passé, et fera de vastes recherches dans les documents écrits; il prendra l'opinion de beaucoup de personnes et rédigera avec soin les règles à observer. Après quoi, il nous préparera un rapport et attendra nos ordres pour promulguer et exécuter ce qui aura été prescrit. . .

La doctrine de Confucius est comme le soleil et la lune qui croisent le ciel, comme les fleuves et les rivières qui fécondent la terre. Elle sert de modèle aux hommes de toutes les générations et est toujours neuve à travers mille siècles. Tous ceux qui ont le bon sens sont sous sa protection. Elle est tellement sainte et parfaite, qu'il n'y a plus de comparaison entre elle et les autres doctrines. Depuis plus de deux mille ans, le peuple chinois a pris l'habitude de suivre la doctrine de Confucius, et de le vénérer lui-même comme le saint suprême.

Maintenant que le nouvel Etat est fondé, il faut vénérer Confucius plus que jamais." *

Les "Sept Articles."

Un fait digne de remarque, c'est que, au temps même où le gouvernement provisoire prodiguait ses sympathies et ses faveurs pour hâter le rétablissement du culte de Confucius et assurer la prépondérance officielle du Confucéisme, des ordonnances désobligeantes étaient publiées pour enrayer le développement des écoles des Missions et entraver leur reconnaissance officielle, en compliquant insidieusement la procédure à suivre.

* Cf. Tong fang tsa-tche 東方雜誌. X° année N. 7. Section Tchong kouo ta che ki, p. 6. Echo de Chine, 30 Novembre et 1 Décembre 1913. Etudes, 51e année. N. 20 Mai 1914 p. 467—468.

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Plusieurs fois déjà, le gouvernement central avait eu l'occasion d'examiner la question de reconnaissance officielle à accorder aux écoles des missions. La réponse définitive fut provoquée de la façon suivante. Le pasteur anglais Hen Ping-kium, de la " China Inland Mission," s'était adressé au Commissaire des Affaires Etrangères de Wen-tcheou, 溫州 Monsieur Mao Koang-cheng 冒廣生 pour lui demander la reconnaissance officielle de quelques unes de ses écoles primaires du 1er degré. Monsieur Mao Koang-cheng adressa un Mémoire au Bureau général de l'avancement de l'instruction, qui le communiqua au Ministère de l'Instruction Publique. Ce fut alors que parut le fameux règlement en 7 Articles, fixés par le Burcau de l'Instruction de Pékin; vu l'importance du document, nous en donnons ici la traduction *in extenso*.*

Règlement spécial en sept articles, que le Bureau des affaires scolaires de Pékin propose d'observer, à l'égard des écoles ouvertes par des membres de n'importe quelle société religieuse, et qui voudraient être officiellement reconnues.

1. Le nom de l'école ne portera pas l'indication : " Ouverte par telle société religieuse."
2. L'emplacement et les bâtiments de l'école seront nettement séparés de l'emplacement de la mission ; si par exception, ils étaient contigus aux bâtiments de la mission, il faudra que les maisons occupées par l'école, lui aient été ou prêtées ou louées.
3. Si pour les dépenses ordinaires, la mission venait en aide à l'école, les sommes ainsi versées seront regardées comme des dons faits à l'école ; et il ne faut pas souffrir que la mission (comme telle) se charge, en tout ou en partie, des dépenses ordinaires de l'école.
4. L'administration de l'école sera conduite suivant les ordonnances et les règlements du Ministère de l'Instruction, et en conformité avec les règlements de notre Bureau.
5. Les leçons données en classe ne toucheront pas aux sujets religieux, et il ne sera pas accompli d'actes de religion.
6. Pour l'admission des élèves, tous seront admis indistinctement (à quelque confession qu'ils appartiennent), et non pas uniquement ceux qui sont membres de la société religieuse.

* Cf. Texte et traduction, Ecole en Chine. Octobre 1915. p. 87 et 85 (84 Texte chinois).

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7. Relativement aux élèves qui ne font pas partie de la société religieuse, l'on ne devra pas les regarder d'un œil différent (aucune acception de personnes), ni les contraindre à entrer (dans la dite société.)

"L'Ostasiatischer Lloyd," fort bien renseigné alors, et tenant ses informations de bonne source, avait publié dans son N. du 8 Août 1913 (p. III) ce même règlement, mais en 8 Articles, c'est à dire dans son intégrité première, avant la correction, que le Ministère de l'Education, plutôt par politique que par bienveillance, crut devoir y faire, pour ne pas soulever l'indignation des intéressés. Le second des huit Articles était ainsi conçu :

Article 2e. Les fonctionnaires préposés aux examens et à l'administration, les représentants de l'Ecole et les personnes de toute condition qui tiennent un emploi officiel ne doivent se composer que de chinois. Cet article supprimé nous montre assez dans quel esprit fut élaboré ce règlement.

Le vaillant journal de Tien-tsin, le "Koang-i-pao" 廣義報 protesta énergiquement au nom de la justice et de la liberté, et montra le caractère déraisonnable et hostile des conditions imposées aux écoles des Missions.

Ces conditions, remarque l'auteur de l'article, sont ou inutiles, ou arbitraires, ou vexatoires, ou injustes : voire même tout cela à la fois. La seule chose que le gouvernement chinois puisse raisonnablement demander aux écoles de missions, comme à toutes les écoles, c'est que l'enseignement et l'éducation morale donnés aux enfants, soient de nature à faire d'eux des citoyens honnêtes, suffisamment éclairés pour le rôle qu'ils auront à jouer dans le monde, affectionnés à leur pays, et capables par leurs qualités, de lui rendre service et de lui faire honneur. Après cela, qu'importe le nom de l'école ? Qu'importe la séparation des locaux ? Qu'importe la séparation des bourses ?.. tout cela n'est qu'enfantillage et tracasserie. Il y a même une flagrante injustice, ou un grave défaut de logique, à vouloir interdire aux écoles de mission tout acte religieux, alors que dans les écolse officielles, on autorise, et on prescrit même de plus en plus, le culte et les sacrifices en l'honneur de Confucius. L'esprit de ce règlement est anti-religieux et anti-européen : c'est le monopole universitaire, au profit du Confucéisme.

Approbation officielle du culte de Confucius, 7 Février, 1914.

Le culte de Confucius fut définitivement approuvé par mandat présidentiel du 7 Février 1914. (7 Février de la 3e année de la République, dit le texte chinois). En voici le texte :

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" Notre Comité a jadis reçu l'ordre de mettre en délibération la question des rites officiels en l'honneur de Confucius. La délibération a eu lieu et il a été unanimement, en séance de comité, résolu ce qui suit : Attendu que le culte de Confucius est fixé par un ancien statut, qui a été observé pendant plusieurs dynasties successives, nous sommes tous d'avis qu'aux deux jours Ting (丁) de printemps et d'automne, suivant le calendrier des Hia (夏), jours fixés pour l'offrande de sacrifices à Confucius, l'on continue de lui offrir des sacrifices solennels, et que pour ce qui concerne les rites, costume à porter, objets à offrir, l'on suive exactement ce qui est prescrit pour le sacrifice au Ciel. Dans le temple de Confucius à Pékin, le président de la République sera le sacrificateur ; dans les autres localités, les sacrificateurs seront les plus hautes autorités des divers lieux. En cas d'empêchement insurmontable, ces autorités pourront, suivant l'occurrence, déléguer d'autres mandarins pour tenir leur place.

Au jour de l'ouverture des classes et de l'anniversaire de la naissance de Confucius chacun sera libre de suivre les anciens usages et d'offrir des sacrifices à Confucius, sans qu'il soit besoin de nouvelles règles. La vertu naturelle de Confucius et l'éclat de sa perfection sont tels, qu'il n'y en eut jamais de semblables parmi les hommes ; de plus, les offrandes et les sacrifices en son honneur n'ont rien perdu de leur nouveauté à travers les âges. La République qui en est encore à ses débuts, devant raisonnablement suivre l'antique tradition, il convient d'approuver que l'on agisse suivant l'avis du Conseil politique. Mandat."*

Ce décret restera comme une tache indélébile sur la mémoire du président Yuen Che-k'ai, son ambition trop hâtive trompa les espérances qu'on pouvait attendre de son gouvernement, et l'entraîna à des illégalités regrettables, à partir du jour où il se montra résolu, envers et contre tous, à se hisser sur le trône du Dragon.

Le cauteleux diplomate avait eu soin de faire précéder ce décret d'un autre mandat, de teneur filandreuse et embarrassée, contradictoire dans les termes. Cette pièce datée du 6 Février 1914, ne visait à rien moins, qu'à leurrer le parti adverse et prévenir le reproche inévitable de porter atteinte à la liberté de conscience, proclamée par la Charte provisoire. Il y affirmait avec insistance que le culte de Confucius et des " Anciens Saints " n'a rien de religieux, rien qui puisse blesser la conscience des diverses confessions religieuses : en un mot, qu'il a un caractère purement civil et sans

* Tcheng fou kong pao 政府公報 (fen lei wei-pien) Livre 4, Section Tsi t'ien 祭天 Tsi Kong 祭孔 (sacrifice au Ciel et à Confucius) p. 3.

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signification religieuse. Cette pièce au ton mielleux, n'avait pour but que d'aromatiser la coupe empoisonnée.* Le decret n'en reste pas moins intempestif.

1. Il s'appuie sur un faux principe : Le culte rendu à Confucius est purement civil et nullement religieux.

   Le decret commande des "Sacrifices solennels" en son honneur. Or le sacrifice est l'acte suprême du culte, l'acte d'adoration par excellence, qui ne peut être offert qu'au Souverain Maître de l'univers, à Dieu seul. Aucune créature ne saurait y avoir droit.

   Donc le faux-fuyant n'est ni logique ni loyal, le culte tel que l'entend le législateur est essentiellement religieux et interdit à tout chrétien, catholique ou protestant.

2. Il a le grave défaut d'être venu trop tôt et d'avoir mal engagé l'avenir. A cette date, 7 Février 1914, la Constitution provisoire était en refonte, pourquoi n'avoir pas laissé à la Constitution définitive le loisir de statuer sur un point si capital?

   De ce chef, le président mérite le reproche d'avoir agi avec précipitation et sous l'influence d'idées préconçues.

3. La Commission consultative, composée en majeure partie de créatures serviles du nouveau Dictateur, ne représentait pas les libres sentiments de la nation. La dissolution du Parlement et l'écrasement du parti "Kouo Ming Tang" enlevaient à peu près tout espoir pour la liberté des cultes ; alors Yuen Che-k'ai, se voyant maître absolu, enleva d'un trait de plume l'Article de la Constitution, garantissant la liberté de conscience.

4. Le subterfuge inventé est illusoire. (Faculté de se faire remplacer.) Aux termes du décret, la liberté de se donner un remplaçant n'est concédée qu'au fonctionnaire principal, à qui incombe la charge de sacrifier, c'est à dire à la première autorité locale, et dans le cas seulement d'un empêchement insurmontable. Les fonctionnaires inférieurs, les mandarins subalternes, doivent assister à la cérémonie, selon la coutume et chacun sait que la Chine est le pays du monde, où les inférieurs sont moralement le moins libres d'agir autrement que leurs supérieurs. C'est donc une loi tyrannique au premier chef.

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* Cf. Tong fang tsa-tche. Liv. X. N. 0 Section Tchong kouo ta che ki p. 23. Traduction française. Cf. Ecole en Chine 11 vol. p. 158—160.

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5. La plus élémentaire notion de l'Histoire chinoise eût dû le mettre en garde contre cette faute politique.

Qui ne sait que Kang-hi s'était déjà buté au Christianisme deux siècles auparavant, et sur ce même point, dans la fameuse Question des Rites ?

Lui aussi prétendait que le culte de Confucius et celui des ancêtres, étaient des rites purement civils et nullement religieux.

Les décisions de l'Eglise catholique avaient condamné expressément cette interprétation fautive, et l'événement avait fait assez de bruit en Chine, pour que le Président pût s'en souvenir et éviter de rouvrir le conflit.

6. Le décret ferme à tous les chrétiens l'entrée dans les carrières officielles ; en sacrifiant à Confucius, ils devraient immoler sur le même autel, leur liberté, leur conscience et leur foi.

7. Assimiler Confucius au Ciel, n'est-ce pas de la démence ?

Quelques jours après ce décret, le 11 Février, le Comité politique décide que les temples de Confucius seront réparés et appliqués à leur destination première.

L'ère triomphale du Confucéisme, 1914-1916. Le Sacrifice offert à Confucius par le Président.

Le sacrifice offert le 28 Septembre 1914, dans le temple de Confucius à Pékin, fut comme le couronnement de la dévotion de Yuen Che-k'ai pour Confucius, ou plus justement, le préliminaire de son ascension sur le trône impérial. Le mandat annonçant cet événement, est daté du 25 Septembre 1914. Après un résumé historique du culte de Confucius depuis les Han, (206 av. J. C.), il déplore l'état d'abandon où sont tombés ses temples et son culte. Le seul remède à la décadence de la moralité est le retour à la doctrine de Confucius.

"En conséquence, nous Grand Président, à la tête des fonctionnaires, accomplirons les rites du sacrifice, le 28 Septembre de la présente année.." etc.*

Le Rituel du Sacrifice à Confucius.

Ce Rituel comprend deux parties : la première traite des Sacrifices offerts dans le temple de Confucius à Pékin, par le Président de la République ou par son Représentant ; la seconde

* Ecole en Chine, Tome II, p. 163, 164. Texte du décret.

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concerne les Sacrifices offerts dans les provinces, par les gouverneurs, les intendants et les sous-préfets. Il est aussi question dans cette seconde partie, de la participation des chefs d'établissements scolaires, des professeurs et des élèves.

Des professeurs et des élèves formés aux cérémonies, devront prendre part aux sacrifices offerts à Confucius par les gouverneurs, les intendants et les sous-préfets.

Des fonctionnaires subalternes seront délégués pour les offrandes sacrificales aux Anciens Sages du temple de Confucius.*

Des directeurs d'écoles pourront aussi exercer cette fonction.

Des professeurs d'écoles pourront "offrir les sacrifices aux associés des cinq vénérables saints ancêtres de Confucius."

Voilà pour la répartition des rôles.

Le Bureau des Rites redigea un long mémoire, pour décrire l'origine du Rituel et l'adressa au premier ministre Siu Che-tchang 徐世昌. Celui-ci composa un Rapport, contenant le Mémoire du Bureau des Rites et le Mandat du 7 Février, prescrivant en l'honneur de Confucius des "Sacrifices qui égalent par leur solennité le Sacrifice au Ciel."

Le Rapport de Siu Che-tchang s'occupe ensuite des rites du sacrifice. Il se nommera Se, et non plus Che-tien ou Che-tsai, comme l'appelaient les anciens. Il règle le nombre des vases pour les offrandes sacrificales, les pantomimes, l'offrande des herbes marinées, le mode d'oblation du vin; il supprime l'offrande de l'encens et la combustion du boeuf, comme ne figurant pas dans le Livre des Rites. Enfin le document décrète que le temple de la Littérature se nommera désormais "Kong-tse-miao" 孔子廟 Temple de Confucius. Il règle les détails du culte sacrifical des Sages associés de Confucius dans son temple, de ses cinq ancêtres et de leurs associés dans le temple ancestral.

Comme on le voir, c'est Siu Che-tchang, actuellement Président de la République chinoise (1919), qui joua un rôle de tout premier ordre dans la campagne d'apothéose du Confucéisme en 1914. Sa politique présente n'a donc pas lieu de nous étonner.

A la fin du Rapport ministériel, une sorte de Postscriptum plutôt railleur, concerne les sacrifices à Confucius dans les écoles : "Si cela leur semble bon, il sera libre aux gens de les accomplir. En les accomplissant, ils feront voir que les statuts du culte Confucéen, ont toute leur origine dans la sincérité de leur cœur, et le religieux attachement qu'ils portent à Confucius."†

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* Recherches sur les Superstitions. Tome XIII. (B) Les 144 Sages du Temple de Confucius. p. 113 à 257.

† Tchong hoa ming kouo sin fa ling. Fas. 75. p. 2. Fas. 82. p. 29.

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L'année 1915. Culte de Confucius dans son pays natal.

Un décret du 18 Janvier 1915, régla tous les détails du culte sur le tombeau de Confucius à Kiue-li 闕里 au Chantong 山東: distinctions héréditaires, charges héréditaires, frais de sacrifices, officiers du temple de Confucius, bosquets du tombeau, temples, curie du descendant de Confucius.

Le duc Kong 孔 était établi Sacrificateur suprême, ayant sous lui huit "prêtres" de première classe, vingt-deux de deuxième et quarante fonctionnaires inférieurs. Le temple de Confucius possède un domaine de 360,000 arpents de terre.*

L'Article VII de la Convention porte: "Les revenus de ces terres, dites Terres des sacrifices, seront perçus par le duc Kong 孔; ordre est donné aux autorités de lui prêter protection en cette affaire."—L'Article VI spécifie que les dépenses ordinaires des sacrifices, seront payées par le duc descendant de Confucius, sur les sommes provenant des revenus des terres, qui appartenaient primitivement à la famille King, et qu'on appelle: "Terres des Sacrifices."†

Le 11 Mars, le Bureau des Rites fixe les morceaux de musique, qui doivent être exécutés pendant les sacrifices à Confucius.‡

Toute cette année 1915 vit le triomphe des rites superstitieux des anciennes dynasties: c'était la préparation prochaine à ceindre la couronne impériale.

Le 17 Mars, le premier ministre Siu Che-tchang offre solennellement un grand Sacrifice à Confucius, au nom du Président de la République.

Le 2 Mai, les officiers des Ministères de la Guerre et de la Marine et ceux d'autres Bureaux militaires, prêtent serment de fidélité dans la pagode des dieux de la Guerre, Koan Kong et Yo Fei (關公岳飛).

Le 15 du même mois, le vice-ministre de la Marine, Monsieur Li Houo, un protestant, est mis en disponibilité, parce qu'il avait cru devoir se dispenser de prêter serment dans une pagode, contrairement à sa conscience et à ses croyances. Yuen Che-k'ai montrait ainsi comment il comprenait la liberté religieuse.

Le 4 Octobre, des cérémonies superstitieuses étaient commandées à tous les militaires, au temple de la Guerre, en l'honneur des "vingt quatre officiers modèles," canonisés vers la fin de l'année 1914.¶ En beaucoup d'endroits, les soldats chrétiens ne purent

* L'arpent ou "meou" vaut 6 ares 144 centiares, d'apres la loi du 31 mars 1914.
† Tchong hoa ming kouo fa sin ling. Fas. 80, Sect. 13, P. 1.
‡ Calendrier annuaire de l'observatoire de Zikawei, Année 1915.
¶ Recherches sur les Superstitions, Tome XII, p. 1168—1179.

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se dispenser d'un acte qui répugnait à leur conscience, dans d'autres, ils furent pour ce fait chassés de l'armée, plusieurs même furent menacés d'être fusillés. Grâce à l'intervention de Monsieur Conty, Ministre de France a Pékin, qui fit energiquement remarquer que ces actes étaient une violation du traité de Tientsin, le Président de la République a bien voulu signer un amendement, qui exempte les soldats chrétiens de la prestation du serment, devant les statues de Koan Kong et de Yo Fei, dans le temple du Dieu de la guerre, Ou-miao 武廟.

Voici le passage important de cet amendement adressé au Président par l'Etat Major Général des Armées de Terre et de Mer : Projet de modification du Règlement concernant la prestation de serment par les militaires.

" Nous considérons actuellement qu'il pourrait y avoir des inconvénients, à maintenir pour les militaires convertis à la religion (chrétienne) la clause du Règlement fixant le local où doit être prêté le serment.

En conséquence, nous nous proposons de l'amender comme il suit : " Les militaires de cette catégorie (les chrétiens), qui devront prêter le serment accompliront cette cérémonie, à Pékin, au Temple du Ciel ; dans les provinces, à la résidence de leur chef et séparément des autres." Si Votre Excellence veut bien approuver le texte de l'amendement projeté, nous le notifierons respectueusement aux Ministères de la Guerre et de la Marine, qui seront chargés de veiller à son observation.

La modification fut approuvée et la dispense pour les Chrétiens de faire le serment de fidélité devant la statue du Dieu de la Guerre fut signée et munie du sceau du Président. Elle apparut à l'Officiel le 2 novembre 1915.*

Quelques Européens se sont imaginés que la question était tranchée et la liberté de conscience assurée : sur le papier, " à moitié," dans la réalité, "aucunement."

Je dis : "sur le papier à moitié," parce que dans l'amendement il n'est fait mention que de la prestation du serment, cérémonie spéciale, et il n'est point parlé (on s'en garde bien !) des cérémonies superstitieuses, qui se font chaque année, en dehors de la prestation du serment, dans la pagode du Dieu de la Guerre Koan Kong, de son associé Yo Fei et des 24 militaires modèles, introduits dans ce temple par Yuen Che-k'ai. Or, chaque année tous les soldats sont conduits par leurs chefs au susdit temple, et doivent assister et prendre part aux rites superstitieux, adoptés

* Le Texte chinois se trouve dans " Missions de la Chine et du Japon " par Planchet, année 1916, p. 483, 484.

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pour le culte de Koan Kong et autres. Peut-être que dans les villes fréquentées par de nombreux Européens, dans les ports ouverts et quelques autres cités progressistes, les officiers se montrent plus conciliants, mais dans l'intérieur, l'assistance de tous les soldats est de rigueur. J'en ai été moi-même témoin, plusieurs fois ; les chefs prétextent des ordres formels de leurs généraux et se montrent intraitables pour accorder la dispense aux chrétiens. Donc en réalité la liberté de conscience est annulée, avant comme après l'amendement.

Le 6 Octobre, Sacrifices à Confucius à l'occasion du 2466e anniversaire de sa naissance. Des ordres furent donnés à toutes les autorités et à tous les Directeurs d'écoles d'accomplir les rites d'usage. A Pékin, la cérémonie revêt un caractère officiel marqué. Environ 2,000 personnes sont réunies dans la grande salle de la Société Confucéenne. Le Président et d'autres hauts fonctionnaires sont représentés ; les céremonies sont accomplies en vieux costumes chinois, et selon toutes les exigences de l'antique Rituel, complété et adopté par le gouvernement de l'époque.*

Dans toutes les villes de l'empire, ces cérémonies sacrificales se firent avec une extraordinaire solennité.

Dans son N. du 12 Octobre, le North China Daily News publiait une lettre de son correspondant de Ou-tchang 武昌, qui racontait que 300 personnages, fonctionnaires, professeurs d'écoles officielles etc . étaient allés en corps, offrir le sacrifice à Confucius. Il terminait par la remarque suivante : " La brusque façon avec laquelle on se rejette dans les pratiques du passé, avec laquelle on les dépasse même, a quelque chose de presque alarmant." Cette dernière remarque peint au naturel les sentiments de tous les gens réfléchis.

III. La Présidence de Li Yuen-hong 黎元洪 1916-1917.

Le Vote Pour La Liberté Religieuse.

Depuis quelque temps déjà, le Confucéisme était devenu une question brûlante, mais la tentative infructueuse de la Restauration de l'Empire et la mort du prétendant, rendirent courage à l'opposition.

Le 30 Août Louo Yong-chao déposait sur le bureau de la chambre, une proposition de loi tendant à l'abolition des sacrifices officiels au Ciel et à Confucius. La proposition était ainsi motivée : 1. Dans une république, le spirituel et le civil doivent être séparés. 2. Les sacrifices ont servi à Yuen Che-k'ai d'échelons

* Ecole en Chine, Tome I, page 191.

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au trône impérial. 3. Ils sont un obstacle à l'entrée des chrétiens dans les carrières officielles.

La lutte était engagée et devait se poursuivre.

Le 24 Septembre les sacrifices à Confucius eurent lieu encore avec la sanction du Président, cependant une mutation assez significative fut faite au rituel. Sur la demande de Monsieur Liu Kong-wang, gouverneur civil du Tché-kiang, et malgré les protestations de Kang Yeou-wei 康有爲, Monsieur Suen Hong-i, Ministre de l'Intérieur, a télégraphié aux autorités provinciales de remplacer les prostrations (K'o-teou) rituelles, par des " inclinations de corps."

Les débats de Septembre et la victoire finale.

A partir du 5 Septembre, les deux chambres se réunirent deux fois la semaine pour discuter sur la Constitution permanente.

Trois articles du projet de Constitution donnèrent lieu à de vives discussions sur le Confucéisme.

1. L'Article IV garantissant l'égalité de tous les citoyens, sans distinction de race, ni de religion.
2. L'Article XI relatif à la liberté de conscience.
3. Le paragraphe 2 additionnel, à l'article IC qui porte: " L'éducation nationale met la doctrine de Confucius à la base de la morale individuelle."

Le 8 Septembre, les parlementaires Confucéistes proposèrent l'adoption du Confucéisme comme religion nationale, dont les Sacrifices au Ciel et à Confucius seraient les principaux actes cultuels. Ils n'obtinrent pas gain de cause. Après des discussions orageuses, le président de la commission essaya d'escamoter le vote, le 27 Septembre, en disant qu'après tout, ce n'était là qu'une " phrase." La minorité anti-confucéiste, qui y voyait au contraire la ruine de la liberté, protesta vivement et souleva une tempête parlementaire. L'article mis aux votes, obtint 377 voix pour et 200 contre. Il fallait 384 suffrages, c'est à dire les 2/3 des voix, pour que le paragraphe passât. L'affaire fut donc renvoyée à une troisième lecture et confiée à une commission spéciale. Entre temps, les opposants se fortifiaient et faisaient bloc. Il y eut de grands meetings à Tien-tsin, où catholiques, protestants, musulmans, se coalisèrent pour la liberté, et lorsqu'en Janvier 1917 la question du Confucéisme comme religion d'Etat, fut de nouveau posée devant les Chambres, il y eut 13,000 dépêches reçues à ce sujet. Le résultat fut la formation d'un parti anti-confucéiste assez fort pour faire échouer le projet. Il était rejeté derechef le 18 Jan. par 264 voix contre 255.

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Finalement le 14 Mai, l'Article XI de la Constitution fut voté par 483 voix sur 598 présents. Il est ainsi conçu : "Les citoyens de la République chinoise ont la liberté, soit d'honorer Confucius, soit de suivre une autre croyance religieuse, dans les limites des lois."

Texte un peu hybride, qui n'engageait guère le Gouvernement.

Dès que l'amendement du 14 Mai fut notifié par la presse, les membres de la société Confucéenne du Kiang-sou et du Tché-kiang, adressèrent au Président Li Yuen-hong et aux deux chambres, un télégramme où ils ne cachaient pas leur mauvaise humeur:

"Tous les Etats ont une religion ; cependant la chambre vient de voter en seconde lecture un article où il y a ces quatre caractères : Sin yn tsong-kiao (choix d'une croyance religieuse). Cet article abolit la religion de Confucius, et par le fait, la Chine devenant un Etat sans religion, s'engage dans une voie qui la conduira à sa perte." *

Les troubles de la Restauration en Juillet détournèrent un peu l'attention des partisans de Confucius.

Le 2 Juillet le Président Li s'échappait de son palais et se réfugiait à la légation du Japon, pendant que sa famille trouvait asile à la légation de France. Le même jour le président démissionnaire envoyait le sceau officiel à Toan Ki-joei, 段祺瑞, le priant de le remettre au vice-président Fong Kouo-tchang. Ce dernier prenait la présidence le 1 Août 1917.

IV. La Présidence de Fong Kouo-tchang 馮國璋 (1er Août 1917 au 4 Septembre 1918.)

Le "Statu Quo."

Malgré le demi-succès des associations anti-confucéistes, il n'en reste pas moins certain qu'en vertu de la force acquise, le culte de Confucius continua à être pratiquement le culte national. Même une loi reste, dans ces conditions, condamnée à devenir lettre morte. C'est ce qui arriva sous le gouvernement éphémère de Fong Kouo-tchang.

Théoriquement, la liberté de conscience resta consignée sur la charte constitutionnelle, pratiquement les sacrifices en l'honneur de Confucius dans ses temples, les cérémonies rituelles dans les écoles, continuèrent comme par le passé, ni plus ni moins.

* Echo de Chine, Mai 1917. Les Missions de Chine et du Japon, III année, J. M. Planchet, p. 427, 428.

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Le 27 Septembre 1917, nous voyons le Président en personne offrir les sacrifices d'automne au temple de Confucius à Pékin, suivant les vieux rites chinois, et des ordres continuent à être expédiés dans les provinces, pour maintenir ces usages dans toutes les villes de l'empire et dans tous les établissements scolaires. En résumé, c'est une liberté de nom, mais la pression morale lui enlève toute valeur réelle, l'ancienne législation suit son cours. Les lettrés les plus en vue de la Jeune Chine, se joignent aux personnages les plus influents et à de nombreux généraux d'armée, pour promouvoir le culte du philosophe chinois, et réclamer impérieusement que le jour anniversaire de sa naissance soit célébré comme une fête nationale. Avec l'avènement de Siu Che-tchang à la présidence, le Confucéisme va reprendre tous ses avantages, et chercher à étouffer la dernière lueur de liberté religieuse dans les écoles gouvernementales.*

V. La Présidence de Siu Che-tchang 徐世昌

(4 Septembre 1918.)

Abrogation Pratique de la Liberté de Conscience.

Personnellement, Siu Che-tchang est un confucéiste avéré, un chauvin de la secte, il ne pouvait manquer d'appuyer de toute son autorité le projet ci-dessus mentionné. Aussi dès le 20 Septembre 1918, la loi était adoptée au Sénat en deuxième et troisième lecture, et la chambre des Députés, dans sa séance du 26 Septembre sanctionnait sans discussion le vote du Sénat. Enfin un décret présidentiel, paru à l'Officiel le 28 Septembre et contresigné de tous les Ministres, même de ceux qui venaient de demander un Nonce à Rome ! a promulgué la loi adoptant comme fête nationale le jour anniversaire de la sainte naissance de Confucius. Ce jour-là un congé devra être accordé, on fera les offrandes rituelles, le drapeau national sera arboré et on pavoisera.

Circulaire Ministerielle pour la Fête Anniversaire de Confucius.

Restait à déterminer les détails des rites à observer dans cette circonstance ; le Ministère de l'Intérieur et le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique arrêtèrent de concert le règlement suivant en 5 Articles :

1. Tous les étudiants des écoles devront se rendre au temple de Confucius, pour accomplir les cérémonies ordinaires ;

* Calendriers Annuaires de l'Observatoire de Zikawei. Ecole en Chine, Tom. II, p. 166, 167. Etudes 20 Novembre 1917, p. 504 et suiv. Les Missions de Chine et du Japon, III Année, p. 427, 428.

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ils organiseront une procession aux flambeaux, soit de jour soit de nuit.

2. Tous les Corps constitués devront se rendre au temple de Confucius, pour lui témoigner des marques de respect.
3. Tous les fonctionnaires, les membres de tous les Corps constitués et les élèves des écoles, devront désormais envoyer des représentants au Temple de Confucius et honorer le Grand Sage par des discours.
4. Ce jour-là, tous les Corps constitués, les écoles, les établissements publics devront arborer le drapeau national et illuminer.
5. Ce même jour sera observé comme fête nationale par les écoles et les fonctionnaires.

Pratiquement c'était sonner le glas de la liberté religieuse, et l'abrogation discrète de l'amendement, voté en faveur de la liberté de conscience, le 14 Mai 1917.

Aussi voit-on pleuvoir les ordres gouvernementaux adressés aux Ministères, aux autorités provinciales, aux mandarins subalternes, pour leur enjoindre de se conformer avec diligence aux rites d'usage en l'honneur de Confucius.

Le 3 Janvier 1919, un décret présidentiel introduisit dans le temple de Confucius deux lettrés vieux-style, du début des T'sing 清 Yen Yuen 顏元 et Li Kong, 李塨 dont le principal titre aux honneurs posthumes, paraît bien être leur attachement notoire aux anciennes méthodes.*

Le gouvernement chinois garde toujours la tendance bien marquée des anciens jours : Viser à empêcher le prosélytisme religieux. Il est hanté par la peur que les élèves des écoles tenues par les étrangers, laïques, protestants ou catholiques, soient tentés de suivre la religion de leurs maîtres. Ce récent document publié par les journaux de Pékin en 1921, nous prouvera qu'il prend toutes les mesures pour arriver à son but. Voici un extrait du journal pékinois.

" En vue de se renseigner sur les collèges et écoles se trouvant dans l'intérieur de la Chine, dont la plupart ont été établis par les missionnaires étrangers sans l'approbation et à l'insu des autorités chinoises, le Ministre de l'Education a redigé les règlements suivants :

1. Les écoles et les collèges chrétiens étrangers doivent se faire enregistrer au Kiao-yu-pou 教育部, conformément aux lois existantes.

* Les Missions de Chine et du Japon, III Annee, p. 429-430.

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2. Tous les établissements éducationnels, chrétiens et étrangers, seront considérés comme des institutions privées. Les mots "Se li 私立" ou établissements privés, doivent être placés avant le nom de telles institutions.

3. Les étudiants des écoles moyennes établies par les missionnaires étrangers, doivent étudier les livres reconnus et approuvés par le Kiao Yu Pou.

4. Le même traitement doit être accordé aux étudiants chrétiens et aux étudiants non-chrétiens par les missionnaires et les professeurs étrangers.

5. Les missionnaires étrangers devraient permettre à leurs étudiants de choisir eux-mêmes leur religion, sans y intervenir.

6. L'enregistrement officiel ne sera pas accordé aux missionnaires qui violent les présents règlements."*

Pour attendre plus sûrement son but, le Gouvernement actuel use d'une double tactique. D'abord, il se montre très difficile et refuse autant qu'il le peut, toutes les fois qu'il le peut, l'approbation officielle des établissements privés et la reconnaissance officielle des diplômés de fin d'études. Ensuite, il vise à rendre très-pénible, sinon impossible, la vie des étudiants vraiment chrétiens, dans les écoles gouvernementales, pour la collation des diplômés. Cette façon d'agir devra nécessairement réduire à un très petit nombre, les chrétiens diplômés, et par le fait, fermer aux élèves chrétiens tout accès aux charges officielles dans l'administration du pays.

Disons quelques mots de cette tactique désobligeante.

1. Difficultés suscitées pour l'approbation des établissements privés.

Les élèves chrétiens ne peuvent guère fréquenter les écoles officielles sans courir les plus grands risques, au point de vue de la foi et des moeurs, il nous faut donc absolument des écoles où les étudiants puissent suivre les programmes officiels, sans danger pour leurs croyances et pour le salut de leur âme. En un mot, il nous faut des "écoles normales" pour former des maîtres chrétiens, instruits et dévoués, perles précieuses, très-rares en Chine !

De plus, ces maîtres chrétiens devront avoir leur diplôme, approuvé officiellement par le Bureau de l'Instruction Publique.

* Bulletin catholique de Pékin, année 1921, p. 228. (N. 94 Juin).

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Car les lettrés attendent impatiemment le jour où ils pourront exiger que tous les professeurs de nos écoles soient diplômés. Plusieurs règlements, édictés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, ont déjà été publiés dans les provinces, pour enjoindre aux autorités locales, de mettre ce programme en pratique dans le plus bref délai, dès que le nombre des diplòmés suffira pour fournir des professeurs à toutes les écoles publiques.

C'est donc une question de temps, le principe est posé d'une façon immuable, et bientôt le programme sera appliqué dans la plupart des provinces.

La première tactique du gouvernement consiste donc à refuser l'autorisation officielle aux diplômes délivrés dans les écoles, collèges et universités non-gouvernementales. Sans diplôme reconnu par le gouvernement, les maîtres ne pourront pas enseigner, et sans maîtres, plus d'écoles !

Je sais que de la coupe aux lèvres l'espace est grand, mais il n'en reste pas moins vrai que dans leur pensée, les adversaires des écoles catholiques et protestantes ont imaginé ce moyen d'entraver le progrès religieux. Il suffira pour s'en convaincre, de lire dans le Bulletin catholique de Pékin, 1920, le récit des pénibles négociations engagées avec le Bureau de l'Education de Pékin et le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, lors de l'approbation de l'école normale des Frères Maristes de Chala, à la capitale.* Les démarches ont duré une année entière ; le Bureau de l'Instruction ne voulait pas accorder l'approbation demandée, cela ressort clairement, tant des rapports écrits que des relations verbales.

2. Difficultés suscitées aux étudiants chrétiens dans les écoles gouvernementales.

Qui l'aurait cru ? par une inconséquence étrange, ces hommes qui se glorifient de n'avoir aucune religion, sont les plus ardents à faire revivre le culte religieux de leurs ancêtres, dans le seul but de ralentir les succès des écoles confessionelles.

Ecoutons ce que disent ces fauteurs de la ligue anti-chrétienne des "Sans religion :" "La différence essentielle entre nous et les Européens, est que notre morale est faite uniquement pour le monde présent et fait abstraction de tout surnaturel.

Nous vivons pour ce monde, nous n'attendons de récompense qu'en ce monde, nous rejetons toute idée d'un Dieu créateur et rémunérateur . . ayant un autre passé historique et une autre

* Bulletin catholique de Pékin, 1920, p. 53 à 58—98 à 102.

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forme de civilisation que les peuples d'Europe et d'Amérique, tenons à notre morale nationale, à la morale pour le monde présent ; gardons-nous bien de transplanter chez nous la morale étrangère, la morale de l'autre monde, qui ne s'accommoderait pas avec la nòtre."*

Ces mêmes hommes qui se piquent d'athéisme remettent en honneur toutes les vieilleries superstitieuses des anciens temps, dans le dessein d'effrayer les consciences chrétiennes et de tenir à distance les indésirables. Ils immolent un boeuf, une chèvre, un porc à Confucius ; une chèvre et un porc à ses quatre associés et aux douze Parangons du Temple de la " Grande Perfection ;" une chèvre et un porc aux 79 anciens sages et aux 77 anciens lettrés ; ils invitent l'âme de Confucius à descendre sur sa tablette pour recevoir les sacrifices, " Ying-chen " 迎神 ; une hymne est chantée pour cette cérémonie ; suit une triple offrande du sang et du poil des victimes, le bassin est déposé sur la table des offrandes, l'oblation de la pièce de soie brûlée en holocauste avec d'autres offrandes. Vient ensuite l'Oraison Sacrificale ou la prière du sacrifice en l'honneur du Très-saint et Premier Maître Confucius, qui n'eut jamais d'égal en ce monde et dont les vertus sont comparables à celles du Ciel ! ! De tels éloges meritent bien une récompense, aussi le Sacrificateur, après oblation, reçoit le " vin du bonheur " et les " viandes de la félicité," comme représentant du peuple. L'esprit de Confucius, après avoir goûté tous ces compliments, retourne dans les régions supérieures d'où il était venu et on lui fait la conduite en chantant l'hymne du départ.

Voilà les gens qui nous reprochent d'honorer un Dieu et d'avoir un culte religieux, ils ressuscitent toutes ces cérémonies périmées pour nous tenir à l'écart de leurs collèges, pour nous interdire l'accès des carrières officielles. Et qu'on n'aille pas dire que les chrétiens ne sont pas obligés par la loi de se plier à ces exigences illégitimes ; peut-être dans quelques villes des côtes, dans quelques ports ouverts, les autorités se montreront tolérantes, mais dans tout l'intérieur des provinces, il y a une nécessité morale pour les élèves des écoles et pour les fonctionnaires de l'Etat de subir

*Extraits du "Sieou cheng yao i" 修身要義, manuel de morale actuellement en usage dans les écoles moyennes et lycées chinois.

Remarquons ici ces expressions : " Nous avons un autre passé historique, une autre civilisation que les peuples d'Europe et d'Amérique ". . . C'est un écho affaibli des fameux placards de 1890, œuvre des grands lettrés de la vieille Chine : " Nous, descendants des saints et des Sages, nous chinois, disciples de Confucius et de Mong-tse, oserions-nous nous abaisser, jusqu'à suivre la religion fondée par un étranger Barbare nommé Jésus. . ! ? " Cette phrase se passe de commentaire.

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les injonctions de leurs supérieurs hiérarchiques, sous peine d'être mis en disponibilité, comme le vice-ministre de la Marine, Monsieur Li Houo, qui fut privé de ses fonctions, pour avoir mis sa foi et sa conscience au-dessus de son intérêt. Les lettrés contemporains, comme les lettrés vieux style du temps de Kang-hi se posent en patriotes, mais en patriotes mal éclairés, et mettent dans la main du vieux Confucius, l'étendard du xénophobisme.

Pour toutes ces superstitions d'antan qu'ils viennent de renouveler, ne les taxons point d'ignorance et de naïveté, ils ne sont ni ignorants, ni naïfs, ils comprennent parfaitement le côté déraisonnable de leur conduite, ils n'ignorent point que le sacrifice n'est pas seulement une cérémonie civile, mais un acte religieux, et le plus solennel des actes religieux, puisqu'il ne peut être offert qu'au souverain maître des mondes, ou du moins, selon leur mentalité, à un être surhumain. Ce crime de lèse-civilisation, ces pratiques superstitieuses réprouvées par toute l'élite intellectuelle de l'humanité, pourquoi nos lettrés républicains, progressistes, s'acharnent-ils tant à les maintenir en Chine ? Pour faire "une Chine aux Chinois," pour écarter toute influence étrangère, pour signaler comme "des serpents venimeux, comme le chancre de la Chine,"* les étrangers et surtout les missionnaires, qui par leurs écoles, leurs collèges infusent dans les masses populaires des croyances contraires aux idées nationales. Se voyant pénétrés de toutes parts, constatant avec un dépit visible les progrès annuels des Etablissements scolaires de toute nationalité, ils se réfugient dans leur dernier retranchement, dans le donjon de la forteresse, et accumulent toutes leurs batteries pour le défendre. Ce donjon jusqu'ici inexpugnable, c'est le Culte officiel de Confucius, le plus formidable obstacle à la liberté de conscience. Celui-là méritera justement d'être appelé le Libérateur de la Chine, qui renversera et rasera à jamais cette redoute de la servitude et de la tyrannie.

* Paroles de Li Hong-tchang 李鴻章.

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MINTED SHANTUNG COINS

BY

A. M. TRACEY WOODWARD, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S

For reasons of simplicity the above title has been condensed to three words, it should really have been "The Minted Copper Coins of Shantung under Manchu rule." But what matters a title? or what's in a name? as Shakespeare says, unless at the bottom of a cheque on a good banking account! The province of Shantung has never issued any gold or silver coins, so far as numismatists have been able to ascertain, and furthermore, although the coinage from that province consists of copper and/or bronze pieces, it would seem that even these were confined to 10-CASH pieces; no smaller or higher denominations have thus far been discovered. But in these very ten-cash pieces, the province is rich in its larger number of rarities, compared to the total number of varieties known. For a long time, I have made strenuous efforts to deeply specialize in the coins of that province, and have found it highly interesting, not that the material is plentiful, quite the contrary, but that very scantiness is the incentive which prompts us to search for excessively rare coins, among coins which in themselves are by no means common. This is not an exaggeration, for, among the two million coppers I recently examined, I have discovered that the correct proportion of Shantung pieces found in every ten thousand, is only about five. From such poor material have my researches been conducted, but the old aphorism that 'He who seeks, finds,' holds good here, as indeed it does generally throughout life. The charm that lures one on is the great blessing of having to investigate among 10-cash pieces only made under the Manchus, strictly speaking, under the Emperor Kwang Hsü only; the province has no republican

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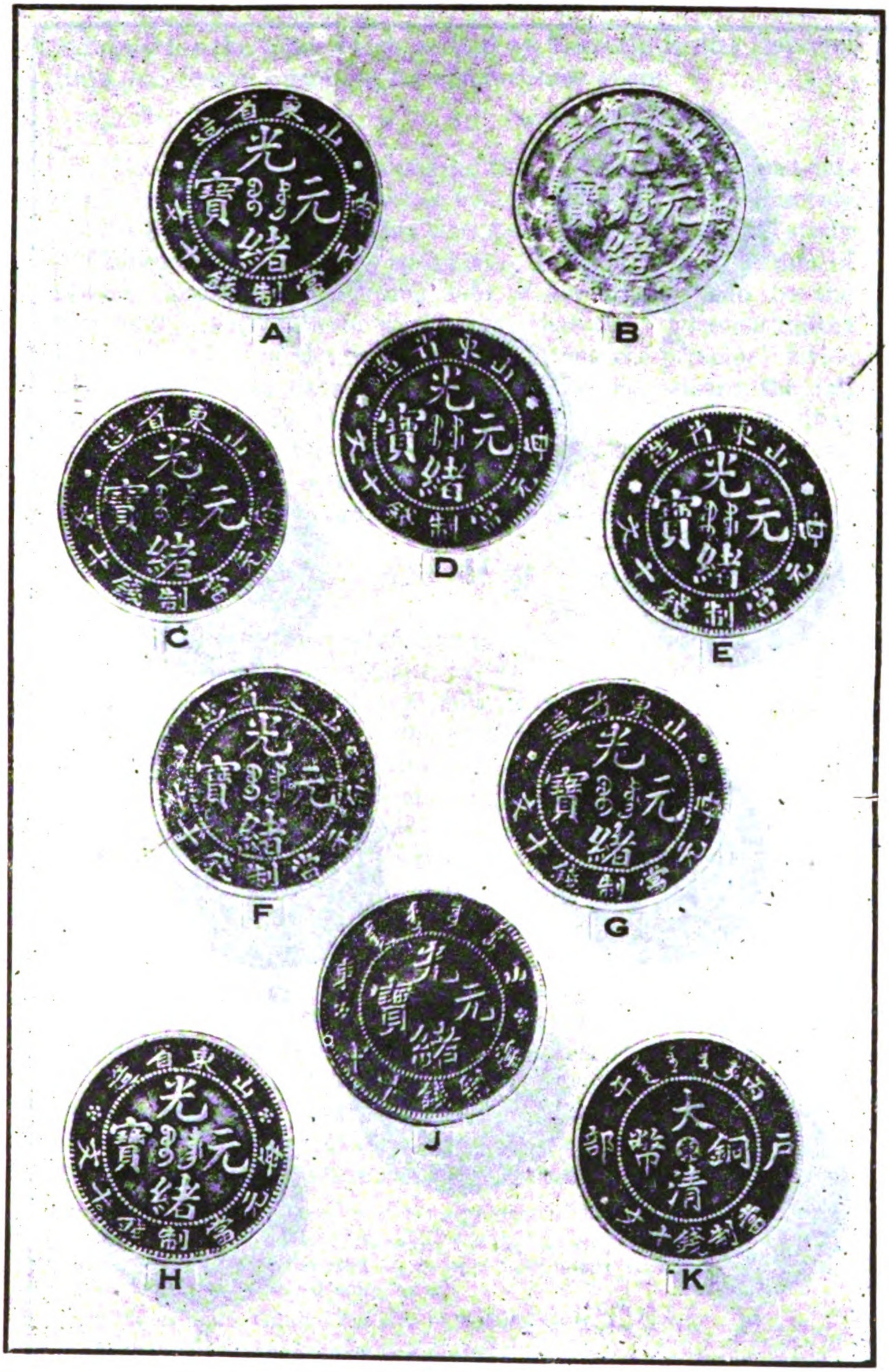

PLATE I

Types of obverses.

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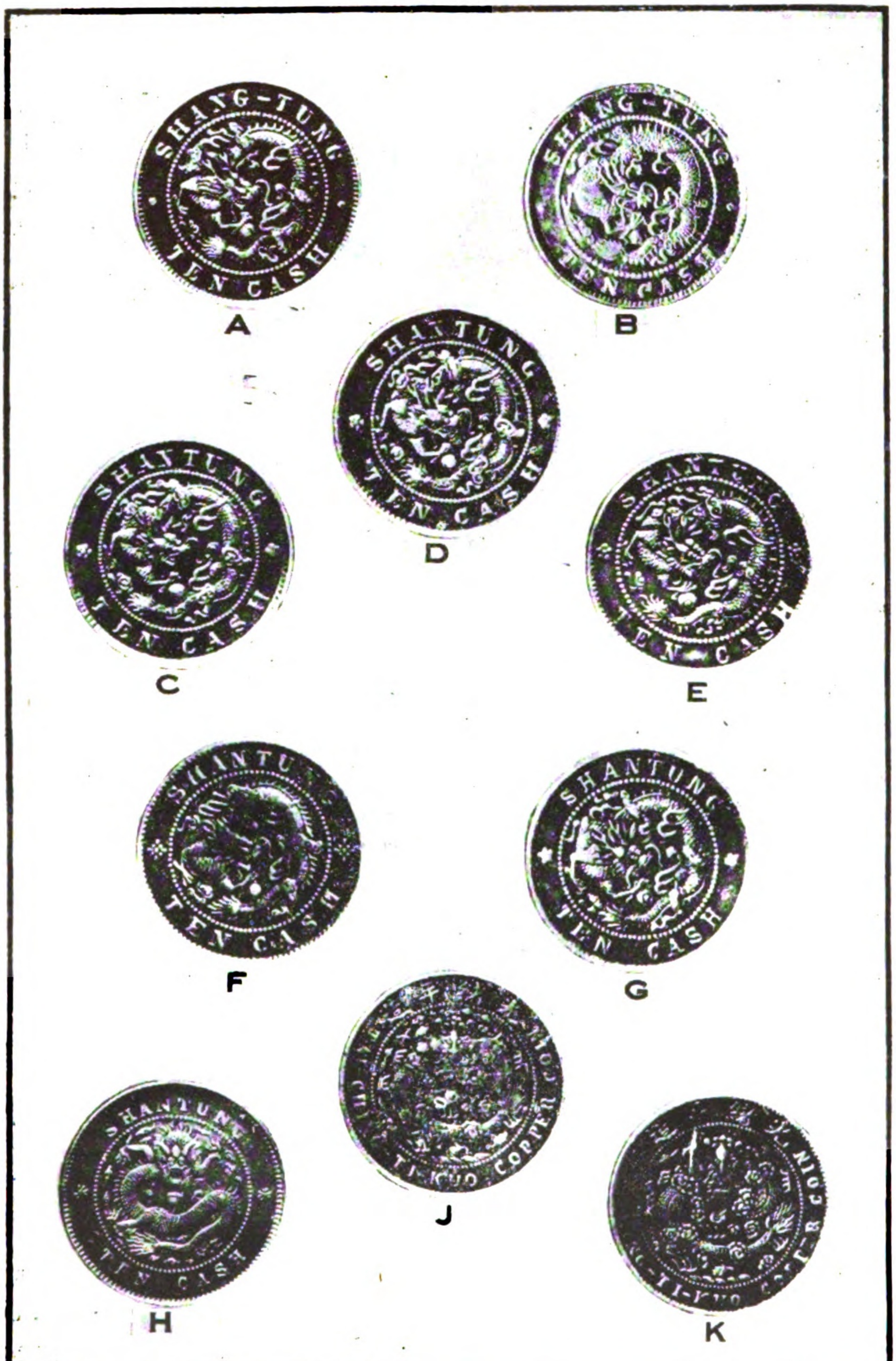

PLATE II

Types of reverses

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rubbish, for the mint which existed at Tsinanfu in the Imperial days, has ceased operating for about fifteen years.

* * *

Before proceeding to describe the coins, it is of utmost importance to dwell upon a matter which has not yet been definitely settled amongst numismatists who make the collecting and study of Chinese minted coins a specialty. I refer to the question of obverse and reverse. Which side of the coin should be the reverse ?* A numismatic work† says that the "Obverse means the head or face of the coin ; the side having the principal device and generally the date ;" whilst the "Reverse means the tail or back of the coin, the less important side." Such authorities as Wylie, Bushell and Terrien de Lacouperie correctly denote the obverse as the side with the inscription on, in consonance with earlier native writers, and notwithstanding that they wrote mostly on ancient coins, still the side with 寶 光 緒 通, or the side which bore the *Chinese inscription* was correctly denoted the obverse. We must reconcile ourselves to the fact that despite any foreign lettering or legend on Chinese minted coins, such pieces remain nevertheless, a Chinese coin pure and simple, and on this ground alone the obverse remains that face of the coin where the Chinese inscription is placed and not the side showing the dragon, flags, effigy or any such types when combined with any foreign letters. Lockhart, in his catalogue, has followed this logical conclusion, and several local collectors of minted coins have also arranged their collections in like manner. As against these conclusions, Ramsden‡ and Ros§ describe the coins by denoting the side of the coin bearing foreign inscriptions as the obverse, and the Chinese inscription face as the reverse. The former was a mediocre collector of Chinese minted coins, but Ros is a specialist who cannot be overlooked ; we must concede to him for all time to come, the rightful claim to pioneer work and research, and the knowledge acquired by many years of study and collecting must place him in the fore ranks of Chinese numismatists. How-

* I solicit the readers' indulgence for the notes that follow. Unless the question is decidedly disposed of, it would obviously be impossible for me to refer to Chinese minted coins at all.

† Numismatic Guide 12th Ed. Providence, R. I., U.S.A.

‡ Modern Chinese Copper Coins, 1911.

§ Coins of the Republic of China. Journal N.C.B., Royal Asiatic Society, 1917.

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ever, readers will have observed from my former articles that I have adopted the view of earlier writers, basing my decision on the ground that in China, I must think like the Chinese, read like the Chinese, and write like the Chinese when at work on things Chinese.

* * *

In the coins of Shantung province, the Chinese inscriptions on the obverse mainly read in the centre 寶 光緒 元, i.e., *Kwang Hsü Yuen Pao*, or Round currency (of the) Kwang Hsü (period). The seven characters 每元當制錢十文 (*Mei Yuen Dan Chi Chen Shih Wen*) read : Every round (is) equivalent (to) ten cash, and the five ideographs 當制錢十文 (*Dan Chi Chen Shih Wen*) meaning : Equivalent (to) ten cash. They are found at the bottom of the coins. The four characters 山東省造 (*Shantung Shun Tsoh*) usually found at the top, mean : Made (in) Shantung Province. The features of the reverses are principally, the different types of dragons, and in two instances (Reverses A and B) the name of the province is spelt SHANG-TUNG.

The principal characteristics by which each obverse is recognized, are, in :

Obverse A. The Manchu characters, and the rosettes at the sides which contain an inner circle.

Obverse B. The left hand side Manchu character terminates with a long tail, and the right side one ends in a sharp curve.

Obverse C. The rosettes are small, and the Manchu characters are altered.

Obverse D. The characters 光緒元寶 are different, and the Manchu characters are in very thin type.

Obverse E. Same as D, but the two side vertical strokes of the character 山 are shorter.

Obverse F. The Manchu characters are in very thick type, and the tail of the left hand side one ends in an acute curve. Medium rosettes at sides containing an inner circle.

Obverse G. The bottom of the left Manchu character is wider, and the characters are in thick type, the rosettes at the sides are small.

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Obverse H. Manchu characters again different, and the rosettes at sides are very large.

Obverse J. Four Manchu characters at the top, 東 山 at the sides.

Obverse K. 大清銅幣 in the centre.

All the obverses have other differences which contribute to readily distinguish them.

The reverses are most easily recognized by the following principal characteristics :—

Reverse A. The name of the province in roman letters is spelt SHANG-TUNG, there are seven dorsal spines on the dragon between the cloud nearest to the head, and the middle antennæ.

Reverse B. Same as A, but there are ten spines in the space already mentioned.

Reverse C. The province name is spelt SHANTUNG ; only four spines in the space above mentioned on the back of the dragon ; ornament near the tail ends horizontally.

Reverse D. Same as C, but the tail ornament ends vertically.

Reverse E. Province written SHANTUNG ; ten dorsal spines in the space already mentioned ; antennæ pointing to the right rosette.

Reverse F. Nine dorsal spines between first cloud and middle antennæ which points to the letter N ; comet at sides.

Reverse G. Seven dorsal spines in space above mentioned ; star at sides.

Reverse H. Upstanding dragon.

Reverse J. With legend TAI-CHING-TI-KUO COPPER COIN ; forehead of dragon small.

Reverse K. Same as J, but forehead of dragon thick and heavy.

All the above have other differences quite apparent to the expert.

It would be tedious to reiterate every detail of each obverse which exists in conjunction with the various reverses, and the following table of the combinations so far discovered, is self-explanatory. Reverse B is not found with any other obverse but

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B, which in turn is not found with any other reverse. Obverse H has not so far been found with any other reverse but F :—

TABLE SHOWING KNOWN COMBINATIONS

No.	Obverse		Reverse	Size m/m	Average weight grains	Comparative rarity*
1	A	with	A	28	108.803	C
2	B	,,	B	28	103.015	M.E.R.
3	C	,,	A	28	112.120	C
4	C	,,	D	28	114.325	M.E.R.
5	D	,,	A	28	111.503	R.R.
6	D	,,	C	28	111.194	S
7	D	,,	D	28	114.102	S
8	D	,,	E	28	114.726	R
9	E	,,	C	28	113.510	R
10	E	,,	E	28	114.050	R.R.
11	F	,,	C	28	112.120	E.R.
12	F	,,	D	28	114.127	E.R.
13	F	,,	E	28	115.115	C
14	F	,,	G	28	112.450	E.R.
15	G	,,	E	28	117.317	E.R.
16	G	,,	F	28.25	114.264	E.R.
17	H	,,	F	28	110.037	M.E.R.
18	J	,,	A	28	——	R.R.†
19	J	,,	E	28	111.118	R
20	J	,,	F	28	107.028	R.R.
21	J	,,	G	28	112.352	R.R.
22	J	,,	H	28	113.587	C
23	K	,,	J	28	114.204	C
24	K	,,	K	28	115.902	R.R.

Number one is found in copper and in sand-blast brass proof pieces ; it has a minor variety which consists of a dot between the Manchu characters in the middle of the obverse.

Number two is found in brass only ; it may safely be assumed that this is only a trial piece, it was 'discovered' only about three months ago.

Number three is found in copper and also in sand-blast brass proof pieces.

* The comparative rarity of the coins is expressed thus : C=common ; S=scarce ; R=rare ; R.R.=very rare ; E.R.= excessively rare ; M.E.R. =most excessively rare.

† H.A. Ramsden Modern Chinese Copper Coins, p. 24, No. 4. I have not seen this coin, and Ramsden does not give the weight.

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Number four and five are found only in copper; the former was discovered only a few weeks ago.

Number six is in copper, and has a sub-variety in the left hand star in the obverse, which consists of a star longer horizontally than vertically; it is a scarce variety.

Number seven exists in copper and in sand-blast brass proof pieces.

Numbers eight, nine, ten, eleven and twelve have so far been found only in copper.

Number thirteen has so far been discovered to have five sub-varieties, two of which may be termed S, and of which, one is similar to the sub-variety described under number six; it is easily recognized by its always clear and deep impressions; this number exists also in brass sand-blast proof state, and is R.R. in that condition.

Number fifteen and sixteen are coins 'discovered' during the present year, their existence was not heretofore suspected. All the varieties following number seven are known only in copper, with the exception of numbers thirteen and twenty-two which exist in brass sand-blast proofs. This latter number has four sub-varieties of obverses, the principal differences being in the ideograph 寶, and in the Manchu inscription; one of the sub-varieties can be classed R.

Number twenty-three has a minor variety of the dragon, the clouds of which differ; there exists also a sub-variety in the obverse, recognized by the altered lines of the Manchu characters; both sub-varieties of obverses are found in the two sub-varieties of reverses, thus making four combinations.

Number twenty-four is found in the two sub-varieties of obverses just mentioned.

* * *

In justice to Mr. Ros, to whom reference is made in connection with the question of obverse and reverse, a copy of the above article was sent to him and his criticism thereon solicited. It is with pleasure that his appreciated reply is appended. Disinterested criticism is always beneficial in that it acts as a great stepping stone in the solution of all problems. He says: "Concerning obverse and reverse of coins, it must be understood that all what I want, is to see a rule established, that all writers on Chinese modern coins may constantly follow. I think I have been somewhat misunderstood about the criterium on which my definition of

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obverse and reverse is founded. By no means I intend to consider the English legend as having more importance on a Chinese coin, than the Chinese inscription. This would be a very erroneous standpoint, and I would not like to see it attributed to me (A). The obverse is the side having the 'principal device,' as stated in the work quoted by you. Now don't you think that the dragon occuring on almost all of the modern coins is the 'principal device' (B)? From the artistic, technical and symbolical point of view, this seems to me beyond discussion. Collectors of old coins had no alternative in naming the obverse of the pieces they described, since most of these had the other face blank; but in my opinion, we are not bound to follow their lead when we come to describe modern issues which are of a quite different type from the old ones (C), though having kept the usual legend in four characters adopted since the time *nien-hao* was chosen by reigning Emperors.

"Though the Chinese legend may be sometime a *chef d'œuvre* of penmanship—as, e.g., on Chehkiang silver coins,—it is undoubtedly in the treatment of the dragon that the artists—both designer and engraver,—can better show their skill and ability (D); and it is the dragon that represents the *pons asinorum* of the forgers of coins. The dragon, symbol of Imperial Authority, and generally speaking, of the country itself under the Manchu rule, stands on the coins of China as the Eagle (E) or other symbols on the U.S. coins, as the figure of Liberty on French Republican c ins, or the Rising Sun on Japanese coins, after the banishment of the dragon from the obverses of the money of that Empire (F).

"On the other hand, the *value* of the coins, whenever it had been expressed on the old Chinese coins, appeared on their *reverse*; and the value of foreign coins is almost without exceptions, engraved on their reverse (G). This is quite in consonance with my definition of the *reverse* of Chinese modern coins.

"It is therefore with reluctance that I cannot accept your views about the opportunity or necessity of following the lead of earlier writers on Chinese coins—who were, however, quite right in their definition of obverse and reverse,—in describing modern coins.

"I propose to call obverse, the side of the coins on which the dragon or a figure (J)—as on the Ssûch'uan rupee—is engr ved. Where there is no dragon, the side on which the *nien-hao* is engraved is the obverse. In Turkistan pieces, the obverse is the side with the Chinese, the reverse, that with Turki legend" (K).

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A few words in comment of the above may have the advantage of thoroughly analyzing the matter.

A. Inasmuch as the work published by Ramsden was done in 1911, and the brochure by Ros published in 1917, this point can rightly be attributed to the former.

B. This work says also "*and generally the date,*" whilst the reverse means "*the less important side.*" In Chinese modern coins, the side with the dragon on never has the year date, it is always on the inscription side. Besides, in the Chinese inscription side we find not only the legends and year dates, but also the value in Chinese, the Manchurian inscription and the name of the issuing province, surely a face in a coin, which cannot be termed "*the less important side.*"

C. This decision is quite sound ; the only reason that should influence our decisions, are the relative importance of the two sides of the coins.

D. The question of the work of two mint hands, cannot be a factor to be taken into consideration when deciding such a question as the present one.

E. The eagle on American coins is not the principal device, and the side with this bird on, is always regarded as the reverse in the United States. The obverse is the side showing the head of Liberty or the Indian.

F. In old Japanese coins bearing the dragon it was on the side with the year date, legend and value in Japanese characters, this side was always termed the obverse, the reverse of which bore a risen sun, and when the dragon was subsequently eliminated, this risen sun took its place, but the obverse remained the same side as before, which goes to prove that neither the dragon nor the risen sun were the " principal device," but the whole design in combination with the various inscriptions.

G. On this point we are quite agreed. Apart from a few coins of Anhui, the dragon side, or reverse, invariably mentions the token value of Chinese coins,—in English, of course, the less important language.

H. This point is covered already by reply under C.

J. The obverse of a coin cannot be arbitrarily determined by a single, hard and fast rule, especially since it is obvious that the dragon side is not the principal side. In ancient coins, the dragon and phœnix side is always denoted the reverse.

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K. Here we are in complete accord. The Turki inscription side being in a foreign language, is surely less important than the Chinese inscription side which is the one looked at and understood by well nigh five hundred million of population. The English legend was considered of such little importance by the Chinese, that in some of the later republican issues, such lettering has been eliminated entirely.

The *pros* and *cons* having been so comprehensively compared, we now leave the reader to form his own conclusions.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

We are sure our readers will much appreciate the etching by Dr. Yetts, and will be glad to know an equally beautiful one is to be given in No. 5.

We have been asked to insert the following correction :— On p. 130, line 8, read " seventh century " for " eighth century."

Also, Father Mullie says :

La note de la page 190, du présent volume doit être lu comme suit : Cent sapèques représentent à Tch'ao-yang-hien 16 grandes sapèques. Or il y a seize têtes de collines à passer pour franchir la passe. De là le nom.

P. 190. Le premier mot doit être lu : gangga.

P. 191. *Note.*—Le *ts* doit être pris pour l'affricative palatale médiane à articulation apicale, dépourvu de sonorité.

Notes by Professor Giles.

The Trustees of the British Museum have been kind enough to present me with a copy of " An Index of Chinese Artists " whose works are represented in the sub-department of Oriental prints and drawings. It has been compiled by Mr. Waley, and I may say at once that it will be very useful to students who seek, as Mr. Binyon puts it in his preface, " the most accurate information available " about the Chinese artists in question. My present object, however, is to draw attention to a few errors in my " Chinese Pictorial Art " which Mr. Waley has been able to point out, and which will come in very handy when a 3rd edition is called for.

The first of these errors is on p. 69, twelfth line from foot, where I have " A.D. 780," which Mr. Waley rightly says should be 880.

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The second is a serious and at the same time a curious slip. On p. 87, line 11, I have transliterated the fairly common surname 解 *Hsieh* by its normal sound *chieh*. That is the serious part; the curious part is that in an article on "The Family Names," which appeared in Vol. XXI (1886) of the Journal of the N.-C. B.R.A.S., the word is correctly given, as also in my Chinese-English Dictionary, No. 1,515, and in my Biographical Dictionary, No. 727.

The third is on p. 107, line 16 from foot, where I have rendered 骨氣 by "anatomical strength." I am not for a moment going to say that this is the true meaning of the term; neither can I accept off-hand, without any proof, Mr. Waley's "design." Perhaps Mr. Arlington will have a shot at it.

The fourth is on p. 189, line 12 from foot, where I have lumped two painters together as "Hsü Huang," whereas I should have said Hsü Hsi and Huang Ch'üan. Luckily for the reader, both painters are given correctly in the body of the book and also in the Chinese index.

The fifth is on p. 196, and involves a bad mistranslation. Delete from "a picture of," line 17 from foot, to "Wu Tao-tzŭ," and insert after "celestial fire," line 14 from foot, "which completely outshone the work of Lu Lêng-chia and Wu Tao-tzŭ." Mr. Waley writes "Lu Lêng-ch'ieh," but I think the sound *ch'ieh* is only northern *patois*; *e.g.*, 茄 *ch'ieh* the brinjal, which is correctly read 嘉 *chia*, 伽 being read 茄, and therefore *chia*. In any case, *chia*, as given in Pictorial Art, p. 53, and also in the index, is the only sound suitable for transliteration from Sanscrit or Pali.

Mr. Waley himself has a good-sized table of *Errata* for so small a book; one of them, however, is unnecessary. We are told to read *Wên-ts'ung* on p. 65 for *Wen-tsung*, but in my copy the correction had already been made. The names of the painters throughout seem to be only approximately in alphabetical order; it is a pity they are not strictly so.

I have often had occasion to draw attention to sundry mistranslations and other inaccuracies which have fallen from Professor Parker's pen (see *The China Review*, Vol. XXII, pp. 552-556, Vol. XXV, pp. 280-290, etc.); but I am unable to remember such an unnecessary welter of inexactitudes as he has crowded into three "notes" on p. 64 of the present volume. Here they are:

"It is a remarkable thing that the character 惇 does not appear in Giles." It is No. 2,844 in my Dictionary, to which

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Professor Parker is alluding. A singular reason is given why I should have included this word; namely, that "Prince Tun was a well-known character in the Peking streets when Giles was there about 50 years ago (55 years all but a month, to be accurate)."

"Williams, and also Giles, does not give the character 嵇." I found it at once in Williams, and it stands as No. 4,117 in my Dictionary. Professor Parker evidently looked under the wrong Radical and adds that it is "a not uncommon 姓," though only thirteen individuals, distinguished enough to be mentioned in history, appear to have borne it. Professor Parker further makes 嵇 and 稽 interchangeable, imagining that both are read *chi*[1], which is far from being the case. Apart from the fact that K'ang Hsi says 嵇音奚, which settles the point in favour of *hsi*[1], it was to 嵇 that 奚康 Hsi K'ang's ancestors had for reasons of safety, changed their name, keeping, as usual in such cases, the sound while altering the written character. [*Chi*[1] for *hsi*[1] is a blunder I made twenty-four years ago in my Chinese Biographical Dictionary, wrongly writing 稽 for 嵇, No. 297. Owners please note; also that the second character should not be written with 禾, the 115th Radical, but with 米.]

鮭 is one of the many thousand characters omitted from my Dictionary by force of circumstances. I don't see that Professor Parker's "possibly sturgeon" has any higher claim than my "minnow." Hamlet suggested "whale;" let us leave it at that, merely adding that the sentence of which Professor Parker complains was not meant to be Hsün Tzŭ's text but a phrase based on the text, as found in literature.

Professor Parker's suggestion that the fair long necks of the girls were "as though girdled tight" instead of "like the gazelle," as I put it, leaves me icy.

Finally, I have to thank Professor Parker for the error under 10,814, which I shall make no attempt to explain. I am always grateful for corrections, though I do object to being sent on wild-goose chases. Time is very valuable to me, and I have so little of it left.

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SOME QUESTIONS

BY

E. T. C. WERNER,
H.B.M. Consul, Foochow (Retired).

Herbert Spencer's nervous system was of so refined a nature that it responded to stimuli which left grosser systems unaffected. It was like a delicately-poised electrometer. Even the flapping of a butterfly's wings annoyed him. Though he accomplished a work "unexampled in the history of human thought" he could not work in the afternoon for fear of insomnia at night. During his afternoon drives with young friends he would put to them questions not to be answered without thought—such as "Why does a duck waddle in walking?" or "How is it possible for a lark, while soaring, to sing for several minutes without cessation?" or "Why have sheep and rabbits their eyes on the sides of their heads, while cats and dogs have their eyes nearly in front?" —in order that loquaciousness might be checked. He did not supply the answers, his purpose being that his questionees "might exercise their reasoning powers."

The questions given below are tests rather of a general knowledge of things Chinese than of ability to arrive at correct solutions by the exercise of the reasoning faculties. Yet, since self-examination is self-help, benefit may, I think, accrue from attempts to answer questions of this kind—something between the really puzzling problems of sinology on the one hand and such questions as "Why is there no market for pince-nez among the Chinese?" on the other—without consulting teachers or books.

Why is a letter called a "foot-tablet" 尺牘?

Why is a railway platform called a "moon terrace" 月臺?

Who were the "Perpendicular Unionists" and the "Horizontal Unionists?"

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What was the origin of the division of books into 上, 中, and 下?

Who predicted the "speedy appearance of a shining cross on every hill in China," and when?

Who was the "bald-headed black orphan?"

Which Chinese said that "peace would prevail in China when civil officials are no longer greedy of money and military officials no longer fear death?"

Why were birds' nests not eaten in China before the Manchu Period?

How many persons composed the 四岳?

Why is the first month of the year called 正月?

Were 羲 and 和 one or more persons?

Where was the 馬八兒 State?

How was it that the recent Board of Revenue had its origin in the early office of the Minister of Instruction?

Why is a modern Province designated a "watch" 省?

Why is Lü Tung-pin, one of the Eight Immortals, worshipped by the fraternity of barbers?

Who were the 相?

Why is a pair of trousers sometimes suspended over the door of the bride's chair in marriage processions?

Which is the most extensively worshipped deity in China?

Which character with its radical has fewer strokes than its radical in its full form?

Why was cloth used as a medium of exchange in the earliest times?

What was clapping of hands a sign of until recently in China?

Why do the Chinese popularly call a month a month-day?

What was the origin of the 斜 outside old yamêns?

What was the origin of the name 交民巷, usually known as "Legation Street" (Peking)? (*N.B.*—It does *not* mean "Street of Intercourse with the People").

Many more might be given, but my object here is rather to hold out these few as a bait to induce other workers in the same fascinating field to propound their sinological conundrums.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Chinese Grammar Self-Taught, by John Darroch, Litt. D.; London, Marlborough & Co.

"The grammar of a language treats of the forms its words assume, and of the ways in which they are used for the expression of thought." There must therefore be such a thing as Chinese grammar, though the Chinese themselves never dreamt of such a thing till the Westerners came and told them.

How far it is *desirable* to study Chinese by the help of Western grammar is one thing; how far it is *possible* is yet another—since of most of our time-honoured grammatical divisions Chinese is utterly innocent. There can be no Orthography, where there is no alphabet; nor Orthoepy, where the pronunciation changes from province to province and from district to district; nor Etymology, where no derivations can be given; nor Accidence, where tense, number, etc., are largely ignored, and almost any word can be any part of speech; and though Syntax and Prosody have their place in Chinese, the rules are so utterly alien to ours, that comparison is well-nigh impossible. Yet it is a fascinating thing to see how the Chinese mind, in seeking expression for its thought, meets the problems which the Westerners have solved by means of a complex grammar; and here is a gallant attempt to show us how it has been done.

The book is a companion to the author's earlier "Chinese Self-taught," and as such should be considered. It is also one of a well-known series; and though we are quite ignorant of Serbo-Croatian, Gujurati, and a good many other of the languages, manuals of which are provided by the enterprise of Messrs. Marlborough & Co., we feel sure that not one of the compilers had a more formidable task than Dr. Darroch; in fact, no one could have a harder, except the adventurer who may try to learn alone this Chinese grammar. We pity him, unless he has already been through the earlier work and got somewhat used to the my-

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stifying Chinese character and terrifying romanization—for the book is in addition none too well arranged. The commoner radicals, indeed, are printed in capitals; but this is almost the only attempt to distinguish the more from the less important, and the self-teaching sufferer will not know how to pick and choose.

The author has wisely confined himself to the written mandarin colloquial; but even thus (as indeed in all grammars we have ever come across) the language is made to appear more difficult than it is. We happen to be able to speak and read Chinese, but as we study these pages we feel a new respect for ourselves: surely we were cleverer than we knew!

We greatly admire Dr. Darroch's ingenuity and thoroughness. It is true that on nearly every page there is something we would challenge; but what of that? The subject is *Chinese*; and over it the same couple of sinologues will wrangle decade after decade, if not without loss of temper, yet apparently without loss of face, while the lesser fry, down to the students in the "Language Schools," disagree unceasingly. So no one will be surprised if, *e.g.*, we ask, "Who said 自己 was to be used in the singular number only?" (p. 81), or if we say, "Why, if 們 is given as the sign of the plural for pronouns, is it not acknowledged (p. 34) as a plural form for nouns denoting persons? Surely 先生們, 兄弟們, etc., are common forms enough?"

But alas! it is not only the Chinese we disagree with: sometimes we do not agree with the grammar. On p. 79 the learned doctor was surely nodding, when he gave the verb *to be* an object!

Again, we cannot accept the statement made (p. 48) about adverbs and adjectives. That an adjective follows its noun does not transform it into an adverb; if I say "Boys all have mischief," surely *all* is not an adverb here? Yet on p. 86, in the sentence 人皆有兄弟我獨無, we are told that *giai* (皆) is an adverb modifying the verb 有.

Once more, we are told (on p.79) that 的 is a relative pronoun in 有一個姓王的來了, which is translated "A man who is named Wang has come." It is true that the sentence *may be so translated*, if we put in the noun "man;" but would it not be more helpful to show that this is a case of the use of 的 as a particle having the power of making any phrase into a noun? The sentence really means "There is a named-Wang-one, etc.," and the 的 is really this "one," changing "named Wang" into a noun. (Where the verb involved is in the active voice, we in English should express the same thing by the suffix "-er,"

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—thus, where a Chinese says "the keep-gate-one," we should say "the gatekeeper.")

We noticed with especial care Chap. XXIV on "Compound Verbs." These are in our view one of the most important parts of the colloquial, and much more might well have been made of them—perhaps by a list showing the force of the various auxiliaries. He who can master these and use them correctly is, we think, on a way to the niceties of the spoken language. He will know, *e.g.*, the difference between 這個飯我吃不上來 and 這個飯我吃不下去; and will have found his way to the right use of 看不見, 看不起, 看不開, 看不明白, 看不得, 看不出來, etc.

But doubtless everyone will wish *his* pet ideas had been emphasized by Dr. Darroch, just as everyone wants his favourite poems in an anthology. Without controversy, a tremendous amount of information has been got together between the covers of this little book, and if other Chinese speakers find themselves disagreeing with it and each other over some of its statements—*tant mieux*: the book will act as a tonic. We have a vivid recollection of seeing that finished and eloquent speaker and preacher, the late Dr. Calvin Mateer, taking down fresh phrases in his note-book, long years after his excellent "Mandarin Lessons" had been given to the world; yet how many of us lesser folk are content to remain just moderately good speakers of Chinese!

* * *

The Chinese Family System. By Sing Ging Su, M.A., PH. D. International Press, New York City, 1922, pp. 112.

Sociological studies of Chinese society by Chinese students are becoming numerous, and the present work will take a worthy place among them. Doctor Su (or is it Sing? Impossible to tell from the title page) has put us much in his debt by a careful and clear analysis of the facts, historically considered, and fully documented. In particular we would commend his minimum of desire to exalt Chinese culture at the expense of Western; a fact which by itself shows the progress which Chinese students are making in attaining the proper scientific spirit for the prosecution of their studies. But if we may be permitted to suggest it, the entire treatment errs by being rather too bookish, and not sufficiently based on the facts of actual life. For the treatment of past ages this may be excusable, but hardly for the chapters which treat of the Chinese family system of to-day and which occupy the larger part of the work. For example the references to concubin-

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age, a most important part of the system, are most casual. Fewer references to the Provisional Civil Code and more examples (from newspapers and magazines and personal knowledge) of the actual state of family life would have been acceptable and would have added notably to the value of the work.

We have to note, as in similar previous cases, the absence of the Chinese ideograph in references, not to speak of quotations. When will the American publisher come to the point of furnishing bilingual fonts for works on China, as is done in England and on the Continent ? Not till then will such works cease to exasperate the student, especially when they are learned scientific studies. At that the author has not been as careful as he might have been. For example, on p. 13 and elsewhere he refers to Westermarck's " History of Human Marriage, " but does not name the edition. On p. 61 he translates a Chinese proverb, and in the appended note refers to Giles' Dictionary, but not by number ! For the would-be verifier, there results a fine problem in retranslation. We hope for the day when it will not be needful to speak, in a review, of small matters of this sort.

* * *

China, the United States and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance
pp. 176. *The Chino-Japanese Treaties of May* 25, 1915.
pp. 151. *The Twenty-one Demands*: *Japan versus China*.
pp. 178. By G. Zay Wood, formerly editor of " The Far Eastern Republic," etc., Fleming H. Revell Company. Each vol. $2.00.

This is a useful set of books. It cannot be regarded, however, as sober history, but rather as national propaganda. It is but one step above the political pamphlet ; the writer's motive is strongly and plainly patriotic, but from the point of view of the internationalist, his production is a skilful *ex parte* statement and no more. Imbedded in his account will be found a fairly complete statement of the facts with which he is dealing, but it requires a wider knowledge and a more impartial spirit than the author possesses (or manifests) to separate fact from argument, and to complete his tale with the facts of human weakness or chicanery which he omits. Nevertheless, the work was worth doing, for we may be sure that the case for China is stated as skilfully as it can be stated and that until Japan has answered the very effective arguments which are here put forth, instead of evading them as she has largely done hitherto, the presumption is that the case for China wins.

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We are sorry to note that the proof-reading is not all it should be, and that there are numerous small errors of fact—and of grammar. It is rather astonishing that such a firm as Revell should publish works with grammatical errors and rhetorical crudities such as we find here; and we would urge the author in future publications to enlist the friendly services of a foreigner to remove these small blemishes. They attract an undue amount of attention, and are apt to prejudice the neutral or unfriendly reader against the argument of the work.

The most useful feature of the whole is the Appendices, which occupy nearly a third of the whole space. Here are the texts of treaties, agreements, official statements, etc., a most convenient and complete collection, for either the special or the general student.

* * *

Körösi Csoma-Archivum. (Published twice a year at Budapest).

That optimistic incurable and incurable optimist, Robert Louis Stevenson, once said that he "had no opinion of a man who would not wind up his watch on a sinking ship;" and we have been reminded of this great saying as we have examined the three numbers of the above publication lately sent to us for review.

Of all the participators in the Great Disaster of 1914-1918, surely not one was more innocent, more unwilling to make war, more chivalrous in her fighting, than Hungary; yet she who in the 14th century was "the most formidable state in Europe," now finds herself "an island in a sea of Slavs," her territories of a thousand years reduced by two-thirds and most of her raw material and much other wealth snatched from her. Living costs 100 per cent. more than in 1914; and the warring of Royalist and Republican factions fills the political world.

Yet in spite of all this, scientific and artistic activities are maintained; and the "Körösi Csoma Society," of which the above is the organ, has been lately formed for the study of that part of Oriental history and culture which is of special interest to the Hungarians, having regard to their origin, history, and geographical position. The first article of the first number (Ap. 1921) fitly deals with that great traveller and philologist Körösi Csoma Sandór, whose name has been given to the new Society and magazine, and who during the earlier part of the 19th century travelled far and wide over Central Asia to substantiate his theory that the Magyars and their language originated in Tibet. His theory had to

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be given up, but his grammar and dictionary of Tibetan published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1834, have procured for him a lasting name. He died at Darjeeling in 1842 and the Society (of which he was the Librarian in Calcutta at the time of his death) erected a monument over his tomb; thus showing the British interest in Hungarian explorers still happily continued in the case of his distinguished and accomplished compatriot, Sir Aurel Stein.

The scope of this review may be judged from the facts that these three numbers give us matter in Magyar, French, German and English, and that we are promised information on all relevant important publications appearing in Russian, Finnish and Turkish. The nature of the contents may be seen from the name of the longer articles, which it would be beyond our scope to review in detail. In German there are important articles on "The Anatolian Poets in the Time of the Seljuks," with extracts; "Turco-Byzantine Miscellanies;" "Our Knowledge of the Petschenegs;" an article on the Scythians as they are treated of in the Hungarian histories, etc., in French we have "The Hungarian Scientific Institute of Constantinople;" "The Journey of Sallâm to the Wall of Gog and Magog" (arguing against the identity of this with the Great Wall of China); and "Abdullah Tokaï, a modern Tartar poet."

Dr. B. Laufer writes in English on the Jurci and Mongol numerals, and there are in the four languages reviews of new books, a notable one for us being that on Erke's "China" and "Chinesen," in German.

We hope to give in a later issue a translation of an article bearing on Chinese art—"Spontaneität," by Z. v. Takâcs,—with which we have been favoured by the learned author.

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THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE "DOCUMENTS CHINOIS DÉCOUVERTS par Aurel STEIN dans les Sables du Turkestan Oriental"

by

Edouard CHAVANNES

Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France.

Translated from the French

by

Madame Edouard CHAVANNES and H. Wilfred HOUSE

FOREWORD

M. Stein has thought fit to entrust to me the study of the Chinese documents, written for the most part on wood, which he has recovered from the sands of central Asia. This was a formidable honour, and I was not slow to appreciate the fact when I found myself faced with about two thousand fragments, which had to be examined one by one through a magnifying glass, in order to distinguish between those which could not be used and those capable of being deciphered. Having thus eliminated one-half of the wooden slips that constitute tho great mass of these texts, I had to read those which remained, to classify them in groups,

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and to translate them into French. To succæd in this undertaking I have availed myself of various helpers whom I am happy to mention here. In the first place, I have had at my disposal the transcription which had been produced by M. Stein's "lettré," Mr. Chiang Hsiao-yüan 蔣孝琬; but the latter had only made a hurried reading such as is possible in the course of a journey, and it left unsolved nearly all the real difficulties. Later, I had the good fortune to meet in Paris two Chinese students who interested themselves in my researches with a goodwill that was of infinite value to me. With Mr. Wu Ch'in-hsün 吳勤訓 I studied all the slips again, and, as a result, the text of many of them has been fixed in a manner that leaves no doubt. But a great number of problems still remained unsolved, and I therefore undertook the task of making comparisons, collecting together all the slips on which any doubtful character appeared. By this method it was possible to carry the interpretation further. Finally, assisted by Mr. Wei Huai 魏懷, I proceeded to make a general revision which enabled me to correct many errors. I wish to express here my gratitude to Mr. Wu 吳 and Mr. Wei 魏.

The publication of this volume was undertaken by the representative of the Oxford University Press, with the help of a grant from the Secretary of State for India. For that assistance I am profoundly grateful.

What was the right method to follow in publishing these documents? I might have confined myself to the inclusion of only those of which the sense was certain. I should in that case have disregarded those of which the reading was doubtful or the translation hypothetical, and I should have omitted all those which were too fragmentary to allow of the text being restored with certainty. I was of opinion that this over-cautious method was not the right one. It was better, even at the price of numerous errors, to place the scientific world in possession of M. Stein's discoveries in their entirety. In short, the most important thing was that scholars should have access to all the materials which I myself had at my disposal, and that they should be able, by new efforts, to improve upon the results which I have obtained. I have realized, better than any one, the risks which I have run in undertaking the task entrusted to me by M. Stein. So it is by no means in a presumptuous spirit that I have performed it; I have only done what I could, and I shall be thankful for all the corrections which may be proposed by the erudite scholars who are anxious to collaborate in developing our knowledge of Sinology.

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INTRODUCTION.

The Chinese documents studied in this volume can be divided into different groups.

The first series (Nos. 1-709), which is by far the most important, comes from several localities, the most easterly of which is to the North of TUN-HUANG, 敦煌, about 94° 30′ longitude, while the most westerly is situated about 93° 10′ longitude, slightly north of 40° latitude[1]; the wooden slips, of which this series is essentially composed, date back to the *Han* dynasty, and are distributed over a period between the beginning of the first century B.C. and the middle of the second century A.D. Such among them as contain an exact date can be allotted chronologically as follows :

Date	Slips	Date	Slips	Date	Slips
98	271	1	593 (?)	77	580
96	304,[2] 308 (?)	3	430[3]	87	390
95	306 (?), 309 (?)	5	400	94	537
94	305, 430 (?)	8	585	137	536
68	255	9	367	153	680 (?)
65	37, 256 (?)	12	272		
64	262 (?)	14	307		
63	9—24, 39	14-19	371, 372		
61	38, 40, 447 (?)	15	356 (?), 482		
60	42, 43, 181 (?)	17	368, 369		
59	25—35, 41, 44	20-21	592		
58	39, 45, 46, 87 (?), 158, 159, 160, 392	35	562		
		43	483		
57	36, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 91, 92, 93	46	484		
		50	563, 564		
		53	565		
56	58, 399	55	485		
53	446	56	486		
52	413, 414	61	566		
48	338 (?)	67	535[4]		
45	339 (?)	68	579		
39	428, 429	75	613, 614		

1. Cf. A. STEIN, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, Vol. II, pp. 50-65 and pp. 92-156.
2. In line 15 of p. 71, for 29 Dec. 95 B.C., read 30 Dec. 96 B.C.
3. In the last line of p. 96, for 4 A.D., read 3 A.D.
4. In line 15 of p. 116, for 21st Jan. 65 A.D., read 21st Jan. 67 A.D.

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It is to be noticed that, among the documents of this series there are a few writings on paper. The majority are Buddhist writings of the time of the *T'ang* dynasty (Nos. 710-720), and have been put together accidentally, side by side with slips of the *HAN* period. But three of them, Nos. 706-708, appear almost certainly to date back to the second century A.D., and are thus the most ancient specimens of paper that exist.[1]

The second series (Nos. 721-950), comprises writings on wood and paper of the *CHIN* period. With the exception of a few wooden slips (Nos. 940-950), which come from Niya[2] where M. Stein had previously found many belonging to the latter half of the third century A.D.,[3] all the other documents composing this series were discovered by M. Stein to the North of the marshes, now dry, that were at one time part of the Lopnor.[4] The locality from which they come lies slightly west of 90° longitude, by 40° 31′ latitude, and it had already been visited in 1901 by Sven Hedin. It is probable that it occupies the position of the ancient kingdom of *Lou-lan*[5] 樓蘭. The writings brought back by Sven Hedin have not up to the present time been published. They have only been the subject of a small article by K. Himly, allowing us to attribute them to the years between 264 and 270 A.D.[6] In 1909 a young Japanese explorer, Mr. Tachibana, halted at the same place, and was able to make a few addi-

1. Two of these fragments are reproduced in iacsimile on pl. XX, Nos. 707 and 708. Another fragment dating probably from the first half of the second century A.D. has been studied with a microscope by J. v. WIESNER, who has published the results of his researches in an article entitled " *Ueber die ältesten bis jetzt aufgefundenen Hadernpapiere (Sitzungsberichte der Akademie des Wissenschaften in Wien,*" phil. hist. Klasse 168, Band 5, Abhandlung 1911.)

2. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY,*" Vol. I, pp. 272-299.

3. Cf. " *ANCIENT KHOTAN,* " Vol. I, pp. 537-542.

4. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY,*" Vol. I, pp. 376-412.

5. Chinese authors usually identify *Lou lan* 樓蘭 and *Shan-shan* 鄯善, but this identification is only politically correct and must not be accepted in a geographical sense. It is a fact that in B.C. 77 the kingdom which had up to that time had its administrative centre at *Lou-lan*, moved the seat of its government to *Shan-shan* (Charklik), south-west of the Lop-nor ; but even if the kingdom of *Lou-lan* thus became the kingdom of *Shan-shan*, the site *Lou-lan* survived, and this is the place which we frequently find mentioned in the documents of the third century A.D., dug up north of the ancient lake by Sven Hedin and M. Stein. Cf. Albert Hermann, " *Die alten Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien,*" pp. 101-104.

6. Cf. Karl Himly, " *Sven Hedins Ausgrabungen am alten Lop-nor* " (Petermanns Mitt., Vol. XLVIII, 1902, pp. 288-290).

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tional discoveries : we owe to him, in particular, a rough copy of a letter written on paper, which can be assigned to about the year 324 A.D.[1]

M. Stein's documents on wood furnish us with the following dates :—

263 A.D.	No. 738	268 A.D.	Nos. 725, 728
264 A.D.	,, 721 (?)	269 A.D.	,, 726, 727 (?), 741
265 A.D.	,, 722, 723, 730	270 A.D.	,, 729, 733, 735, 736, 748 (?)
266 A.D	,, 724, 739[2]	330 A.D.	,, 886

The documents on paper are dated A.D. 270 (No. 896) and A.D. 312 (Nos. 910 and 912).

The third series of documents (No. 951-991) is made up of the writings on wood and on paper of the *T'ang* period, which come, some (Nos. 951-974) from Mazar-tagh[3] on the left bank of the Khotan River,[4] and the others from Mazartoghrak (Nos. 974-980) and Balawaste (Nos. 981-983), two districts which lie respectively north and south of the oasis of Domoko, east of Khotan.[5] To these must be added a few Buddhist fragments which were found, some south of Luckchun,[5] others at Toyuk,[6] north-east of Kara-kho-ja.

Of these various groups of documents, that which dates from the *Han* period, is by reason of the remote date to which it belongs, at once the most important and the richest in information of all kinds, and by reference to this new historical source we may try to reconstitute the life of the Chinese garrisons in the distant posts of Central Asia during the centuries which immediately preceded and followed the birth of Christ.

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1. See in *Tōyō gakuhō* 東洋學報, t. I, fasc. 2, M. Haneda's article, where there is a description of the documents brought back from central Asia by the Otani mission of which M. Tachibana was a member. The letter of *Li Po*, chang-shih of the Western Regions in A.D. 324, is reproduced in facsimile and in a transcription on p. 54 of this article. Cf. the notes by M. Péri on this subject in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1910, p. 642 and 1911, p. 465.

2. In line 18 of p. 160, for " vingt-deuxième jour du deuxième mois " (1st March, A.D. 265), read "vingt-deuxième (jour) du douzième mois" (18th February, A.D. 266).

3. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY*," Vol. II, pp. 417-419.

4. Cf. "*RUINS of DESERT CATHAY*," Vol. I, pp. 255-256.

5. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY*," Vol. II, pp. 357-358.

6. Cf. " *RUINS of DESERT CATHAY*," Vol. II, p. 359.

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I

The portion of the ancient great Wall along which M. Stein made his memorable discoveries does not belong to the defensive system organized by *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti* 秦始皇帝. In the year B.C. 214,[1] *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti*, who had then been emperor seven years, decided to join together the various walls of defence which the feudal rulers of the North had built on the northern frontier to protect themselves against the invasions of the *Hsiung-nu* 匈奴.[2] Thus was conceived the gigantic undertaking of the great Wall. This great Wall of *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti*, the line of which we can follow on a Chinese map of the year 1137,[3] started from *Lin-t'ao* 臨洮, in the West, and ended at *Shan-hai-kuan* 山海關, in the East.[4] *Lin-t'ao* is to-day the second prefecture of *MIN* 岷, and is situated in south *Kan-su* near the bend of the river *T'ao* 洮, a tributary on the right bank of the *Huang-ho*.

The great Wall of *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti* was a defensive work; the additions made to it from the western end about a century later were built for the purpose of offensive policy. In B.C. 126, *Chang Ch'ien* 張騫 had returned from the long and perilous embassy which, originally intended to cement relations with the *Yüeh-chih* 月支, settled as it was supposed in the Ili Valley, actually succeeded in reaching the banks of the Oxus, and revealed to China not only the economic situation of the principalities in eastern Turkestan, but also the commercial importance of the great Western civilizations. From that time onwards the Emperor *WU* resolved to open the road to the West by cutting a passage at the exact point where the Turkish hordes and Tibetan tribes met, and where in consequence there was least cohesion between the various nomads who surrounded China. This result was obtained when, in B.C. 121, at the conclusion of general *Ho Ch'ü-*

1. This date is indicated in *Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien* (Ch. VI, French translation. II, p. 168).

2. On the walls of the feudal kingdoms, before the time of *Ch'in Shih Huang-ti*, see *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1903, p. 221, No. 4.

3. Cf. B.E.F.E.O., 1903, p. 214 et seq., Map A.

4. Cf. *Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien*, chap. LXXXVIII, p. 1 r°, "*MUNG T'IEN* built the great Wall. Profiting by the configuration of the ground and making use of natural obstacles he constructed a barrier which began at *Lin-t'ao* and ended at *Liao-tung*."—*Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. XCVI, a.p. 1 v°: "*Ch'in Shih Huang ti* drove back the Barbarians and built the great Wall to mark the boundary of the Central Empire; but in the West he did not go further than *Lin-t'ao*."

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ping's 霍去病 glorious campaigns, the districts of *Kan-chou* and *Liang-chou* were annexed to the Empire. This was immediately followed by the establishment of the Command of *Chiu-ch'üan* 酒泉, the *t'ai shou* 太守 or governor of which lived in the locality now called *SU-CHOU* 肅州.

Later colonists were sent to these new territories, which grew in importance and gradually split into three new Commands, that of *Wu-wei* 武威, now *Liang-chou* 涼州, that of *Chang-yi* 張掖, now called *Kan-chou* 甘州, and that of *Tun-huang* 敦煌, which name has survived to this very day.[1] At the same time, to ensure freedom of passage the governor had a rampart built, which started from *Ling-chü* 令居 and ran in a westerly direction.[2] *Ling-chü* must have been in the neighbourhood of the present sub-prefecture of *P'ing-fan* 平番, west of the prefecture of *Lan-chou fu* 蘭州 in the province of *Kan-su*. This point marked the first limit to the expansion of the Chinese military

1. In the year B.C. 121, immediately following the mention of the murder of the *Hsiu-ch'u* 休屠 king and the surrender of the *Hun-hsieh* 昆邪 king, the principal Annals of the Emperor *Wu* (*Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. VI, p. 6 v°), add: "From their territory were made the Commands of *Wu-wei* 武威 (Liang-chou) and *Chiu ch-üan* 酒泉 (Su-chou)." In the same chapter (p. 9 v°), in the year B.C. 111 we read that, after a campaign conducted by the Chinese generals in the desert of Gobi, "the Commands of *Wu-wei* and *Chiu-ch'üan* were subdivided and those of *Chang-yi* 張掖 (*Kan-chou*) and *Tun-huang* 敦煌 were established." As has been noticed by the critical annotators of the period of *Ch'ien lung* (at the end of chap. XXVIII, b. of the *Ch'ien Han shu*), it does not appear that we have any grounds for attaching importance to the information given in the geographical section of *Ch'ien Han shu* (chap. XXVIII, b. p. 2 r°—v°), according to which the Commands of *Chang-yi* and *Chiu-ch'üan* would only have been established in B.C. 104, the Command of *Wu-wei* in B.C. 101, and that of *Tun-huang* in B.C. 88. According to the *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien* (chap. XX, p. 4 v°), of *Ssŭ-ma Kuang*, which gives us the most probable evidence, the first step taken was the establishment in B.C. 115 of the Command of *Chiu-ch'üan*; from this was detached later the Command of *Wu-wei*. The same work (chap. XXI, p. 9 v°) assigns to the year B.C. 111 the establishment of the Commands of *Chang-yi* and *Tun-huang*. This shows that the Command of *Chiu-ch'üan* was that from which the three others must have sprung: it must have directed the pushing of colonists into Central Asia and this, in fact, is the part which we see it playing in slip No. 60.

2. *Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. XCVI, a, p. 1 v°: 始築令居以西.

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colonisation towards the West.[1] By extending the rampart westwards protection was afforded to the road which ran through central Asia. Its ultimate aim was the safeguarding of the caravans which established commercial relations between the Empire and the tribes of Turkestan. This is the reason why the extreme point of this new portion of the great Wall was called the Pass of the Gate of Jade, *Yü-mên-kuan* 玉門關; for it was jade which constituted the most precious ware carried to China across the sands of Central Asia. It was in B.C. 108 that a continuous line of posts and small forts was established from *Chiu-ch'üan* (*Su-chou*) right up to the Gate of Jade.[2]

Where was this famous Gate of Jade? According to the slips found at the point T. XIV it appears probable that from the year B.C. 94 (cf. No. 305) the gate stood on the site so marked slightly west of 94° longitude. An inscription, however, would tend to prove that a few years earlier the great Wall did not stretch so far west. We know actually that in B.C. 103 when *Li Kuang-li* 李廣利 returned with the remnants of his army from his first and fruitless expedition against the country of *Ta-yüan*, 大宛, the Emperor, enraged at this set-back, forbade him to re-enter by the Gate of Jade, threatening the death-penalty to any soldier who should attempt to pass through it. *Li Kuang-li* halted therefore at *Tun-huang* 敦煌.[3] This evidence would lead us to infer that in B.C. 103 the Gate of Jade, and consequently the extreme point of the great Wall, was still east of *Tun-huang*.

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1. *Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. XCVI a, p. 9 r°: "In 119 B.C. the *HAN* moved north of the river, and from the *Sho-fang* in the east to *Ling-chü* in the west they dug a large number of irrigation canals, appointing officials to look after the fields, with a force of officers and soldiers numbering fifty or sixty thousand." 漢度河自朔方以西至令居往往遮塞置田官吏卒五六萬人.

2. Cf. *Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien*, chap CXXIII, p. 6 r° 於是酒泉列亭障至玉門矣; cf. *Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. LXI, p. 3 r° and *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien* for the year B.C. 101.

3. Cf. *Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien*, chap. CXXIII, p. 7 r°: 天子聞之大怒而使使遮玉門曰軍有敢入者輒斬之貳師恐因留敦煌

"The Son of Heaven learning (the disaster of *Li Kuang-li*) was much angered, and accordingly sent envoys to bar the Gate of Jade, declaring that any member of the army who should dare pass through (the gate) would be immediately beheaded. The general of Êrh-shih (*Li Kuang-li*) was afraid, and that was why he remained at *Tun-huang*."

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It was after the second expedition of *Li Kuang-li* against *Ta-yüan* in B.C. 102 and 101 that the great Wall seems to have been carried forward. At this time relations with the West were being developed. In order to guarantee the free passage of the envoys and the caravans, and to assure their supplies, military posts were established at intervals from *Tun-huang* as far as the salt marshes, i.e., as far as Lop Nor.[1] The researches made on the spot by M. Stein have shown that two sections of the great Wall must have been built at that time. The first of these formed a line of defence across the shotts or salt lagoons which lie to the west of longitude 94°, and the strongest point of resistance wasat T. XIV, which about B.C. 94 must have been the Gate of Jade. The second section extended further towards the west as far as longitude 93° 30′ and ended at the site T. IV, where the Gate of Jade may possibly have stood about B.C. 39 (cf. No. 428). Leavi the site T. IV, the road ran south-west as far as Lop Nor, but the Wall from that point was not continuous. The Chinese were content to establish small forts at intervals, in order to safeguard the halting places for the caravans. The Romans adopted the same system when, for example, they extended their influence in Tripoli beyond the *limes*, establishing, as they pushed their way into the interior, a number of covering posts which ensured the safety of their communications.[2]

Among these Chinese fortresses, isolated in the middle of the desert, one of the most important appears to have been that which occupied poin T. VI, somewhere about longitude 93°. 15′. A very large number of slips have been dug up there by M. Stein, and they are spread over a period between the years B.C. 65 and 56. This period actually corresponds with a great increase in the military power of the *Han*. In B.C. 77 the Chinese general *Fu Chieh-tzŭ* 傅介子 killed the king of *Lou-lan* 樓蘭 and re-established his kingdom under the name of *Shan-shan* 鄯善. Thanks to this success the Chinese became masters of the Southern road[3] and in B.C. 60 the capitulation of a prince of the *Hsiung-nu* delivered to them the North road[4] as well. It was then, in

1. cf. *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien*, for the year 101 B.C. : 於是自敦煌西至鹽澤往往起亭 ; cf. the same evidence in *Ssŭ-ma Chien*, chap. CXXIII, p. 8 v°, and in *Ch'ien Han shu*, chap. XCVI, a, p. 1 v°.

2. Cf. R. Cagnat, " *La Frontière militaire de la Tripolitaine, Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions* ", t. XXXIX, p. 28.

3. Cf. " *Commentaire du Chouei king*," in T'oung pao, 1905, p. 567.

4. Cf. "*T'oung pao*, " 1907, p. 154, n. 1.

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B.C. 60 for the first time, that a Protector General, 都護, charged with the supervision of both Northern and Southern regions, was appointed in Eastern Turkestan. The first officer to hold this post, *Chêng Chi* 鄭吉, had his residence at *Wu-lei* 烏壘 near Hami. From this moment the power of China began to develop rapidly, and in consequence the documents in M. Stein's collection belonging to this period are more numerous.

Another period at which Chinese policy was very active is that of the usurper *Wang Mang* 王莽. We have slips dated respectively A.D. 8 (No. 585; *Wang Mang* was already all-powerful at that time), A.D. 9 (No. 367), A.D. 12 (No. 272), A.D. 14 (No. 307,) 15 A.D. (No. 482), A.D. 17 (Nos. 368 and 369), A.D. 20 and 21 (No. 592). These texts tend to contradict the evidence of the historians. According to *Pan Ku* it would appear that *Wang Mang* provoked a rupture between the *Hsiung-nu* and China in the year A.D. 9 by clumsily altering the shape and lettering of the seal which had been conferred on the *shan-yü* or chief of the *Hsiung-nu*, and that from this time onwards the Western countries seceded.[1] In reality *Wang Mang* appears to have maintained the prestige of the Chinese arms in the West until the end of his reign, and it was during the disturbed period at the rise of the second *Han* dynasty that the power of China suffered a momentary eclipse.

With regard to the eastern *Han* dynasty, our slips give us dates which are spread out over the whole of a century, from the year A.D. 35 to A.D. 137. They mark the period during which the eastern *Han* pursued an energetic policy in their relations with the West, and about that time also were established the commercial dealings to which Marinus of Tyre and Ptolemy bear witness.

II

These documents which date from B.C. 98 to A.D. 137 have a considerable historical importance. First, they are the most ancient Chinese manuscripts known to-day. The bamboo slips of *Chu shu chi nien* 竹書紀年, which must have dated back to the year B.C. 300 and were dug up in A.D. 281, have now definitely disappeared[2]; while the few wooden slips of the *Han* era, which were discovered in *Shan-hsi* during the period *hsüan-ho* (A.D. 1119-1125), have not come down to us, and we possess only

1. Cf. "*T'oung pao*," 1907, p. 155, n. 2.

2. Cf. Appendix I in vol. V of my translation of "*Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien*."

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a poor copy of one of them.[1] It is, therefore, to M. Stein that we owe the discovery of the sole *Han* writings which we have in their original form.

From a paleographical point of view the information which can be drawn from them is most important. We can study in them the writing which in China is commonly called *chang-ts'ao* 章草 because it is the method used by the author of the famous vocabulary *Chi chiu chang* 急就章.[2] Hitherto our knowledge of this writing has been confined to copies of copies, which were very far from the original, but thanks to M. Stein numerous authentic specimens have now been discovered.

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1. This slip can be interpreted with the help of a notice by *Chang Chü* 張 璚, dated A.D. 1170, which was reproduced, about the middle of the fourteenth century in the "*Ku k'o ch'ung ch'ao*" 古刻叢鈔 of *T'ao Tsung-yi* 陶宗儀 (pp. 2, v,° 3, v° of the edition of *Hsio ku chai chin shih ts'ung shu* 學古齋金石叢書.) It contains a military order relative to a campaign against the tribes of Tibet 羌 which runs as follows: 永初二年六月丁未朔廿日丙寅得車騎將軍莫府文書上郡屬國都尉二千石守丞廷掾縣令三水十月丁未到府受印授發夫討畔羌急急如律令馬卅匹騾二百頭日給.

As far as this text, which appears very incorrect, can be translated, it would mean: "In the second year *yung-ch'u* (B.C. 108), in the sixth month, the first day of which was *ting-wei*, on the twentieth day, which was called *ping-yin*, a letter was received from the secretariat (莫=幕) attached to the general commanding the chariots and horsemen; (it runs:), "*San-shui*," who is sub-prefect of *T'ing-yi* and who is under the orders of the military commandant of the kingdom subject to the Command" (chün) of *Shang*, holding the title of *shou-ch'êng*, with a salary of two thousand "*shih*," is directed to appear before the secretariat in the tenth month, on the day *ting-wei*; he will there receive a seal and a badge of office empowering him to undertake a campaign for the punishment of the rebellious *Ch'iang* (Tibetans). These orders are to be executed forthwith. Each day he will be provided with forty horses and two hundred asses."

It will be noticed, first of all, that the chronological information in this text is incorrect: the sixth month of the second year *yung-ch'u* begins with the 32nd day of the cycle, and not with the day *ting-wei*, which is the 44th day of the cycle; moreover the day *ting-wei*, the 44th in the cycle, cannot be placed in the tenth month, which begins with the 60th day of the cycle. For the information regarding the days to be exact, it would be necessary to understand that the date of the year is incorrect, and in place of "the second year *yung ch'u*" (A.D. 108), we should have to read "the first year *yen-p'ing*" (A.D. 106). Secondly it would seem necessary to read "*T'ing-yi* who is sub-prefect of *San-shui*," instead of "*San-shui* who is sub-prefect of *T'ing-yi*." In point of fact *T'ing-yi* is not the name of a sub-prefecture, whereas the sub-prefecture of *San-shui* lay in the time of the *Han* north of the present secondary prefecture of *Ku-yüan* 固原, which is under the orders of the prefecture of *P'ing-liang* 平凉 in the province of *Kan-su*.—Finally, the formula 急急如律令 never appears in this context in M. Stein's slips, and one wonders whether the reading of the archæologists of the twelfth century was not influenced by the remembrance of formulæ which often figure on Taoist charms intended to maintain the ascendancy over evil spirits. (Cf. further on slip No. 137, in this connection).

2. On "Chi Chiu chang," see p. 1 *et seq.*

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It is not only in connection with the paleography of the *Han* period that M. Stein's slips are important; they give us information also on the material used for writing at the beginning of the Christian era. Certainly M. Stein's first expedition had already discovered, at Niya, wooden slips dating from the beginning of the fourth century A.D., and our views on the general nature and appearance of the official documents in ancient China had become from that time onwards far clearer than before. But the excavations made in the second expedition furnish us with accurate knowledge of several new points. In the first place we find here, besides documents dealing with various matters, the remains of actual books, and we see how, by the notches cut in the edges, it was possible to put together these wooden plates so as to form a series ; we do not, however, understand exactly how the correct order of the slips was assured, for there are no numbers on them to take the place of paging, and we cannot discover how it was possible to restore the right order when some accidental cause had upset it.[1] In the second place, besides the flat slips written generally on one side only, which constitute the great majority of our documents, we find prismatic slips, most often triangular, inscribed sometimes on all three faces, sometimes only on their two front faces.[2] These prismatic slips, which are called [illegible], are found for the first time in connection with this date. There is also a third fact which seems to me to have its interest. Hitherto it has been supposed that slips belonging to Chinese antiquity were always written on bamboo, and it appeared as though the use of ordinary wood was confined to Eastern Turkestan. But among the slips dug up by M. Stein there is at least one, No. 206, which apparently comes from the capital of the Western Han, *Hsi-an fu* 西安府; at any rate it contains the usual phrase: "The decree of the Emperor is: Approved." Now this formula can only emanate from the imperial Chancellor's office. It is, therefore, possible that the records made in the office of the imperial Chancellor at the time of the Western *Han* were inscribed on wood and not on bamboo. Lastly it is noticeable that a good many of these can only have been obtained by means of a paint-brush, and we must therefore no longer admit the use of wooden pens for the purpose of writing these characters. If wooden pens were actually in use they must have been used for other writings than Chinese.

1. (On this question, see now Sir Aurel STEIN "*Notes on ancient Chinese documents*," in "*The New China Review*," 1921, Vol. III, p. 243-253.—P. PELLIOT.)

2. *Cf.* Nos. 1, 2, 137, 263, 316, 428, 451, 467, 564, 697.

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III

I shall now endeavour to show what information may be gathered from the writings upon these slips. In point of fact, we find ourselves faced with documents which form archives, and the majority of them consist of official documents concerning the daily life of small garrisons stationed in the most distant outposts of the Empire.

The troops in the garrisons, 戍卒 as they were called[1], are often mentioned in the history of China. Thus the "*Ch'ien Han shu*" (chap. XCIV, b, p. 3 v°) speaks of garrison troops which guard the boundary 備塞戍卒; in another place (chap. XCIV, p. 4 r°) we are shown the risks which would have been run in removing the garrisons or in decreasing the number of those who kept watch.[2]

Some of our slips describe most exactly the origin of the soldiers sent into these posts in the Far West. They tell us to which station 里 a man belonged, in which subprefecture 縣 this district lay, and under which command 郡 this subprefecture fell. We are told, for instance, that in the locality which I have called T. VI, about B.C. 58, there were five soldiers who came from the country South-West of *Shan-hsi* 山西, near the *Huang-ho* (Nos. 72-75-77); another came from *Ssu-ch'uan* 四川 (No. 43), one from *Ho-nan* 河南 (No. 183), and another from *Tun-huang* itself, and this last had, therefore, been recruited on the spot (No. 62). Thus the majority of men stationed at the site T. VI about the middle of the first century A.D. were natives of South-West *Shan-hsi*. In the other posts we find three soldiers who were natives of the districts of *K'ai fêng-fu* 開封 or *Ho-nan fu* 河南, in *Ho-nan* (Nos. 416,434,456), two men from the South-West of *Shan-hsi* (No. 550), and nine from the Commands of the Far West (Nos. 342, 392, 417, 574, 579, 580,592). The information which we possess allows us to state definitely that the garrison troops of the West were composed of men drawn from *Shan-hsi* and *Ho-nan* and of men collected on the spot, in almost equal numbers.

It is probable that the men that came from outside the station were hard-labour convicts. This seems to be the evidence which

1. Cf. Nos. 72, 77, 392, 434, 456, 550, 551.

2. The expression 候望 is explained by the passage in the "Biography of *Hsüan-tsang*," where mention is made of the five watch-towers which the pilgrim had to reach successively after leaving the Chinese frontier; the biographer adds: 候望者居之 "the persons charged with keeping the look-out live there," (cf. Julien, "*Vie de Hiouen-thsang*," p. 19).

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we can draw from slip No. 263, where we find an expression applied to eight men which is the judicial term to denote deportees.

These soldiers were distributed throughout the *t'ing* 亭 or stations, and the unit garrisoned in a *t'ing* was called a *tui* 隊.[1] We might be tempted to translate this word " battalion," but this would be incorrect, for the *tui* is very far from being the numerical equivalent of a battalion, it would be much nearer to what we call a company commanded by a captain. The *tui* must have actually consisted of a unit of about a hundred and fifty men,[2] though it is probable that in the most distant posts the numbers were even smaller, for the difficulty of supplies had to be considered.

Each company had its own particular name. Several boasted of triumphs over the barbarians, and there was therefore the *Ling-hu* 淩胡 company " which oppresses the *Hu*,"[3] the *Yen-hu* 厭胡 company " which beats back the *Hu*,"[4] the *P'o-hu* 破胡 company " which crushes the *Hu*,"[6] and the *T'un-hu* 吞胡 company " which swallows the *Hu*."[7] Others claimed that their calling was to enlarge the power of the Emperor. Such were the *Kuang-ch'ang* 廣昌 company " which increases prosperity,"[8] the *Yang-wei* 揚威 company " which raises prestige,"[9] the *Hsien-wei* 顯威 company " which manifests prestige,"[10] the *An-han* 安漢 company " which ensures peace for the *Han*,"[11]

1. Cf. Nos. 432 and 552, where the meaning of the expressions appear to be capable of similar extension in each case. Only one *tui* had to reside in one *t'ing*, and one *t'ing* alone was large enough to hold a complete *tui*. —By error in Nos. 150, 173, 208, 432, 437, 493, the word *tui* has been translated " battalion."

(Professor Chavannes' text has been translated as it stands, but it requires emendation, as the Chinese character which Professor Chavannes supposed to be *tui*, " company." is as a matter of fact another form of 燧 *sui*, meaning here " fire-signal tower. "—P. Pelliot.)

2. Cf. No. 198.

3. Cf. Nos. 42, 45, 47, 48, 56, 63-70, 258.

4. Cf. Nos. 49, 63, 71, 136, 138, 139, 268.

5. Cf. No. 621.

6. Cf. No. 437.—In the time of the *Han* certain men's names were formed in exactly the same way : thus we find a *Jên P'o-hu* 任破胡 (" *Ch'ien Han shu*," chap. XVIII, p. 11 v°), a *Lu P'o-hu* 呂破胡 (ibid., chap. VII, p. 1 v°) ; the " *Chi chiu chang* " gives us the names of *Kuo P'o-hu* 郭破胡 and *Ch'iao Mieh-hu*. 焦滅胡.

7. Cf. Nos. 617-619.

8. Cf. No. 63.

9. Cf. Nos. 568, 572, 614, 620.

10. Cf. No. 569.

11. Cf. Nos. 563, 564.

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and at the time of *Wang-Mang*, who had given to his dynasty the name of *Hsin*, *the Kuang-Hsin* 廣新 company "which makes mightier (the dynasty) of *Hsin*.[1]" Lastly other companies appear to have been named after the place which they occupied. Thus the *Mei-Shui* 美水[2] company and the *Tang-ku* 當谷[3] company may have taken their names respectively from the localities called *Mei-shui* and *Tang-ku*. The military stations received orders which issued probably from the Governor of the Command (*chun*). These orders had to be circulated in such a way that all the men might become acquainted with them[4] and they had to be posted up in a prominent position in each *t'ing*.[5]

In close proximity to the Chinese garrisons there were the native tribes, and it was not always easy to maintain accord between these two elements.[6] It was at any rate necessary for the Chinese to keep in constant touch with the native authorities 土吏, and this fact explains the frequent references in our slips to the local officials.[7]

As regards the Chinese officers, those who are mentioned most often are the captains 隊長[8] commanding the companies, and next the *hou-chang* 候長[9] who must have been in charge of the watch-towers, and the *hou-shih* 候史[10] who were perhaps the subordinates of the *hou chang*. Mention is also made of the *tu-wei* 都尉, or military commandants. This title appears to have belonged in particular to the officer in charge of the famous Gate of Jade (Yŭ mên kuan).[11]

The garrison troops consisted of both infantry and cavalry. Slips Nos. 279-283 and 286 expressly mention the cavalry and in several cases we are told whether a soldier travelled on foot (No. 145) or on horseback (Nos. 614, 662).

1. Cf. Nos. 596, 598, 599, 600.
2. Cf. No. 435..
3. Cf. No. 401.
4. Cf. Nos. 166, 258, 313, 536.
5. Cf. Nos. 63 (side B), 273, 432.
6. Cf. No. 433.
7. Cf. Nos. 49, 51, 138, 139, 143-145, 150, 375, 552, 681.
8. Cf. Nos. 42, 43, 45, 54, 56, 136, 157, 271, 377, 436, 463, 482, 484, 490, 562, 563, 564, 565, 568, 572, 596, 600, 604, 681.
9. Cf. Nos. 55, 58, 66, 80, 83, 168, 169, 314, 377, 390, 439, 471, 483. 487, 492, 536, 552, 553, 571, 592, 613, 617, 662.
10. Cf. Nos. 62, 66, 81, 190, 262, 405, 459, 460, 542, 552, 553,
11. Cf. Nos. 136, 137, 428, 451, 483 (?)

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In addition to the men in the posts, there were apparently watch-dogs, which were officially recognized as belonging to the garrison and having the right to be fed. (No. 487).

IV

The first duty of the troops garrisoned in the advanced posts of the West was to mount guard, and in case of emergency to give the alarm by lighting a beacon. As soon as the nearest station saw the signal it repeated it, and by means of this form of optical telegraphy the news was transmitted from point to point, warning one by one all the little garrisons, which at once rushed to arms.[1] In one of our slips[2] an officer accuses himself of being to blame for not properly superintending the fire signals, and in another[3] orders are given to a small garrison to refrain from lighting beacons in the future, because it is too far from the nearest post for its signals to be seen. Lastly, several slips[4] show that the exact time at which a fire-signal appeared was carefully noted in writing.

The use of fire-signals was not invented by the *Han*; it existed long before their time. The following anecdote is told in the biography of *Wu-chi* 無忌, a lord of *Hsin-ling* 信陵君 who died in B.C. 243:—*Wu-chi* was in the middle of a game of draughts with the king of *Wei* 魏 when the news came from the North frontier, by fire-signals, that hostile bands from the district of *Chao* had appeared and threatened to invade the country.[5] The king of *Wei* abandoned his game at once and wished to take immediate measures to drive back the invaders, but *Wu-chi* calmed him by saying that the king of *Chao* was out hunting, and that it was a mistake to imagine that his intentions were hostile.

Different words were used according to the material of which the beacons were made. They were called *fêng* 烽, if used by day to produce a cloud of smoke, and *sui* 燧, if by night to penetrate the darkness with a bright flame.[6] *Ssŭ-ma Hsiang-ju* 司馬相如, who died in B.C. 117, wrote in one of his literary compositions:

1. Cf. No. 432.
2. Cf. No. 567. In No. 438 we again find the expression 督烽.
3. Cf. No. 552.
4. Cf. Nos. 84, 85, 86, 87.
5. "*Shih chi*," chap. LXXVII, p. 1. r°: 北境傳舉烽言趙寇至且入界
6. One of our slips (No. 552), makes a clear distinction between the smoke-signals used by day and the flame-signals for use by night. We know that the same system was used under the Roman Empire: cf. Vegetius book III, chap. 5: "Si divisae sint copiae, per noctem flammis, per diem fumo, significant sociis, quod aliter non potest nuntiari."

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"When the soldiers in the frontier commands learned that the day or night beacons had been lit, every man seized his bow, put his horse to a gallop, girded on his arms and started off."[1]

The general *Ma Ch'êng* 馬成, who from A.D. 38 to 43 devoted his efforts to organizing the defence of the Northern frontier, built (along various lines, details of which history has handed down to us) "fortifications and organized fire-signals for use by both day and night. At every tenth *li* there was a watch-tower."[2]

The precise sense of the two words *fêng* and *sui* is not always retained; and indeed the word *fêng* is used to designate the fire-signal whichever it may be.

The watch-towers on which the beacons were lit are called sometimes *hou* 候 as in the text quoted in note 3, sometimes *fêng-hou* 烽候 as in note 4, and sometimes simply *fêng* 烽. In the "*Life of Hsüan-Tsang*" we are told that the pilgrim, after making his way through the Pass of the Gate of Jade, had to journey by five watch-towers 烽 in succession, each occupied by sentries and each a hundred *li* distant from the next.[3] This is evidently the sense of the word 烽 in our slip No. 61, which gives us the list of the five watch-towers in the *I-ho* area.

When watch was well kept, it enabled the inroads of the enemy to be effectively frustrated; moreover the *Ch'ien Han shu* tells us that at a certain time the *Hsiung-nu* gained very little success because "at this time the fire-signals and the vigilance were most efficient in the commands along the Han frontier."[4] On the other hand, at another time "the officers and lieutenants in the fortresses and watch-towers ordered their soldiers to hunt wild beasts so as to make a profit on the skins and flesh of these animals; thus the troops were worn out with fatigue and the fire-signals were neglected."[5]

If the word 烽 designates the beacon or, by extension of its meaning, the tower at the summit of which the beacon was erected, the word 炬 was used to designate specially the flame which burst out when the beacon was lit. *T'ang liu tien*, "The six regulations

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1. "*Shih chi*," chap. CXVII, p. 11 r°: 夫邊郡之士聞烽舉燧燔皆攝弓而馳荷兵而走.

2. *Hou Han shu*, chap. III, p. 4 r° 皆築保壁起烽燧十里一候.

3. "*Life of Hsüan-tsang*" (*Trip.* of Tokyo, XXXII, 2, p. 2 v°) 關外西北又有五烽候望者居之各相去百里

4. "*Ch'ien Han shu*," chap. XCIV, a, p. 13 r°: 是時漢邊郡邊火候望精明.

5. "*Ch'ien Han shu*," chap. XCVI, b, p. 5 v°: 障候長吏使卒獵獸以皮肉爲利卒苦而邊火乏失.

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of the *T'ang*," a work which is shown by its title to date from the seventh, eight, or ninth century A.D [1] gives us this information in a passage quoted in "*P'ei wên yun fu*" (under the word 烽): "The watch-towers were equidistant and at intervals of thirty *li*. When fire-signals were lit, the watchers made either one fire, or two in succession, or three, or four, according as the invaders were more, or less numerous."[2]

As the dictionary "*Shuo wên*" shows, the word 炬 was written 苣 at an earlier date, and it is in the latter form that it is reproduced in our slips where frequent record is made of the appearance of a fire signal.[3]

One slip[4] makes it quite clear that the stake round which the beacon was built was thirty feet high, and this must have therefore been the height of the beacon itself.

Soldiers were sent out on fatigue to collect fire-wood for building and feeding the beacons, and as it was sometimes necessary to go a considerable distance this fatigue might well last as long as ten days.[5]

Whatever may have been the effectiveness of fire-signals, they proved insufficient in the event of fog, heavy rain, or snow. It was then necessary to fall back on swift messengers, who galloped continuously, finding a new horse at a relay-post every ten *li*. A short poem by *Wang Wei* 王維 (A.D. 699-759) recalls this picture.[6]

"Every ten *li* a new horse starts.
Every five *li* there is a stroke of the whip.[7]
A message from the Protector-General (*tu-hu*)[8] has arrived,

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1. (The "*T'ang liu tien*" was written in the second quarter of the VIIIth century. The passage quoted here is in the 5th chapter of the original work. —P. PELLIOT.)

2. 唐六典曰凡烽侯大率相去三十里其放烽有一炬二炬三炬四大炬以賊多少而爲差焉.

3. Cf. Nos. 84-87.

4. Cf. No. 694.

5. Cf. Nos. 555, 609 (?).

6. 十里一走馬五里一揚鞭都護軍書至匈奴圍酒泉關山正飛雪烽火斷無煙
(See "*Ch'üan T'ang shih*," lithographic ed., chap. V., p. I V°.)

7. Because, after galloping five *li*, the horse begins to show signs of weariness; it is necessary therefore to urge it on with the whip so that it continues at full speed. The horse is changed every ten *li*.

8. For the title "Protector-General," which was instituted in B.C. 60, cf. p. VII, lines 14-18.

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Telling how the *Hsiung-nu* were besieging *Chiu-ch'üan*;[1]
But at that very time snow-flakes were falling on the mountain where stand the openings (of the wall),
And the signals of fire could raise no smoke."

The men who were charged with the lighting of the fire-signals were responsible for keeping watch over the frontier. The act of exercising this vigilance is expressed by the words 候望.[2] When watch was kept in the area guarded by the great Wall, a soldier was said to "mount the Wall." The celebrated scholar *Ts'ai Yung* 蔡邕 was banished in A.D. 178, or shortly afterwards, to the neighbourhood of what is now *Shên-shui hsien* 神水 in Northern *Shan-hsi*; from there he addressed a request to the Emperor asking him to accept his historical work entitled "*Hou Han chi*" 後漢記. It opens with these words: "When I arrived at the place of my banishment, I mounted the Wall to take charge of the fire-signals; my duty was to keep watch."[3] Our slips often give us the expression 候望.[4]

(*To be continued.*)

1. The Command of *Chiu-ch'üan* had its administrative headquarters in the town which is to-day *Su-chou fu* (*Kan-su* province).

2. Cf. p. IX, note 3.

3. Commentary on "*Hou Han shu*" (chap. XC, b. p. 8. v°): 臣既到徙所乘塞守烽職在候望

In "*Ch'ien Han shu*" (chap. XCIV, b. p. 4 r°) the commentator *Yen Shih-ku* says: "The expression *Ch'êng sai* signifies that a sentry mounts the wall and keeps watch." 乘塞登之而守也

4. Cf. Nos. 60, 189, 265, 432, 495, 623.

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THE PHILOSOPHER SUN-TSZ

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

(*Continued from page 19*)

Sün-tsz's eleventh chapter treats of the best way to strengthen a State. Just as the best instruments need occasional grinding and polishing, so the punitory laws must be kept tempered and true by the application of proper formalities and a sense of justice 禮義; and here we see the impressiveness of high principle 道德 over harsh measures of inquisition; then we shall find that men will obey without the stimulus of punishments and work hard without the stimulus of reward. The reverse takes place when harsh measures are applied, for insolence follows the slackening of compulsion whilst flight or migration is the result of force. Sün-tsz, accordingly, proceeds to quote appropriate historical instances from the ambitious struggles between North China 齊 and the semi-barbarous South China 楚 during the 5th century B.C. He then says "How shall I define *tao*?" He replies "It is deferential politeness and loyal good faith" 禮讓忠信. He never ceases to harp on his favourite subject, *i.e.*, the collapse of the first and second hereditary dynasties owing to the vices of their respective last Emperors, and the virtues of the founders of the second and third dynasties: to try and remedy such obstinate incapacity would be like lying on your back to lick the sky, or pulling the legs of a wretch who should attempt suicide by hanging himself. The commentators point out that certain curious words used by Sün-tsz in these similes had already been used by Kwan-tsz, an indication that the works of the latter philosopher were probably extant in some form or other in both the above-mentioned States. Life and tranquillity (he goes on to say) are the universal aim amongst men, and the *li-i* just mentioned are indispensable to attain them; otherwise you might as well cut your throat as a means to secure old age; hence rulers, to attain peace and glory,

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must love their people and be kind to their officers, failing which they may consider themselves as lost: as the Ode says: "the ordinary individual is the protecting fence; the prominent statesman is the protecting wall": the policy of force employed by Ts'in is in painful contrast with the policy of *i* or justice. An ancient commentator alluding to these words in the main texts, points out that they had been the main substance of a conversation between Sün-tsz and Li Sz, the statesman who was ultimately responsible for the First Emperor's remodelling of China; and this is not impossible, for we have seen that the First Emperor's great-grandfather had conversations with Sün-tsz, and that his grandfather's and father's reigns only lasted two years between them. Sün-tsz's main text goes on to say that although Ts'in in its career of conquest was more powerful than the founders of the second and third hereditary dynasties and more extensive than the domain of the first dynasty, yet it was always in dread of a hostile combination of northern and southern vassal States, under the leadership of the semi-Chinese South China 楚, anxious to establish its legitimacy, and to average previous defeats and humiliations: the vassal States of the ancient Emperors, it is argued, never extended more than 1,000 *li* (300 miles) beyond their ruling centres, but Ts'in (Shen Si) extends northward to the Tartar tribes 胡貉, westwards to modern Szch'wan and Kansuh 巴戎, southwards towards (modern) Hankow, and eastwards towards (modern) Shansi, Shantung, etc. Mention is also made of the Western Sea, but this vague term cannot well carry us farther west than Kokonor, Lobnor, or at the utmost the Harashar region. Better (Sün-tsz argues) for Ts'in would it be to increase her good faith than to go on increasing her territory.

The Marquess of Ying [1] inquired of Sün-tsz what he thought of Ts'in, to which the reply was that from a physical point of view everything was in its favour; moreover the inhabitants were simple, and modest in their dress; the officials were good; the Court orderly and business-like; hence there had been (apparently since the B.C. 343 recognition) four successive generations of rulers; easy but effective, without timidity; but there was a lack of high education 備: without this in its purity there can be no empire; by cunning, a protectorship is possible; but without one or the other the State must perish: that is Ts'in's weak point. An Emperor must be careful of the course of time; a Protector must be observant of opportunity: there is danger in letting things

1. 應. This was Fan Tsü (Mayers' Manual, No. 129) and the date about B.C. 270.

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slide, but there is ruin in neglecting things altogether. An Ode is cited in proof. *I* 義 means the limiting and preventing of wrong : inferiors should not be given a bad example, as they may be compared with the echoes and shadows of their superiors ; it may also be defined as " moderation "; it is the basis or stem, and next in importance comes *Sin* 信, or good faith : these two qualities were as manifest in the founders of the first and second hereditary dynasties as they were absent in the last rulers or wreckers of the same houses. If you keep your homestead swept, the weeds will not grow ; with a knife at your throat you do not dodge the stray arrow, nor do you worry about damage to your fingers when you are pulling out a spear-head. The sum total is *li* and *i* in all things first.

Heaven had no initial preference for the virtuous Emperor Yao, nor initial detestation of the detestable Emperor Kieh ; in each case their own acts were responsible for their respective fates. Heaven will never suffer industry and thrift to starve ; nor will the provident and active be stricken with disease ; nor again will evil be suffered to overtake those who cultivate *tao* ; such need have no dread of hunger, thirst, cold, heat, or pest. On the other hand, Heaven will not enrich idle wastrels : therefore do not blame or question the action of Heaven ; avail yourself of it without scrutiny, and utilize Nature without trying to fathom it : that at least is what the highest class of man 聖人 does. Odes are cited in support of the above, and further changes are rung upon the contrast between the superior man 君子 and the mean one 小人. By all means wonder at, but do not dread the freaks of Nature, which have really nothing to do with rulers' virtues and vices. Prayers for rain, ceremonies at eclipses, consulting the oracles, and so on, are mere formalities. The philosopher Shên-tsz laid stress on the future and not on the past ; the philosopher Lao-tsz laid stress on the crooked and not the straight ; the philosopher Mêh-tsz laid stress on equality and not on individual interests ; the philosopher Sung-tsz laid stress on few desires and not on many. As the Book of History says : Not by favouritism or hate can you pursue the royal road.[1]

The twelfth chapter opens with emphasis upon the force of example on the part of superiors, and reverts to the conditions prevailing in Old China Proper 諸夏 : the last wicked Emperors of the first and second hereditary dynasties did not abandon

1. These two remarks upon 愼到, 老聃, 墨翟, and 宋鈃 will become clearer as we advance our philosophical reading : it becomes quite clear, now, however, that the third, Mêh-tsz, was a Communist, and that his doctrine of 兼愛 is not correctly translated by " Universal Love."

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the Empire 天下, it was the Empire that got rid of them; and they deserved it, as an everlasting warning, being "unfit even to govern their own harems.[1] Only the biggest type of man is fit to take an Empire, though a lesser may manage to get hold of a State 國. Here follow some rather obscure remarks upon ancient punishments, mutilations, and "suggestions" of mutilations, and it is stated that the Founder of the Third Dynasty after slaying the last monarch of the Second, hoisted his head upon a red flag. It is stated, however, that the South China regions 楚越 were not yet (say B.C. 1100) part of the Empire, and that all China Proper 諸夏之國 wore similar clothes and practised similar rites 同儀. Then follows a criticism of the word "abdicate" 擅讓 as applied to the handing over of the earliest Empire by Yao to his successor Shun, and by Shun to his successor Yü; it is explained that the Emperor alone is perfect, and can have no equal, such as the word "abdicate" connotes; therefore we must denounce the expression as a vulgar, ignorant error.

The best archer cannot hit the mark with an untrue bow, nor can the finest charioteer win a race with decrepit horses. Before Yao's time there were no mounds raised above graves, and since then in matters generally ancient simplicity has been gradually corrupted. At the same time, our author indulges in a sneer at the "cheap burials" recommended by his special bugbear Mêh-tsz, and has some remarks about Sung-tsz's doctrine of turning the cheek to the smiter. He points out further on, however, that Sung-tsz's doctrine is an impossible one, and that there must always be a contrast between undue splendour and undue meanness, if only because Nature has endowed us with the five senses to gratify or repress. On the whole this twelfth chapter is unsatisfying, and is, therefore, only very sketchily treated here.

The thirteenth chapter defines *li* 禮 as being an indirect product of the desires born in us, which, if not moderated, would lead to utter confusion: hence the grand monarchs of old tried to satisfy natural desires upon a fair basis, in fact reconciling the measure of desires with the capacity of their object: thus food for the mouth, beauty for the eye, music for the ear, comfort for the body, fragrance for the smell,—these are all gratified by *li* "the gratifier"; but the superior man 君子 apportions them according to age, wealth, and rank, and therefore grace with order 文理

1. The T'ang dynasty commentator explains that this refers to what Lieh-tsz said about a criticism passed upon the egoist philosopher Yang-tsz by one of the Kings of Liang (in Mencius' time).

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must regulate the gratification of the passions : thus a man who gives himself up to *li-i* " gets there " in best senses, whilst the man who gives himself up to the passions 情性 fails in both directions. The [so-called Confucianists or] properly educated 儒者 are those who succeed whilst the [Communists or] followers of Mêh-tsz 墨者 are those who fail. *Li* rests upon three begetters or main supports 三本 : Heaven and Earth [Nature] the begetter of life generally ; our ancestors, the begetters of our kind ; prince and teacher, the begetters of order 治. The highest class of man 聖人 may be termed the acme of *tao*, whilst *li* ushers life in and adorns the end of existence. And so on to the end of the chapter, the rest of which is rather a wearisome re-hash of funeral formalities. Heaven can create beings, but cannot discriminate between them, whilst Earth can give lodgment to man, but cannot secure man's orderly conduct ; in all such matters the services of the [born genius or] highest class of man 聖人 are required, and the inevitable Ode [in itself unintelligible] is cited to reinforce the meaning, rendered more than usually obscure by the frequency in the text of " unknown " and doubtful characters. To cosset the living at the expense of the dead is the *Mêh-tsz* notion, but to starve the living for the luxury of the dead is equally a mistake. Yet, it is observed that those beasts of prey or big migratory birds which have lost their mates and their companions will flutter over or hang about the place when they chance to pass that way again, uttering croaks and roars to mark their sad recognition ; even small birds of the sparrow and swallow class will halt to twitter ;[1] and this they do though ignorant of understanding : hence it comes that the period of man's mourning is spread over three years, finishing after 25 lunations, for man could not with decency fail where even birds and beasts show their feelings. Hence also the ancient Kings and wise men 故先王聖人 thought it only consistent with decency and order 以成文理 to lay down

1. In the neighbourhood of Spring-grove, Kingston, there dwells an owl, whose sorrows are the talk of the district.

But a little time ago he had a mate, an equally handsome bird—for each was over a foot in height.

This charming lady owl, however, met with a tragic death : One night she collided with a chimney and next morning was found dead.

Sympathizing householders laid the dead bird on the lawn so that her mate might learn her fate. When she was buried in the evening the forlorn male was a pathetic mourner from an adjoining tree.

Since that time the surviving owl has visited the scene of the accident almost every night.

Perched on the chimney of the house, its melancholy hoot can be heard for hours, and sympathetic women declare that it is breaking its heart for the loss of its mate. Whenever seen now the sorrowing bird is always alone.

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the mourning rules 立中制節. The ruling prince 君者 is the master of regularity and discrimination, in fact the source of order[1] 文理源. The term "the people's father and mother" is often applied to him. A father can beget but not suckle; a mother can feed but not educate. The prince "feeds" with emolument, and "educates" by his commands and decisions. The idea of [ancestral] worship 祭 is the expression of affectionate remembrance.

The fourteenth chapter treats of music, which may be defined as the expression of joy, one and the same ideograph being in fact used for both ideas [the context indicating to the reader the difference of sound and tone]. The musical art comes down from our ancient kings; yet Mêh-tsz disapproves of it; but why? Its periods broaden the emotions, and its modulations lend them dignity. Mêh-tsz's attitude towards this ancient expression of *tao* is like the blind man's appreciation of black and white, the deaf man's appreciation of sonant and surd; it is like going north in search of 楚 South China. Why this attitude? He says that our ancient kings disapproved of it and that the Confucianist school 儒者 have cultivated it to excess. A sentence from Confucius approving of village musical jollifications is here quoted, but without mention of Confucius. The further development of the subject may be of literary interest, but adds little to the few words as above summarised. Chapter 15 opens with the statement that there are no two *tao* in nature, and no two minds in the philosopher 聖人: true, in the present [B.C. 300] degenerate times we have conflicting methods of government, and endless schools. [In connection with this subject of fighting states, the T'ang dynasty commentator cites the *Lun-hêng* 論衡, a first century A.D. philosophical work of 200,000 words translated over a decade ago by the late Professor Alfred Forke, the reading of which may be recommended to those who are not in a position to refer to the original Chinese philosophers criticised therein].

Our author goes on to illustrate how the successful methods of Kwan-tsz and his associates contrasted with the tyrannical ways of other contemporaneous Chinese states. As for Mêh-tsz, he stigmatises his communistic notions and lack of refinement. On the other hand, the philosophy of Sung-tsz (already mentioned a few pages back) laid stress on the moderation of our natural desires and the advisability of letting them run their course. Shên-

1. This frequent noting of the term 文理 is intended to support the contention of the learned editor in his *Encyclopædia Sinica* that the modern translation or signification of "mandarin style" or "literary style" is not justified by historical precedent.

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tsz 愼子 was all in favour of prohibitory punishments;[1] he argued that you might have or dispense with numerous sages, but you could not do without or multiply your respective rulers. On the other hand Shên Puh-hai 申不害 or 申子 is quite "gone on" tyranny without method, though otherwise much like the above Shên-tsz. The philosopher Hwei-tsz 惠子 was an adept at special pleas interminable: his admirer Chwang-tsz had a weakness for fate or the supernatural 天, and did not sufficiently consider the influence of human action upon affairs. All the above are mere "corners," or one-sided and distorted views of the same *tao*; but Confucius was benevolent and shrewd, entirely without prejudice in any of the above directions, so that his learning was as multifarious as his art or craft, and 術 was quite able to hold its own with that of our ancient kings 先王. When you know what *tao* is in your heart, then you are capable of *tao*, and when you are thus capable you can abide by *tao* and eschew what is not *tao*. The heart is lord both of body and consciousness; it commands them, and they do not command it. It is not for field-labourers, traders, and artisans to teach us what *tao* is; it is the superior man 君子 who makes *tao* his speciality, and, like the ancient Emperor Shun, works his *tao* through the instrumentality of susceptible intermediaries. Man's heart may be compared with a quiescent pail of water; all is clear above, and what sediment there is lies at the bottom; you can see all your own features reflected clearly in it. Now comes a gust of wind; the water moves and the sediment rises, so that you cannot discern even the main lines of your reflected figure in it: thus the heart must be kept pure and undisturbed by external things so as not to obscure its vision.[2] Passions are like mosquito buzzings, they unsettle one's peace. The philosopher Mencius sent his wife about her business because she distracted his better thoughts. One of Confucius' pupils used to burn his hand so as to keep from nodding[3] whilst studying *tao*. A drunken man mistakes a big ditch for a wee gutter, or stoops when he emerges from the city gates; that is because his mind is fuddled. A man looking down from a height instinctively allows for the real size of animals and trees. The

1. The still quite modern term 刑名 seems to be connected with Confucius' celebrated rule that you must 正其名, and the word 名 is apparently equal to our word "heading;" *i.e.*, you must decide under what *heading* you seek to convict.

2. The whole of this chapter, a mere outline of which is here given, is worthy of the attention of future students, and there are not so many "borrowed" and "unknown" ideographs to confuse them.

3. The texts are rather corrupt and the commentators somewhat vague about the exact meaning of this.

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prospect reflected trembles when the sheet of water is disturbed, yet no one is deceived. The fact that a blind man looking upwards does not see the stars does not indicate that the pupil of his eye is being befooled: it can never be right to attempt the solution of a doubtful point by a proposition which is itself doubtful [the commentator says this is a "whack" at Shên-tsz and Mêh-tsz]. Ghost stories and roast-pig sacrifices when ill belong to this category of self-deception. The term "holy" 聖 implies perfect co-ordination, and the term "royal" 王 implies perfect administration of it.

The sixteenth chapter is upon "right definitions" 正名 which, we have seen, was insisted on by Confucius. Sün-tsz says that we have no record of those of the Shang dynasty laws which took the rank or status of the individual as a guide; whilst the succeeding Chou dynasty certainly took *li* or propriety as a guiding principle, for them first it was that China had distant strangers to deal with [as the Romans, when they established a *praetor peregrinus* to modify for foreigners the narrow Twelve Tables]: man's disposition or nature 性 is born with him, but the feelings or quiescent passions of that nature 情 are a matter of environment. Then follows a dialectical discussion [which leads us nowhere in particular) about the administrative terminology 制名 of the ancient kings, and about the adaptation of this by later rulers to later conditions 因其成名而名之; the present writer does not profess to understand it, but casually alludes to it here in order to show what Confucius had in his mind when he made his celebrated remark. Sün-tsz goes on to criticise Sung-tsz's turning the cheek to the smiter," and the remark attributed to an uncertain philosopher (possibly Chwang-tsz) that "the highest type of man does not slay a *man* out of love for his own person; what he slays is *robbing* or a *robber*": he gives this as an instance of juggling with names 亂名 to the extent of confusing terminology altogether[1] 惑名. (It is necessary to interlard a few ideographs here for clearness' sake). Alas! we live (3rd century B.C.) in degenerate times; the sacred Kings

1. The commentator charges the Hwei-tsz 惠施 and Kung-sun Lung 公孫龍 schools with having confused and changed names. The latter personage was one of Confucius' pupils, 53 years younger than the Sage (see Watters' *Tablets*, p. 52), manifestly not the same Taoist person of that name as Mayers' Manual No. 288. The philosopher Wên-tsz 文子 says there are three classes 科 of names, e.g., square, round, white, black, which are description of matter; good, bad, noble, base, which are qualificatory; wise, stupid, love, hate, which are stigmatising. This feeble attempt at definition leaves us where we were: with, as Sün-tsz would say, "a doubtful solution of a doubtful fact."

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聖王 are no more; the world 天下 is in confusion; dishonest words are in vogue; there are no longer men of honour 君子; power rules; punitory law is ineffectual, all is specious argument (the inevitable. Ode is cited in support). The wise words of the honourable have given place to the vague noisy chattering of the ignorant.

He now returns to human nature the gift of Heaven and feelings or quiescent passions (as above translated) which are the body or product 質 thereof, whilst active passions, or desires 欲, are the responsiveness thereof 應; even a doorkeeper must have desire, whilst on the other hand even the Supreme Ruler 天子 cannot gratify all possible desire, though he may come near it. Though desire cannot be got rid of, yet it may well be regularised or modified. *Tao* for this purpose may be compared with a balance; it shows the precise point where good and evil meet just as the scale shows exactly where heavy and light meet. Thus if your mind is at ease you can enjoy everything: no need for magnificence, and not even empire can add anything to your joys: if you know *tao*, you have calm, you measure your desires and hates and give due weight to yourself and enjoyment of life. But beware of twaddle! [As the commentators add, herein Sün-tsz clearly follows Confucius and Mencius, and develops the famous saying of the former 必也正名].

The seventeenth chapter is devoted entirely to the celebrated controversy between Sün-tsz and Mencius as to whether man's inborn disposition is good or bad. This chapter is entirely different in style and vigour from the rest of Sün-tsz's work, and appears to have been "penned" (or painted) under stress of violent emotion. Probably his conversations with King Chao, or Chao-siang, of Ts'in had by this time proved quite ineffectual, and Ts'in had deliberately decided upon a policy of violence. Neither Confucius nor Mencius, or in fact any philosopher in the centuries before Christ, at any time composed so logical or well-threshed-out an argument.

As has been stated, the seventeenth chapter treating of the celebrated Mencius controversy, has been dealt with separately, as forming a masterpiece by itself; but there is some confusion about the arrangement of subject, 篇, and whilst the masterpiece is called the 23rd subject, the end of the 17th chapter also covers a short 24th subject called "the high-class man" 君子; but, as the commentator points out, there must be some mistake or misnomer, for the real subject is the Son of Heaven; and, even at that, it is hardly worth translating for anything at all original it may contain.

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Chapter 18 is also unsatisfactory, a mere jumble of unfinished anecdotes, comparisons, etc. Chinese philosophy is so vast in quantity, that it is hardly worth while troubling to worry out the meaning of the doubtful and scattered ideas; suffice it for the present generation of enquirers to get at the main points evolved by early Chinese thought.

The nineteenth chapter appears to consist of a number of miscellanies by Sün-tsz's pupils; as, for instance, the deportment of the Son of Heaven as contrasted with the vassal kings, and the much worn examples of Yạo, Shun, and Yü: in connection with the last Emperor, it is mentioned that he got ideas from a western state 西國王, and the commentator raises the question "Was he a Tibetan 西羌 himself?" Then there is a story of Confucius comparing the respective merits of Kwan-tsz and his [modern Shantung province] successor 150 years later, the philosopher Yen-tsz, with the equally distinguished lawyer-statesman [modern Honan province] Tsz-ch'an; also some remarks upon the political doings of Mencius: the interest of these observations lies in the fact that all prominent men of the leading states [now northern province] were familiar with the general history of the time, which, so far from being vague, was firmly established in educated men's minds. In this connection it may be well to call attention to Père Tschepe's masterly translations of the little known native histories of Ts'in, Tsin, Ts'u and Wu which give full particulars of the events only tersely summarised in Sz-ma Ts'ien's great history so ably translated by the late Professor Edouard Chavannes. As Sün-tsz observes: "Heaven did not create the people for the benefit of their ruling princes, but set up ruling princes for the benefit of their peoples." It is the ideal duty of the ruling prince to discover the proper agents, and it is the ideal duty of his subjects to carry out the behests for which they are chosen. The high-class man's learning is for ever being cast and renewed, like the shed skin of a snake. As for charity, sense of right, and courtesy 仁義禮, they are what may be called the desirable things for humanity, just as material possessions and the different grains for food are the desirable things for a household: they are rich who possess them in quantity, just as they are poor who are lacking in them: the great, who are unable, just as the ordinary folk, who are unwilling, to practise these qualities are on the road to lose their estate, be it public or personal. As the saying goes 語曰 "the stray pellet finds the hole, the stray word finds the understanding head"; but this is a prejudiced saying 家言 against the educationalists or Con-

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fucianists 儒 者.[1] When there is doubt, take counsel from bygone events, and compare them with present circumstances, weighing the *pros* and *cons* without prejudice; then the "stray word" will disappear, and the evil word will perish. [Confucius' pupil] Tsêng-tsz having more fish on his plate than he could consume, someone said "cook it again for the servants"; but it was suggested that, cooked again, it might do them harm; better warm the fish up: Tsêng-tsz shed tears at his own want of consideration. Other incidents are cited where Confucius, virtuous statesmen and even ancient Emperors are ignored, by those who ought to appreciate them, in spite of their virtues. The moral appears to be this: the superior man can act nobly, but not necessarily compel people to appreciate the nobility of his action; he can be of service in many ways, but not necessarily induce people to avail themselves of his services. Solemn exhortations and interstate treaties, hostages, etc., do not appear to have existed at all in remote antiquity [not much use now]. On the whole Chapter 19 is somewhat disjointed and inconsequent, scarcely repaying close perusal except for purposes of intensive study.

Chapter 20 seems to be a general summing up by Sün-tsz and his pupils of the lessons to be gathered from history as it then existed, *i.e.*, before literary "style" existed. Various acts of Confucius are criticised or justified in such a way as to make it clear how the secular views of the *literati* 儒 道 gradually came to mean "Confucianism," from the mere fact that Confucius was the first to sum up and give definite expression to the rites and ceremonies, the charity, courtesy and right feeling which from ancient times had stood in China for what we in the west call religion. The ideas of prayer, sin, confession, repentance, "love" of God, etc., were never conceived at all in a popular distributive sense; and so far as they were conceived at all it was only for the Emperors in their semi-divine representative capacity as Heaven's trustees for the people: as the temporal power of the Emperors dwindled, so the old "rules of the educated" 儒 道 had to be modified or given new expression in order to fit in with ever-changing political conditions; and herein lies the secret of the conflicting "philosophies," all of which the First Emperor (with his *Deutschland über Alles* ideas, so to speak) tried to "tumble into a hole" and destroy for ever together with feudalism. It will be remembered that this First Emperor only came to the throne ten or twelve years after the death of his great-

1. The commentator explains that this is a fling at the Sung-tsz and Mêh-tsz class 家 of philosopher.

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grandfather whom Sün-tsz had actually tried to convert to "reason." His grandfather and putative fathers never reigned effectively at all. Chapter 20 ends with a sort of colophon as follows :

Some people say that Sun[1] K'ing is not equal to Confucius. This is not so. Sun K'ing was driven to what he did by the welter of the times, when fierce penalties threatened every independent act. There were no worthy Emperors about to save the situation, and there stood tyrannical Ts'in in the way below. Courtesy and justice had no vogue, and true civilization 教化 had no chance ; the benevolent had their hands tied, and the whole world 天下 was in a muddle ; one had to grope his own way, and the vassal rulers were all topsy-turvy. In these days the most knowing were at a loss what to do, the ablest at a loss to restore order, and the wisest at a loss how to begin : the ruling princes were unable to see clearly for themselves, and the sagest of counsellors were flouted in any case. Things being so, Sun K'ing, though moved by a sort of inspiration, put on a crazy demeanour to show the Empire 天下 how foolish he was. As the Ode[2] has it [of another ancient] : " he showed intelligence and wisdom in preserving his own person," a most apt quotation in this case ; and this is why his reputation has never been done justice to ; his followers have never been numerous, his brilliancy never widely appreciated. But the erudite of the present day, in possession of the words and last lessons bequeathed to them by Sun K'ing will find them sufficient to serve for the world's model and standard 天下法式表儀 ; the spirit of them is preserved, though the circumstances are bygone. If we look at his good work, well, Confucius could not have done better ; but succeeding ages, undiscriminating, ask how is it if he was a man of the highest order 聖人 the Empire 天下 was in confusion ? The answer is, Sun K'ing was unfortunate in his time : his virtues were as high as those of Yao and Yü, but few of his time were aware of it. He had no use for specialists 方術, and thus incurred men's distrust ; but his knowledge was extremely clear, and his actions strictly upright in accordance with principle, in such wise that he might well count as a guiding model. But, alas ! for the wise 賢 by rights they should be monarchs 帝王 but nature as we find it 天地 does not know what is virtuous 善. [The wicked last Emperors of the first two hereditary dynasties] Chou and Kieh murdered [the one] the good

1. It is to be noted that this colophon uses *Sun* 孫 instead of *Sün* 荀.

2. Another Ode was 哲人之愚 which a commentator explains by 賢人佯愚, thus showing a regular practice in China.

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sage [Kwan-lung-fêng], whilst [by the other] Pi-kan's heart was cut out. Confucius was held up at K'wang [later on in Ts'u state he came across]; Tsieh-yü [feigning madness as a means of] retiring from the world. Ki-tsz feigned madness [colleague of the above Pi-kan, B.C. 1154, in order to escape the mad Emperor's brutality]. T'ien Ch'ang revolted (B.C. 481, and created a new dynasty in modern Shantung]. Hohlü, presuming on his might, got good fortune in exchange for his wickedness whilst the more worthy suffered disaster [alluding to the celebrated Chinese Hannibal, a semi-savage king in the Shanghai-Soochow region, and his conquests B.C. 500]. In these days people who discuss the matter once more fail to discern the real truth and simply accept his current repute ; but times and generations are dissimilar, so that encomium can scarcely have its due birth : as he cannot now render contemporary public service, how can he once more assert his mind ? But as to his true virtue and honesty, who shall say he was not one of the wisest ?

The T'ang dynasty ninth century commentator remarks : "from the words 'in these days' to the end the words are those of Sün-tsz's pupils ;" from which we (the translator) must infer that the whole of Chapter 20 is the teaching of Sün-tsz himself as manipulated or recorded for him by his school during his life-time. The translated parts in square brackets towards the end do not appear in the Chinese text, but that does not mean that they *need* insertion, *as* translations, for any but the foreigner. There is nothing unduly *staccato* or obscure about the literary allusions to the past, which every well-educated Chinese, even under the present very unliterary Republic, understands as a matter of course. It is as though, in discussing a British man of eminence, we were to say: "Yet we must bear in mind Capua, and not forget Rufus or the royal Tarquin brutalities : Richard may have been wicked, but Henry VII was no saint."

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ANCIENT RELIGIONS OF CHINA

BY

REV. C. WAIDTLOW,
Danish Missionary Society.

(*Continued from page 297*)

The Religions of the Chow Dynasty.

Before we begin to deal with these, we will say a few words about the chief god of the Chou Dynasty : the red god, without bringing forward any proofs.

He is the war-god, fire- and sun-god. His chief symbol is the sunbird, which has but one leg[1]. It arrives in the spring and leaves again in the autumn. The sun-god bears the names 來 *lai* and 離 *li*, on account of the bird's arrival (來 to come) and departure (離 to leave). We often find the two characters 𠂤 and 𡍮 on the oracle bones[2]. They are interpreted as 來 *lai* (to come) and 喜 *hsi* (joy). They signify the war-god and his wife, who are consulted before a military expedition is undertaken[3]. The name 離 is still found among the 8 diagrams, as the diagram of the sun. The name 來 is still used in 老萊子[4]. In the *Shuo-wên* we find a designation of the same god in the character 𠂤. 不, not, which according to Wieger I, p. 299, represents a bird that rises flapping its wings straight towards the sky. Among the twelve animal symbols (12 *shu* 屬), the snake (蛇), which originally

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1. In the Eastern Han Dynasty the sunbird is given three legs, as the red god is No. 3 in this dynasty, while he has the first place in the Chou Dynasty.

2. See Mr. Lo-chên-yü's book : 殷虛書契菁華.

3. See Mr. Lo-chên-yü's book : 殷虛書契考釋.

4. Lao-lai-tzŭ is mentioned among the 24 examples of filial obedience. This is none other than the sun-god, the red god, who has been transformed into an example of filial piety.

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belonged to the son in the white religion, was stolen by the red god. He has also taken the Holy Mother's symbol, the sheep (羊) and the father's symbol, the horse (馬); as a matter of fact he had only the ape (猴) as his own symbol. The official religion of the Chou Dynasty was a sort of absolute religion, i.e., a religion in which one single god assumes the power as "the great man" (or the great master 大夫). He has a unique position, as he unites heaven, earth and man in one person. This was no doubt caused by religious development during the Chou Dynasty. The emperor (properly the king) wished to be an absolute ruler, and, therefore, he shaped a religion in which a single god was well-nigh absolute. The saying of Confucius cited by Mencius: "There are not two suns in the sky, nor two sovereigns over the people," has perhaps something to do with this. The experiment was not successful, and the dynasty eventually had three religions, two besides the official one. These two religions both retain the red god, but place at his side the blue and the white god also. According to the 6th part of the Chou-li, one of these religions is designated *wên* (文) with the colours blue and red, the other *chang* (章) with the colours red and white. We will, for the sake of convenience, name these religions and gods according to colours.

1. The Official Religion of the Chou Dynasty

(The Red Religion.)

The generally accepted Chinese chronology of the oldest times differs by several hundred years from the Taoistic chronology as given in the Bamboo Books. The difference decreases by and by, and from B.C. 841 the two chronologies coincide. From this fact alone the great importance of the year B.C. 841 can be conceived. In this year the ruler, King Li (厲), was deposed, the people revolted and the king had to flee. Before a new king was raised to the throne fourteen years passed, a period called Kung-ho (共和). According to Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien there were two dukes who reigned conjointly, wherefore the period was called Kung-ho. But Chwang-tzŭ and the Bamboo Books inform us that there was only one regent, an earl of the family (共)[1] with the name of Ho (和), i.e., peace. There are probably religious ideas behind this difference. This is confirmed by reading what the book Lu-shih (路史) tells about this matter, to which it gives a whole chapter. Here it is said to be linguistically incorrect for Ssŭ-

1. This word is written with the same character as the one used for the name of the principal god of the Ch'in Dynasty.

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ma-ch'ien to explain Kung-ho as "peace through the joint reign of two dukes." It is not two dukes but one earl who reigns. His government is very much praised. The earl is full of virtue and good works, so the people have the blessing of perfect peace. All the dukes of the country wished to make him emperor, but he was not willing. After the fourteen years have passed, a great drought comes upon the land, and as the reed-thatched hut of the earl is burnt down, he returns to his religious exercises, and from this time lives on the summit of the mountain Kung, while Hsüan (宣), a son of King Li, becomes king. Everything implies that it is a god who is referred to here. It is curious that an earl should reside in a reed-thatched hut, and that the same character *lu* (廬) is used in the name of the hut, a fireplace, and the reeds with which the hut is thatched. It seems to imply that it is the fire-god who is spoken of, the god of the hearth who is now raised to become fire-god on the mountains, lightning, thunder- and rain-god, and, moreover, sun- and heaven-god. The issue of the contest between Chwang-tzŭ and Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien is then whether it is this single god, or two gods as Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien asserts, who rule the empire from B.C. 841.

After consideration of the myth just related, we are inclined to believe that the traditional history of the first three Chinese dynasties (Hsia, Shang and Chou) is mixed up with myths arrayed in the garb of ordinary history[1]. But when we contemplate what is reported as having happened in the year B.C. 785, this supposition becomes certainty, for it is reported that in the year B.C. 785[2] King Hsüan passed sentence of death on Tu-pai (杜伯), i.e., "the earl of the wild pear-tree." His friend, Tso-ju (佐儒),[3] asks nine times for pardon for him, but with no effect. So the king causes Tu-pai to be executed, and Tso-ju commits suicide, as he will not serve so unjust a ruler. Casually reading this, one would be inclined to think that it was only a report of a common occurrence at an imperial court. But elsewhere[4] we are told that "the earl of the wild pear-tree," who is also called "the lord of the wild pear-tree," is a god. The philosopher Mo-tzŭ (who lived about B.C. 400) tells of him: "King Hsüan killed the earl of the wild pear-tree and did not regard it as a sin. But when the king went hunting later, he saw in a vision that the dead man

1. The Danish historian Saxo has in the opinion of many done the same thing.

2. Faber: Chronological Handbook.

3. May perhaps be translated "Philosopher of the left party."

4. V, 94, Tu-chu 杜主

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took a bow and arrow and shot him, and that he fell down dead. Therefore he worshipped the earl." Other reports give also indications of Tu-pai being a god. It is said about him by Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien that under the Ch'in Dynasty he was only a very small god. It is also said[1] that "he taught the people to cultivate the earth." Tu-pai's dethronement is said by his votaries to have taken place in this way[2]: "As a great flood came over Hui (會),[3] Wang-ti (望帝)[4] abdicated in favour of his minister K'ai-ming (開明), i.e., he who causes the darkness to disappear and the light to come, and ascended the western mountains to live in hiding there." K'ai-ming,[5] whom we meet several times in the *Shan-hai ching* (山海經), especially in the third part, and who is sometimes depicted as a wild monster guarding the nine gates of Heaven, and sometimes as "the spirit of the tortoise," is identical with the god of the official religion of Chou, the red god.

We will now discuss this god more particularly. He has many names. We will first investigate those having some connection with the tortoise. Here we first, as already mentioned, meet with Pieh-ling (鱉靈), i.e., the spirit of the tortoise.[6] In the *Chou-li* the heavelny tortoise is called *ling* (靈), i.e., spirit. According to the book *Êrh-ya* (爾雅)[7] it is called the God-tortoise or Spirit-tortoise. The very expensive use of tortoise-shells for oracular inquiry during the Chou Dynasty is well known. Every time the empire was in distress the stalk of the plant *shih* (蓍) or the tortoise was inquired of. How the tortoise-shell was treated for this purpose we do not fully know. But that a drill and fire were used is certain. The species of tortoise used was, of course, not the same as that used as a symbol for the god himself. The first species was called *kuei* (龜), the other *yüan* (黿), This latter is written by a combination of two characters signifying "the original frog." The *yüan* is a very big tortoise that lives in rivers and lakes. It has protuberances on its head like heaps of stones.[8]

The god is also called *chwan-fu* (專夫), i.e., "the only master" (hero). Chwang-tzŭ tells us[9]: "The only master moves the ram's horn and ascends 90,000 *li*." To each of the two characters originally used for *chwan-fu* has later been added the radical for "hand" (扌), so it is now often written 摶扶, but read with this radical added the name has no meaning.

1. The persons Tu-yü (杜宇) and Tu-chu (杜主) are identical. 2. V, 94, Tu-yü (杜宇). 3. The mountain Hui, V, 60. 4. Tu-pai is also called Wang-ti, i.e., the emperor (or god) of the full moon. 5. XI, 81, K'ai-ming 開明. 6. XI, 81, K'ai-ming. 7. XI, 180, Ling-kuei (靈龜). 8. XII, 126, Yüan-ting (黿鼎). 9. IV, 140, T'uan (摶) and VIII, 111 Yang-chiao (羊角).

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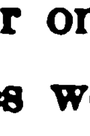
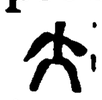
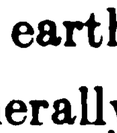
In Yüan-yüan's inscriptions on old temple-bells, sacrificial vessels, etc.,[1] we find *chwan* ( ) special, the only one, written thus: . This is, for instance, the case in an inscription on a sacrificial tripod from Silver Island, a vessel supposed to date from King Hsüan's time. On the oracle-bones *chwan* is written thus: . On the right side below is seen a hand ( ). The rest of the character is similar to that in the inscription from Silver Island, and when we consider the symbol tortoise or frog, a connection with the above-mentioned god is evident. To this must be added that in many of Yüan-yüan's inscriptions the following symbols are found: The two parts of this compound character are written as they are here, the one under the other and in the same order. I believe that the upper part signifies the god himself and that the lower one is his symbol. The first in Yüan-yüan's book is translated as "son," and the latter one as "grandson," but is this correct? On the oracle-bones we often find  or , which Mr. Lo-chên-yü, who has written several books on these bones, reads as "great." Sometimes to this figure is added a square, at times two lines or only one line at its head. In these cases Mr. Lo translates it as "Heaven." The most remarkable form for this character is one with a head, with big eyes, ears and earrings, but no mouth: . In Yüan-yüan's books we find many drawings of this person in many positions, translated by "son." We see him with an arrow in his hand at the side of a wild ox, or he is carrying money on a sort of carrying-pole over his shoulder. We find him also standing with a big flag or a sword or a jug in his hand. The figure on the oracle-bones which is supposed to mean "great," we often see standing with a spear, bow or other article in his hand. All this applies, according to my opinion, to the god with whom we are dealing, regarded partly as Tortoise-god, partly as the "great hero."

But the god has other symbols. We have already quoted from Chwang-tzŭ about "the only master" moving the ram's horn. A figure often seen on the oracle-bones is probably a drawing of the horn. The character for "great":  or , designating the god himself is seen standing on a horizontal line here signifying the earth,[2] and at his side is seen a figure varying somewhat, but generally drawn thus:  , and several are of the opinion that it signifies a horn. This horn is no doubt the celestial

1. 稽古齋鐘鼎彝.

2. We find in the *Shuo-wên* some instances of one horizontal line signifying the earth.

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sign of the god. At all events it was often inquired of when the oracle-bones were used in prayers for rain.[1] The character under consideration has among other meanings also that of "the light of the sun."[2] We find in it the three powers which are spoken so much of in China, heaven above, man in the middle and the earth below. Such is in fact the order in this worship, and it corresponds to the upper shell of the tortoise, which indicates heaven, the lower shell, representing the earth, while the tortoise itself stands for man (the great master), who connects heaven with the earth, as the tortoise itself forms the connection between its two shells.

Such a god-man is thus described by Chwang-tzŭ: "He needs no food. He uses the clouds as his chariot and flying dragons as his horses. He roams far away right over the four oceans (which encompass the world.) He even rides on the sun and moon. Neither life nor death changes him. Thunder and lightning do not frighten him. The greatest fire cannot kill him. The greatest flood cannot drown him."

In mentioning the tortoise-spirit it is said[3] that he has come out of a well. The character for "well" is the diagram of the god. It is formed by two parallel horizontal lines and two parallel vertical lines intersecting each other 井. In this way nine spaces are formed. In the middle the god himself sits as a tortoise or a frog. When this worship fell into contempt, the expression "to sit in a well and look at the sky" came into use, and is still used as a phrase signifying a very limited view of the world.[4] In this central position he is also god of heaven. He is *Hao-t'ien-shang-ti* (昊天上帝), i.e., the exalted heaven's god. He is thus designated in the third part of the *Chou-li* ("spring-officials"), where the official worship is described.—In the inscription from the years between B.C. 318 and 312, in which the kingdom of Ch'in curses the kingdom of Ch'u, he is called "Hwang-t'ien" (皇天), i.e., the imperial almighty heaven-shang-ti (上帝) i.e., god.

The remaining 8 spaces in the diagram according to the *Chou-li* must be given to: (1) the sun, (2) the moon, (3) the ordinary stars (星), (4) the great fire-star[5] (辰), (5) he who rules over the centre (司中), (6) he who rules destiny (司命), (7) the master who rules the wind (風師), (8) the master who rules the rain (雨師). According to the figures on the robe which the emperor of the Chou Dynasty wore on the occasion of the sacrifice to

1. See Lo-chên-yü's book: 殷商貞卜文字. 2. V, 27, *yü* 曇. 3. XII, 128, *Pieh-ling* 鼈靈. 4. II, 149, *Tso ching kuan t'ien* (坐井觀天) 5. II, 196, *Ta-huo* 大火.

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heaven, the order ··ould be[1]: the sun, the moon, the ordinary stars, the great fire-star, mountains (山), the dragon (龍), flowers, (𦰩)[2] living beings (蟲).[3] That the figures on the imperial robe must be regarded as symbols is evident, but the last four of the eight mentioned in the *Chou-li* must have been gods, or rather designations of the red god.

Besides the well diagram we meet with what are called the "nine hills" (九 丘), probably nine places of sacrifice for the official religion of the Chou Dynasty. These nine sacrificial hills were probably situated, one in the middle close to the city of Lo-yang (洛 陽), which was the capital of the empire, and the remaining eight grouped around the place, one at each of the eight principal points of the compass. They can scarcely have ranged over a much greater area than the present province of Honan. The nine hills are mentioned in the *Shan-hai-ching*,[4] but it is not possible to identify them. According to the *Tso-chuan*, the book "describing everything in the nine provinces into which old China was divided was called "The Nine Hills."[5] It is therefore to be supposed that these nine provinces have some connection with the nine sacrificial hills. We get a similar hint from the fact that the nine sacrificial tripods (九 鼎) corresponded to the nine provinces.[6] The provinces are enumerated in a different order in the different books. The *Yü-kung* (禹 貢) is said to give the order of the Hsia Dynasty, the *Êrh-ya* (爾 雅) that of the Shang Dynasty, and the *Chou-li* that of the Chou Dynasty. The first two of these must be supposed to be antedated, but although the finishing touches were not given to the *Chou-li* until the Eastern Han Dynasty, it must nevertheless be supposed that as regards the points of the compass at least it gives correct information of the nine provinces of the Chou Dynasty, and perhaps also of the nine hills. First is mentioned the province of Yang, lying in the south-east with Hui-chi as its holy mountain; then the province of

1. IX,163 *kun fu* (衮 服.)

2. Perhaps all plants are here indicated.

3. The character which I can only translate as "living being" is used as a name in common for all living beings: birds, animals, reptiles, fishes and even men, IX, 140, *ch'ung* 蟲.—Flowers and living beings are under the Eastern Han Dynasty combined into one character translated "bird," and in the same way *hsing* (星) and *ch'ên* (辰) are combined into "stars" (星 辰). This was done to make room for the two emblems, the double axe and the double bow, standing for the Ch'in and the Eastern Han Dynasties. To get room for them and yet retain the number 12 (the number for the emblems on the imperial robe) it was necessary to combine as related.

4. 16, 3.

5. I, 88, *chiu ch'iu* 九 丘.

6. I, 94, *chiu ting* 九 鼎.

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Ching, lying towards the south with the mountain Hêng as its holy mountain. These two cardinal points, south-east and south, are regarded in this religion as the principal ones. The principal sacrificial place of the Chou Dynasty was therefore in the south-east, which can also be deduced from a statement made by Yüan-yüan.[1] This place of sacrifice was called " Ming-t'ang " (明堂), i.e., bright hall. The great mountain for the assembly of the gods in this religion is therefore Hui-chi (會稽), the mountain in the south-east. The name signifying : " to assemble and respectfully fall down and knock the head against the earth" points in the same direction.

2. The Other Two Religions Under the Chou Dynasty (Wên and Chang)

While the principal of the nine hills was still situated in the south-east, there came into existence two other religious cults, for which the most important hills were in the east and west respectively. Standing in the north with the face towards the south we have east at the left and west at the right hand. From this the names Tso-ch'iu-ming 左丘明, i.e., "the left hill is bright," and Yu-ch'iu-ming 右丘明, i.e., " the right hill is bright," are formed. The expression "bright " is an abbreviation of " Ming-t'ang " (the bright hall). The meaning is that according to the view of the one cult, the principal sacrificial place (Ming-t'ang) must be situated in the east ; according to the other, in the west. Both these cults retain the principal god of the official religion (the red god), but add one more, the blue god for the eastern, and the white god for the western. In this way we get the Wên 文 (blue and red) and the Chang 章 (white and red), both mentioned in the *Chou-li*. " Wên " seems to have come into existence in the duchy of Lu (the state in which Confucius was born) in B.C. 722, and the duchy of Ch'u adopted it. " Chang " seems to have arisen in the duchy of Ch'in in the year B.C. 770, and the duchy of Chin adopted it.—It is very difficult to ascertain the position of the different states at the time of the Chou Dynasty. According to the introduction to the *Shuo-wên* there were at that time in the different states different customs, different written characters (this will hardly denote more than that they were somewhat changed in accordance with the ruling religious opinion), and even different languages (I should think this only means dialects), so it is very likely that there were also different religious opinions.

1. V. 12, Ming-t'ang 明堂.

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A. *The Red and Blue Religion (Wên).*

This is "the left hill is bright" cult, for which east is the principal quarter. This religion is especially the religion of agriculture and of day.

The commentary on Confucius' work, the *Ch'un-Ch'iu* (春秋), i.e., "the Spring and Autumn Annals," is called the *Tso-chwan*, and this work and the *Kuo-yü* (國語), i.e., State speeches, are ascribed to Tso-ch'iu-ming. Professor Hirth mentions him as "a person whom it is difficult to identify,"[1] and Professor Grube calls him "a mystical individual,"[2] and is of the opinion that the contents of the two books do not permit us to consider them as having been written by the same author. The explanation is that it is only Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien, who, because he has other religious opinions than Tso-ch'iu-ming, makes him out to be a person and thus tries to conceal that there were two cults. We must therefore hold that the two books are based on a certain form of religious opinion ruling within certain states during the time of the Chou Dynasty. We do not know the name of their authors, if the *Tso-chwan*, as Dr. Grube supposes, was not written by Confucius himself.

By looking at the so-called river-diagram Ho-t'u (河圖),[3] we get a clue to the meaning of the expression *Tso-ch'iu-ming*. In the north we find water, and the number 1 and 6; in the east, wood, and the numbers 3 and 8; in the south, fire and the numbers 2 and 7; in the west, gold (metal), and the numbers 4 and 9. Beginning in the east and going towards the south it is said: "Wood brings forth fire." This is the diagram of the sun and of peace—the productive diagram. According to the *Pai-hu-t'ung*, which is, however, not an unprejudiced witness, as its author is in favour of this cult, it is called "the heavenly system," "royal arrangement," "heavenly teaching," etc. The sun is called "prince," while the moon is regarded only as "minister."—It is not likely that the Ho-t'u, or the Lo-shu, which will be mentioned below, existed before the time of the Han Dynasties, but their principal thoughts, for instance those in connection with the numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4, probably date from the time of the Chou Dynasty. The diagram here treated of is ascribed to the ideal emperor Fu-hsi, who saw it arise from the river on a dragon-horse. Fu-hsi is one of his names after he became emperor, but

1. Hirth: The Ancient History of China, p. 179.
2. Grube: Geschichte der Chinesischen Litteratur, p. 119.
3. VI, 45, Ho-t'u 河圖.

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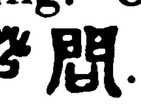
Yü-fu-wang (魚鳧王) ,i.e., Fish-wild-duck-king,[1] is no doubt one of his names and in that case an older one. The *Lu-shih* tells about Fu-hsi, besides what is generally known, that his mother Hwa-hsü (華胥) stepped in the footprints of "the great one" (巨) and felt a movement in her body, while the rainbow encircled her. After 12 years she bore Fu-hsi. On pictures from the Eastern Han Dynasty we see Fu-hsi and his *ching* (精), i.e., spirit, who is called *ts'ang* (倉). i.e., blue. The spirit is drawn as a man, like Fu-hsi. On both persons the lower part of the body is transformed into a snake's tail, and the two tails are twisted together. A little boy with legs like tails is hanging from their sleeves. According to the *Pai-hu-t'ung*,[2] Fu-hsi, as emperor of the east, also has his *shên* (神), i.e., soul, called *chü mang* (句芒) and his *ching* (精) i.e., spirit, called "the blue dragon." To *chü-mang* is added the explanation "Beings immediately after birth." Afterwards the expression *chü-mang* is explained thus, "Plants and trees just coming out of the earth." The small boy must represent *chü-mang* then, and we get an idea through this picture of how the gods were systematically arranged during the Han Dynasty. Each of the four cardinal points of the compass was provided with its special god, and each of these gods was revealed—if it may be so said—in three different manners: the emperor of the god (compared with man), the soul of the god (compared with the earth), and the spirit of the god (compared with heaven). Such a partition of the god of each of the four corners of the world into Ti (帝), Shên (神) and Ching (精) was not attained till the Han Dynasties. During the Chou Dynasty it did not exist. But which god is the original base for Fu-hsi, with his three forms of revelation? The most primitive deities, I think, must have been the three gods of the white religion: the father, the mother and the son; but I believe also the answer must be: the god Jo (若), who is the god of the ocean.[3] In Chwang-tzŭ we find the following: "To behold the ocean and sigh to Jo."[4] The general meaning of the character Jo is: if. On the oracle-bones Jo is written thus: as a kneeling figure with hands stretched upwards. As to the three winding lines forming the head, I do not know their meaning. On one of the oracle-bones we read: "Ask Jo" (問若):  . In one of the inscriptions of Yüan-yüan we find Jo written thus: , which is similar to the character on the oracle-bones, but with , mouth, added. As this god must

1. V, 94, Tu-yü 杜宇. 2. *Pai-hu-t'ung*, the section *Wu-hsing* 五行. 3. IX, 16, Jo 若. 4. IX, 16, Jo 若.

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be considered the principal god of the Eastern Han Dynasty, and the religious system of that dynasty in several ways is preserved till the present day, we may expect that the blue god also at the present time will be more prominent than either the black, the red or the yellow. We must think of four gods then, who, in spite of really being Taoistic, are chiefly worshipped by Confucianists and, in a way, may be called Confucian gods. They are: the god of literature Wên-ch'ang (文昌) and his three servants: K'uei-hsing (魁星), whom we have already identified with the black god—Chu-i (朱衣), i.e., the man in the red cloak, and Chin-chia (金甲), i.e., the man in the golden armour.[1] As the Western Han Dynasty had the colours blue and black,[2] it is natural that the black god should be the principal one after the blue. It is also quite clear that K'uei-hsing is the most important of the three servants; he is so important that Doré, judging from his importance at the present day, says that Wên-ch'ang and K'uei-hsing are identical, or at least associated as gods of literature.[3] The man with the red cloak we identify with the principal god of the Chou Dynasty: the red god, and the man with the golden armour with the principal god of the Western Han Dynasty: the yellow god.

B. *The red and white religion.*

This religion corresponds to the cult of "the right hill is bright," for which the west is the principal point of the compass. Also here we must imagine that we are standing facing south. On the right hand we have the west. The system is known by the diagram called the *Lo-shu*[4] (洛書), i.e., the book which ascended from the Lo River on the back of a tortoise when the emperor Yü stopped the flood. As is the case in the use of the *Ho-t'u* we have the element water in the north and the numbers 1 and 6, but now the user of the diagram turns to the right to the element fire and the numbers 7 and 2, then to the element gold (metal) with the numbers 9 and 4, and last to the element wood with the numbers 3 and 8. This is called "the conquering diagram": "water conquers fire, etc." It is the system of the moon and of war. It is a Yin system, while that of Tso-ch'iu-ming is a Yang system. According to the *Pai-hu-t'ung's* way of putting it, it is a "minister-arrangement," and an "earth-system." This diagram can at the very earliest be ascribed to the Ch'in Dynasty, which is evident from the fact that it begins at "water conquers fire" (i.e., the Ch'in Dynasty overcomes the Chou Dynasty), but as is

1. Doré, vol. VI, p. 39—70. 2. XII, 126 Fu 賦. 3. Doré, Vol. VI, p. 64. 4. VI, 72 Lo-shu 洛書.

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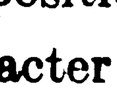
the case with the Ho-t'u it can also be taken for granted that something of it already existed in Chou times.

The god who in this religion shares the power with the red god is the white, the father. According to Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien,[1] Prince Hsiang (襄) of Ch'in in the year B.C. 770 ventured to establish a special worship, as it was especially by his valuable services the Chou Dynasty was saved from an attack by the Huns. Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien says " He regarded himself as Lord and built the western *shih* (時)—a place where sacrifices were made to the earth—for Pai-ti (白帝), the white god or emperor. He sacrificed a red horse, a yellow ox and a ram." The white god was now degraded to be only the ruler of earth, although he originally was the ruler of heaven. His number (one) is, however, retained. The most important character in this religion is 立, which means a man (大) standing on the earth (一), Wieger I, p. 26. The man signifies the red god, while the earth signifies the white god. How degrading for heaven to be trodden upon by man (the hero)! The character is found many times on the oracle-bones. On the back of the bird we see the character , which is equivalent to 立 only turned upside down.—The red god took the number 9 and his position on the diagram was in the south. At the same time it was turned about so that the south took the most important position and the north the lower. South (9) now became Heaven and North (1) the earth. The character on the oracle-bones tries to show the original position.—On the inscriptions of Yüan-yüan we also find the character  sometimes turned upside down.

At present the diagram *ch'ien* 乾 means heaven and is placed in the south, and *k'un* 坤 means the earth and has its position in the north, but according to the *Li-chi*[2] they were named in the order *k'un* and *ch'ien* in the Yin Dynasty. Therefore *k'un* must have been the most honourable at that time.

Mythological Pictures.

There are many mythological pictures still left from the Han Dynasties, especially the Wu-liang stone-sculptures in the province of Shantung.

The Ho-huan (合歡) tree, i.e., the joyful-meeting tree, is found on several of the pictures. At the side of the tree a horse and a crane are to be seen. We also find another tree, of which it is said that it shoots a new leaf every day. In one picture we see the god of the ocean[3] riding in his chariot drawn by fishes. The

1. Fêng-shan-shu, p. 2. 2. II, 129, k'un 坤. 3. Compare the blue god.

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soldiers following him are riding on fishes. We also see frogs carrying spears. On another big picture we see the cloud-god[1] and a female figure, both with headdresses somewhat similar to our modern gentlemen's silk hats. Many horses and carriages follow them. Everyone in this picture has wings. Another picture shows the god of thunder and rain.[2] The god is seen driving in a chariot drawn by six boys. The god has a hammer in each hand. In front of him walk two women pouring water from a jar. This must represent rain. Further in advance we see a man with hammer and wedge. He is shown twice. Once he is standing on the back of a kneeling man and is trying to drive the wedge into his neck. A big serpent with heads at both ends forms an arch over the whole group. Over the serpent is seen a woman with a whip in her hand. The whip probably represents lightning. In another picture we see winged riders mounted on dragons. We also see winged horses endowed with long tails with hooks; at another place winged cows with birds and monkeys hovering over carriages. There are men with two heads; and birds with three, and a tiger with eight, all with faces of men. There are pictures of men with their eyes drawn in a vertical position. One of them has a bow over his head and carries weapons in his hands, by his feet and on his head. One is holding a child in his outstretched hand and is eating its leg. There is no doubt that all this has some mythological meaning.

Closing Remarks.

The old Chinese religions form in my opinion strong parallels to the old Scandinavian religion, at all events as regards the older strata. Professor N. M. Petersen writes in his "Nordisk Mythologi": "In the religion of the Ases not only are several elements mixed, but there must also have been a still older teaching; it is, however, not certain whether it was composed of Finnish or Celtic constituents." In the person Fornjotr and his three sons: the Lord of the ocean (or water), the Lord of the fire and the Lord of the air (or wind), there is a strong similarity to the black, blue, red and yellow gods. Dr. Gudmund Schütte has shown in his work; "Hjemligt Hedenskab," that for instance the dog-king is a Danish god, who has not been identified until recently. Dr. Schütte also mentions the persons "Red," "King Snow," and others, helping to find parallels. Wojenshunter with his dogs

1. Compare the yellow god. About Hwangti it is said that he was the cloud-master and had cloud-officials. XI, 163, *Yün-kuan* 雲官.

2. Compare the red god.

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and Utgardsloke and the other persons in Utgard as they appear when visited by Thor, are other hints in this direction. I have, however, paid attention here only to the old religions of China to make an attempt, though imperfect, to draw their principal lines. Many things, especially belonging to the present day, such as Taoistic gods, festivals, etc.,I have not included, although evidences might also be found there. I have only endeavoured—because of my limited time—to show the principal gods of the oldest historical Chinese dynasties, whose religious beliefs were strongly influenced by the Hunnic (Tartaric) peoples, who lived around them. It is possible that Scandinavia, through Finland, was similarly influenced.

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VERSE TRANSLATIONS OF MENCIUS

BY

IVAN D. ROSS, M.A.

Mencius Book IV. Chp. 1-4

Li Leo, Ch. I, §1.

'Tis said Li Leo had eyes that might descry
The plumes of birds that soared far in the sky ;
Kung Hsü Tzŭ carved in wood and shaped a kite
So true, it spread its wings and rose in flight.
Were a man given sight like Li Leo's clear,
And had he cunning as Kung Hsŭ Tzŭ's peer,
Yet without use of compass and of square
He could not fashion round and corner'd fair.
Shih K'wang for skill in music was renowned,
Yet without use of reed that gives the sound
He could not tune the five notes of his scale.
Among our princes, virtuous men are found,
Yet does their rule from ancient standards fail,
They do not use the way of Yao and Hsuen ;
Good government in kindness must begin.

§2. For some there be full kindly in intent,—
Good-hearted purpose, barren of good deeds ;
And others wear a name benevolent,
Yet 'neath the sovereign still the subject bleeds ;
Princes who follow not the ancient way
Can keep no peaceful empire 'neath their sway,
Nor will their fame inspire the kings of later day.

§3. For purpose merely, be it ne'er so good,
In lieu of true statecraft has never stood ;
Benevolence is but an empty name
That can no fruit of rightful action claim.

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§4. One of our old songs saith : " Nor more nor less ;
Hold but to ancient law." That monarch's rule
Shall never err by virtue of excess
Who holds in honour all the former school.

That Sage, with vision gifted nigh divine,
Still used the compass, angle, rule and line,
To fashion round and square and plane and straight ;
And he with ear precise to mark the weight
Of music tones, scorned not to use at need
Th' inerrant canon of the sounding reed.
Then, when the king gives thought to plans of state
(His natural wisdom be it ne'er so great),
Let him not shun prescription's well-tried ways,
Impartial let him be to blame or praise,
Then, like the sun, on all he pours his gracious rays.

§5. This simple saying holds a truth profound :
" He that would climb, must step on rising ground ;
And who descends, must follow down the stream."
Our ancient glories are no empty dream ;
And he who, having true desire to rule,
Neglects his predecessors, is a fool.

For thus alone can true benevolence,
The kingly virtue, find itself fulfilled,
Befitting one to lofty station born.
Who fills high place and lacks benevolence
Sows broadcast ill on all who own his sway.

§6. When those that rule no standard recognize
By which to measure conduct at its worth ;
And those that serve, no law before their eyes,
Break precedence ; when those of loftiest birth
Hold no word sacred, and no honour know,
And " prince " though named, no princely nature show ;
When lower orders disregard the laws,
Mismanage justice and pervert true cause :—
If then the state a prosperous show maintains,
'Tis due to fortune, not to virtue's gains.

§7. Your city-walls may moulder into dust,
Your soldiers perish and their armour rust,
And still the kingdom's glory may abide ;

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Your field may lie unbroken by the plough,
Your gathered riches vanish like the snow,
And still your country lift her head in pride.
When princes violate fair courtesy's rule,
And lesser nobles fail their minds to school,
Then tribes of robbers o'er the nation ride,
And not a day shall pass but woe betide !

But Heaven's vengeance is not always slow ;
The old song says : " When Heaven could overthrow
The last degenerate of the House of Chow,
It was no tardy stroke that laid him low."

§8. To lend one's aid to sovereign's will
In schemes of good or schemes of ill ;
To seek high place for power and pelf,
And leave it when it suits one's self ;
This is to travesty the way
Followed by kings of olden day,
And Heaven's vengeance swift descends
On policy which seeks such ends.

But he that, holding office in the state,
Reproves his prince for acts of lawlessness,
Displays true reverence for his master's throne.
T' encourage good, and chide the evil deed,—
This is the loyalty we owe to kings ;
No thief of office, such a minister.

Li Leo, Ch. II.

The compass gives perfection of the round ;
The angle gives perfection of the square ;
The Sage, in whom virtue's true parts are found,
Shows all relations filled with perfect care.
Would rulers truly act the ruler's part ;
Would statesmen practise true the statesman's art
Then let them use the way of Yao and Hsuen,
And naught shall fail them full success to win.
But whoso will not use to serve his prince
The virtues Hsuen displayed in serving Yao
Shows no true loyalty towards his prince ;
And he that will not use to rule his subjects

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The arts which Yao employed to rule his subjects,
That sovereign is a robber of his state.

Confucius said : " There are two ways alone ;
Benevolence, one ; and no benevolence, one."

One prince with great injustice rules his state,—
Th' assassin's dagger his relentless fate,
And all his kingdom shall be lost to foes ;
Another prince with lesser wrong holds sway,—
Danger shall dog his footsteps every day,
His borders narrow as his neighbour grows.
Such kings were Yu the dark and fierce Li :
Sons and sons' sons may mild and filial be,
But unborn generations yet shall know
The unchanged recompense that brought them low.
For history is a glass, in which the past
Is mirror of the future.—Saith the Ode :
" The mirror of the House of Yin, the last
Downfall of Hsia not distantly doth show."

Li Leo, Ch. III.

Three lines of princes held imperial sway
By gentle rule and courtesy's display ;
Three lines of princes lost the empire's trust
By ruthless violence and unreinéd lust ;
The kingdom's fall or rise, and weal or woe
Hangs on this test, as history can show.
When Heaven's Son walks not in this true way,
He cannot hold the four coasts 'neath his sway ;
When High Officials from this right path stray,
In vain to gods of soil and grain they pray ;
When nobles chieftains from this true way fall,
Lone and dishonoured stands th' ancestral hall ;
When from this right path fail the people all,
Their very limbs shall servitude enthral.

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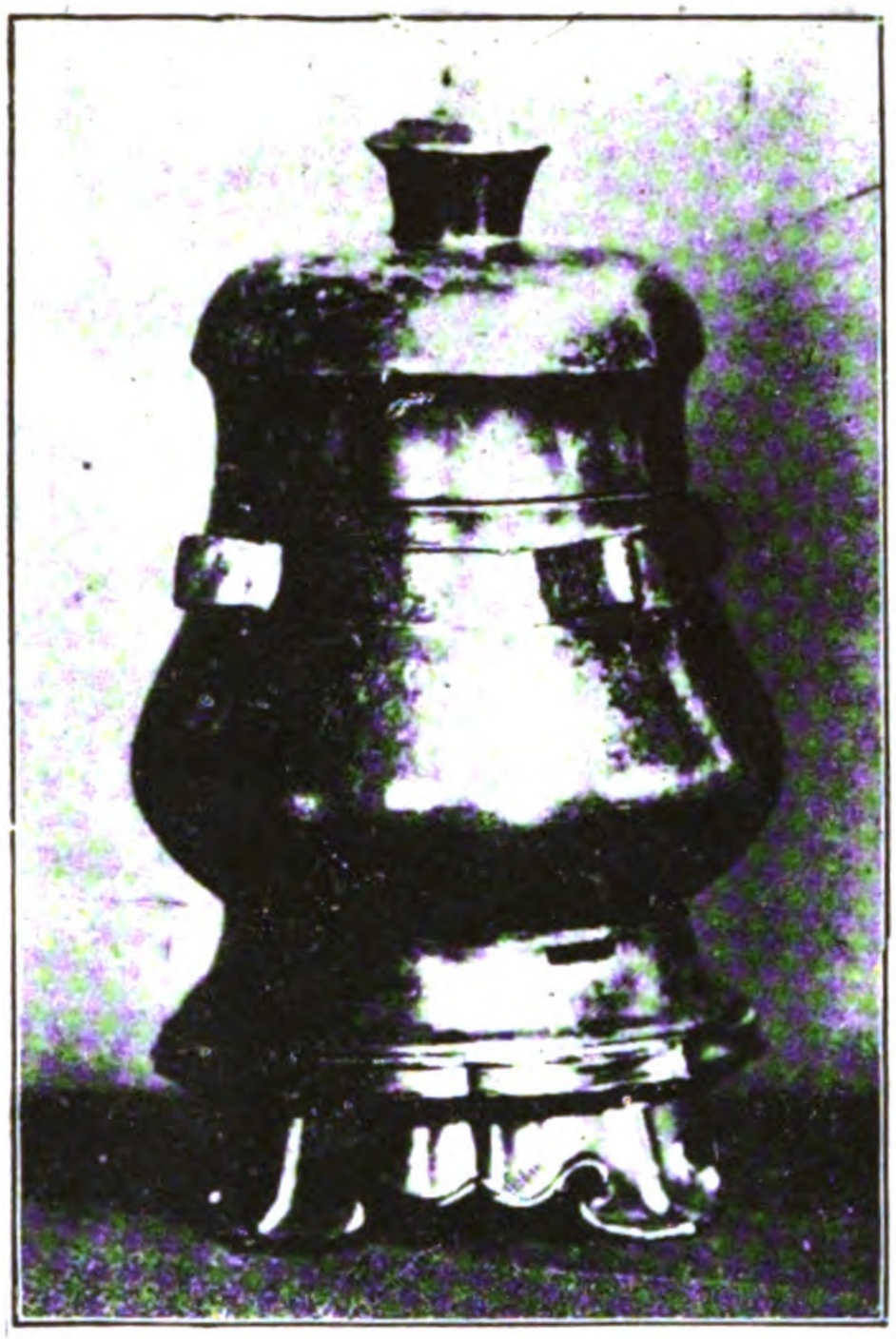
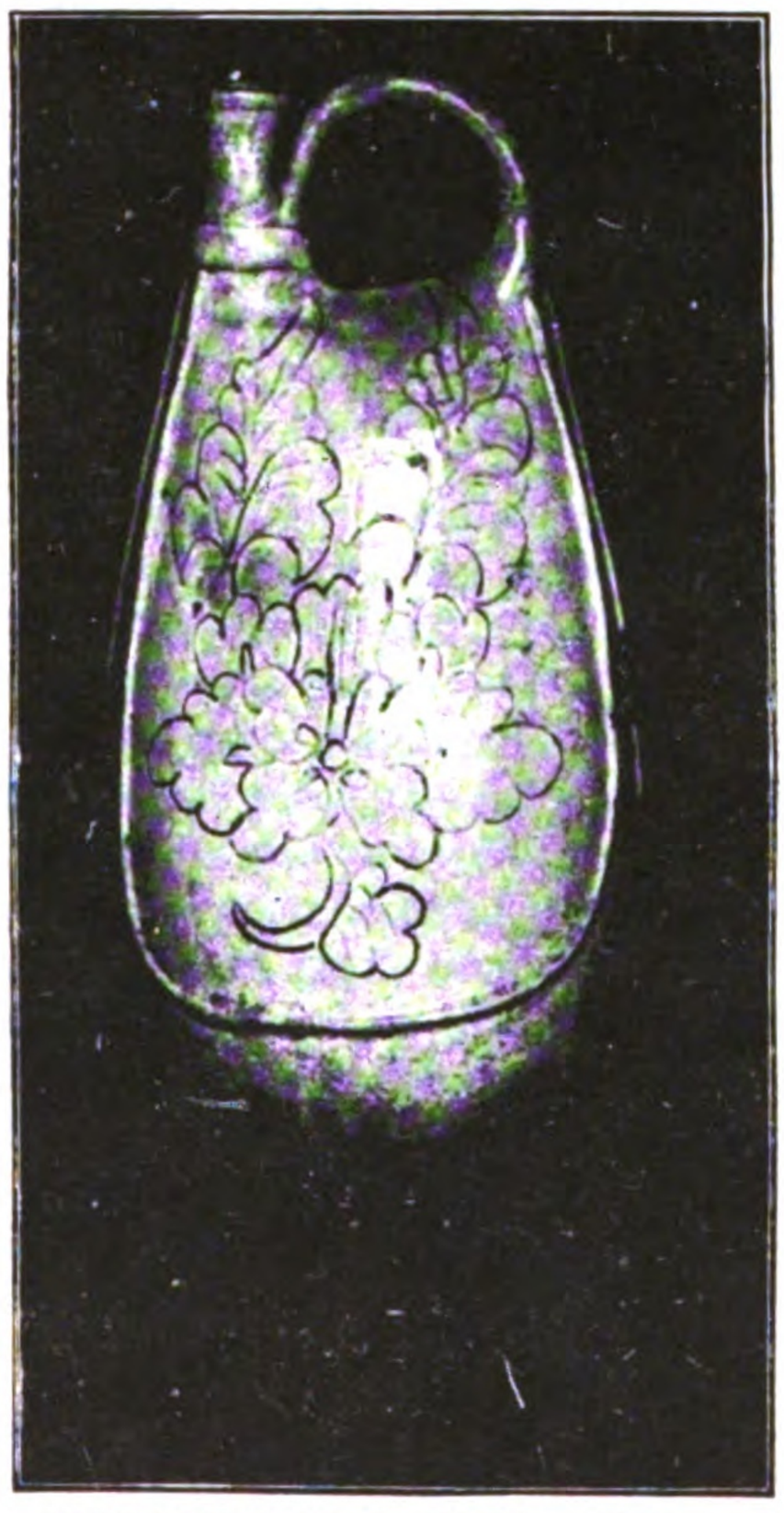


BRONZE WINE JAR. Height 6¾ in.



WINE BOTTLE. Height 11 in.

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TWO ART OBJECTS

FROM THE

COLLECTION OF R. D. ABRAHAM, ESQ.

Sung. Wine Bottle. Tu Ting Ware. Height 11-in.—Here again we see Græco-Bactrian influence in this well-modelled wine bottle.

The design is roughly incised and is gracefully worked on both sides of the piece. The swelling body ends in a narrow spout and is made of heavy and rough ware, a typical example of the Tu Ting type. The shape of the bottle is reminiscent of ancient Greece, and it must be admitted that Greek ideals did influence Chinese art ideals, but only to a certain extent, and it was not permanent. Even here there is a Chinese touch in the design. While admitting that this piece possesses a singular charm, still it must be emphasized that the art of China is indigenous.

Han. Bronze Wine Jar. Height 6¾-in.—One of the chief attractions of ancient bronze is the patina which is usually of russet brown, malachite green and lapis lazuli blue. This piece possesses all three colours of patina, and added attractions are its shape and the ancient script which is found in the interior of the cover and bottom of the piece, the purport of which is unknown to me. If anyone is interested a rubbing of it can be made which will no doubt lead to its decipherment. The balance and proportion and the material used speak much for the art of moulding, and the knowledge of material of the Han epoch. At the top, just below the cover are three triangular projections for straps to pass through and also three slits at the bottom of the bottle; when these are threaded and made secure it could hang safely on a belt or could be conveniently carried.

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MORE ABOUT THE CHARACTERS 汐 AND 潮

(*See Vol. III, p. 423, and Vol. IV; p. 40*)

A. C. Moule

As Professor Giles has mentioned my name in connection with this word, I may perhaps be allowed to make a few remarks on his interesting note. For the history and meaning of *hsi*, a technical term in a branch of knowledge (the tides) which is almost necessarily of local interest, the Professor may seem to place too much trust in the usage of the poets ; but about the fact that the word has been used for the evening tide, the ebb tide, and the neap tide, I do not think there can be serious dispute. When we come to the meaning of *ch'ao* 朝 in the phrase 朝宗于海 from the *Yü kung* and *Shih ching*, it is difficult not to be surprised at the Professor's methods. First he seeks to discredit the traditional explanation on these grounds : " It is difficult to conceive a more fantastic picture than that of the Yangtze and the Han rivers hurrying forth to go to the court of the ocean " and " These venerable scholars believed that the earth was square." A friendship of many years has proved to me that Professor Giles' opinion on the meaning of his own language is very valuable, though there must be *accessible* scientific facts of which he is ignorant ; and living at Cambridge he must recall :

" Next *Camus*, reverend Sire, went footing slow,"

a line which often provokes a smile, and yet is authentic. If he had said the *Yü Kung* was the last place in the world in which to expect fantastic personification of a river, few would have denied it. But we are completely ignorant of the real origin of the words or how they found their way into the *Yü kung*, and we must do our best to understand them with what assistance may be available. Professor Giles sets about this as follows: He *assumes* without producing one particle of evidence that 朝 here stands for 潮. He actually says, " The character 潮 *ch'ao* . . . (*sic*) occurs in the earliest

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documents which have come down to us." He then takes the second of the two instances of the phrase in the *Shuo wên*[1]; omits the word 水 shui; and with "no hesitation" translates 朝宗于海 "The tides originate in the sea." Applying this as he asks us to do, to the *Yü kung* we have, "The tides of the Chiang and the Han originate in the sea." The old interpretation, accepted more or less exactly by Legge, Chavannes, Couvreur, Forke, and by "*Giles*" (2nd edition), means that the rivers were in direct and proper communication with the sea. Fantastic in expression it may be, but it seems to me more sensible as a description of *the result of Yü's work* in Ching chou whose eastern boundary was some 400 or 500 miles from the sea, than "the tides of the Chiang and the Han (which falls into the Chiang 250 miles above the highest range of the tides) originate (as the result of Yü's efforts) in the sea."

There is a great deal which may be said even by an amateur on the meaning of 朝宗于海 and of its association with, the tide and with the word 潮 *ch'ao*; but I must come back to this on some other occasion. I may just add, as an example of how words may change their meaning, that a Japanese friend (backed by a dictionary) tells me that in Japan 潮狩 is a common expression meaning "to hunt (for shellfish) *at low tide in the evening*"!

* * *

Before we add "moon when in *perigee*" to the meanings of 天 t'ien in our dictionaries, may I very humbly ask Professor Giles and Mr. Arlington to look at the place in *Kuan tzŭ* once more? The author is speaking of the rain and the rising of the springs in the three Autumn months, and proceeds 雨露風天地湊汐利 which may perhaps mean something like this: "Rain and dew come from the sky; the earth collects the wealth of the *hsi*." I do not pretend to say whether 汐 *hsi* is here a common noun or the name of a river, but I shall be surprised if it turns out to mean "night tide." 汐利 may be (if I am at all right) a special instance of the very common general expression 水利 "irrigation works," "profit derived from streams."

Under this heading Professor Giles brought in his old friend 刀筆 *tao pi* and I venture to do the same. The Chinese have no doubt used the phrase, whatever its origin, for a "pen," even for the verb "to write." We read that Wang Ch'ung wrote on the walls of his room 刀筆於戶牖牆壁. But when I asked a Japanese what *tao pi* meant he did not say "a knife for scratching out and

1. The *Shuo wên* reads 滭: 水朝宗于海; the words are a definition of 滭.

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a pen for writing," but " a *sword* and a pen." A Japanese gentleman used, it is said, to carry two swords and if this is true it lends interest to this account of a Korean *tao pi* upon which I have stumbled. 刀筆之鞘刻木爲之其制三隔其一藏筆其二藏刀刀形厓利一刀差短散員而下官吏祗應房子親侍皆佩之 " The sheath of the *tao pi* is carved out of wood. It is made with three divisions, in one of which is placed a pen (*pi*) and in the other two, swords (*tao*). The shape of the swords is sharp pointed; one sword is shorter than the other. Titular officers, etc. etc., all carry them." A Korean gentleman might carry two hats but surely not two " knives for scratching out." The Chinese author betrays no surprise. He merely records that that is how they made them in Korea, with places for one *pi* and two *tao*. And we can hardly help asking whether the " knife," even in China, was really there as the assistant or as the less mighty rival of the pen.

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"THE CAPS AND BELTS"

BY

PROF. H. A GILES

The "Caps and Belts" (high officers) go seeking each other out.

Mr. Waley has called in an ancient commentator to back up what I hold to be a very faulty rendering of a line in an early Chinese poem (Vol. III, p. 377). This interpretation is provided, he alleges, by "Prince Chao-ming, the compiler (in the 6th century) of the Wên Hsüan," in which collection the poem in question is found. Prince Chao-ming is said to have been a good scholar in his day—princes always are said to be good in any line they may take up; but although this prince may very probably have made, or have caused to be made, a collection of his favourite poems, I doubt if he made any commentary, and still more that any such commentary has survived the long centuries which have passed since his death in A.D. 531. The first commentary on the *Wên Hsüan* appears to have been the work of Li Shan, who was called the "Book Basket," because he was able to hold the works of others but unable to produce anything of his own. This was subsequent to A.D. 660. After him came a crowd of commentators, so that it is quite doubtful who is really responsible for what Mr. Waley regards as a sheet-anchor. Unfortunately for such ancient sheet-anchors, they have a trick of rusting as time goes on, and finally crumbling away, giving place to newer and sounder substitutes. Do not the Greek and Latin classics furnish us with endless examples of interpretations which once held the field but are now relegated to the dust-bin? What did the Revisers of the Old and New Testaments spend many years upon, except the inaccuracies of former scholiasts? Did not Chu Hsi make hay of the exegesis of the Han scholars?—all of which leads necessarily up to the admission that a Chinese commentator, even Prince Chao-ming, may be wrong.

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In order to put the whole case before readers of the *New China Review*, with the hope of soliciting opinions, for or against, from some of the numerous competent sinologues now to be found in China, I here reproduce my brief notice, published in the *Cambridge Review* on the 22nd November, 1918, of Mr. Waley's volume, with the important addition of the Chinese text.

CHINESE POETRY

A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems. Translated by Arthur Waley. London : Constable & Co. 1918.

Mr. Arthur Waley may be congratulated upon the production of a very interesting volume, which it is to be hoped will lead him on to further incursions into the illimitable field of Chinese literature. It may be said at once that the mere attempt to translate 170 Chinese poems is of itself no mean achievement. A Chinese poem can rarely be read off at first sight, even by an educated native. For the Chinese boy there are numerous anthologies wherein the great masterpieces may be studied with the aid of exhaustive commentaries, but to the foreign student these helps often prove almost as difficult nuts to crack as the actual poems themselves.

In his translations Mr. Waley will have nothing to do with rhyme, for two reasons : (1) " because it is impossible to produce in English rhyme-effects at all similar to those of the original, where the same rhyme sometimes runs through a whole poem "; and (2) " because the restrictions of rhyme necessarily injure the vigour of one's language or the literalness of one's version." Mr Waley further rejects blank verse, " because the essence of blank verse is that it varies the position of its pauses, whereas in Chinese the stop always comes at the end of the couplet," though most people would say that the " essence " of blank verse was the absence of rhyme.

It is a fact that Chinese rhymes are not always true to the ear, though they were once, and the majority of them are so still ; just as the first two lines of the Canterbury Tales no longer rhyme in modern English, though many succeeding couplets rhyme correctly enough.

It is also a fact that the same rhyme sometimes runs through a whole poem ; on the other hand, Chinese poems are mostly very short. For the poems exacted until recent years from all candidates for high honours at the public examinations, a maximum of 12 lines was fixed, the argument being that if a man could not express a thought within tha space, the thought could scarcely be worth expressing. Mr. Waley, however, gets a strong backer in Mr.

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George Moore who has recently stated (*The Observer* of June 9) that "verse cannot be translated into verse," and that all such attempts are "an amateurish adventure." It will surprise many to hear that Conington and a few other translators were amateurs,—a question which cannot be considered here. More to the point is the fact that rhyme is very dear to the English ear; also that the bulk of Chinese poetry is lyrical, in both the original and the later senses of the term, and that a no lesser authority than Swinburne has said (*Essays and Studies*, 1875), "A rhymeless lyric is a maimed thing." In any case, rhyme or no rhyme, it will be admitted on all sides that accurate transmission of the meaning, and, if possible, some slight indication of the spirit of the text, should be the chief aim of all translators of poetry and prose alike.

"I have aimed," says Mr. Waley, "at literal translation, not paraphrase;" and he adds that "any literal translation of Chinese poetry is to some extent rhythmical, for the rhythm of the original obtrudes itself." But a strictly literal translation of a Chinese poem is, as will be shown, an absolute impossibility. Even the baldest prose version will sometimes require paraphrase; a rhymed version still more so, the condition in both cases being that the licence be *sumpta pudenter*. It is further difficult to see how the rhythm of a five- or seven-syllable Chinese line can obtrude itself into the ten- or a dozen-syllable line of the translation.

The above points will be brought out by analysing a single poem taken at random; *e.g.*, No. 3 on p 40, attributed to the 2nd cent. B.C. Each line consists of five words, as follows:

16	15	14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
戚	極	雙	兩	王	長	冠	洛	游	驅	駉	斗	忽	人	磊	青
戚	宴	闕	宮	侯	衢	帶	中	戲	車	厚	酒	如	生	磊	青
何	娛	百	遙	多	羅	自	何	宛	策	不	相	遠	天	澗	陸
所	心	餘	相	第	夾	相	轡	與	驁	駕	娛	行	地	中	上
迫	意	尺	望	宅	巷	索	轡	洛	馬	薄	樂	客	間	石	柏

1.—Green green mound on cypress
2.—Piled-up piled-up stream middle stone
3.—Man born heaven earth between
4.—Suddenly like far walk traveller
5.—Gallon wine mutual enjoyment pleasure
6.—Moderate thick not be thin
7.—Urge carriage whip old horse
8.—Wander amuse Wan with Lo
9.—Lo middle what dense dense

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10.—Cap belt from towards rope
11.—Long street net cross lane
12.—Prince noble many mansion dwelling
13.—Two palace afar mutual look
14.—Double gate hundred odd feet
15.—Extreme feast joy heart idea
16.—Dejected, dejected why this oppress ?

Mr. Waley's Version.

1.—Green, green, the cypress on the mound.
2.—Firm, firm, the boulder in the stream.
3.—Man's life lived within this world,
4.—Is like the sojourning of a hurried traveller.
5.—A cup of wine together will make us glad,
6.—And a little friendship is no little matter.
7.—Yoking my chariot I urge my stubborn horses,
8.—I wander about in the streets of Wan and Lo.
9.—In Lo Town how fine everything is !
10.—The "Caps and Belts" (high officers) go seeking each other out.
11.—The great boulevards are intersected by lanes,
12.—Wherein are the town-houses of Royal Dukes.
13.—The two palaces stare at each other from afar,
14.—The twin gates rise a hundred feet.
15.—By prolonging the feast let us keep our hearts gay,
16.—And leave no room for sadness to creep in.

It must be borne in mind that there is nothing like inflexion or agglutination in Chinese, nor even punctuation, except in text-books for students. Many words too have various senses, and it is often difficult to hit on the right one.

It cannot be said that in the above rendering Mr. Waley has been unnecessarily diffuse ; still he has been obliged to use 129 words as against 80 in the Chinese, each of the 80 being a monosyllable, whereas Mr. Waley's 129 words run to 168 syllables, into which he claims that "the rhythm of the original obtrudes itself." In regard to the translation, merely as a vehicle for conveying the poet's meaning, a few remarks may be allowed.

The poem was intended as a protest against a painful feature of the age in which it was written ;—great wealth alongside of the direst poverty. Lines 1 and 2 are suggestive of permanency ; lines 3 and 4 point to the transitory nature of human life.

Line 6 is a hit at luxurious living, in the sense of being a poor man's apology for only a "gallon" (= 8 Chinese pints) of wine.

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"Thick" is commonly used for hospitable or generous treatment of guests, and "thin" for the opposite; and with reference to the gist of the poem the line would mean,

Though only moderately lavish, this cannot be considered mean.

Mr. Waley here divides the poem into two parts; but the 16 lines are properly four quatrains, as can be seen at once from the rhymes. Lines 7 and 8 belong to the poverty-note struck in lines 5 and 6, the last word but one in line 7 meaning old and jaded, not "stubborn."

In line 9, the words "dense, dense," refer to the crowded population, and not to the beauty of the town. This will be apparent from line 10, the meaning of which Mr. Waley has missed, merely from having taken the wrong turning in a maze. The last word in this line has many various sense; among others, the original meaning, a rope, and a later meaning, namely, to search, out, based upon the guidance given by a rope, precisely as "clue" is used in English. Mr. Waley has adopted the latter sense, without a very convincing effect. Now the third and fourth words, "from towards," in line 10 are exactly the equivalent of "to and fro;" so that the line may now be rendered

High officers pass to and fro in unbroken succession.

In line 11, "boulevard" might be criticized by some, as the Chinese have never planted trees along the streets of their cities; and in line 12 "Royal Dukes" would have been more correctly rendered "Princes and nobles." Line 15 would be modified with advantage into something like

Plenty of feasting is the way to keep gay . . .

to prepare for line 16, in which the poet suddenly turns from the wealth and luxury he has been describing and asks,

Why then am I thus sadly oppressed?

the Chinese word for "oppress" having often special reference to poverty; or to use a popular tag of the day,

But where do I come in?

So far the *Cambridge Review*. To return to the line in question, Prince Chao-ming (to keep up the illusion) limits his explanation to 索求也言冠冕之人自相追求也, which Mr. Waley translates by, "*So* means 'to seek'; the poet says that the high officials follow and seek one another." Here I might easily say "this sort of thing will not do," for Mr. Waley has jettisoned the last word, "out," from his original translation. Omitting also, as flippant, the fact that if these officials were making calls, "one another" being a reciprocal pronoun, neither party would

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have been at home to receive the callers, what I have now to say is that Mr. Waley mistranslates the explanation by Prince Chao-ming. Mr. Waley's (*not* Prince Chao-ming's) "one another" is of course, covered by the word 相 mutual, reciprocal; but the student looks in vain for any word which brings out the meaning of 自, the first meaning of which, given in K'ang Hsi, is 由 "from," and the second is 從 "from." Nor indeed in Mr. Waley's version is any translation of 自 required; the poet might as well have left it out. That a common meaning of 自 is "from," and that a common meaning of 相 is "to" or "towards," led me to understand the poet as saying,

> How densely crowded are the streets of Lo!
> Strings of high officials pass to and fro
> Through a network of great thoroughfares and lanes,
> Past the many mansions of princes and nobles.

Such still seems to me to have been the poet's vision; and in spite of Mr. Waley's cry that "this sort of thing will not do," I shall continue to cling for safety to my rope.

On p. 377 Mr. Waley speaks of my "resenting the suggestion that my own translation (of the 詩品) should be compared with the original." Where does he find the authority for this statement! On the contrary; when Mr. Waley (p. 288) "asked the reader to compare my translation with the original," which, of course, was a sly hint at my inaccuracy and which he must have known that many readers could not do, I challenged him to produce the correct translation, a burden which he has now transferred to "hands far more experienced and competent than his own."

Again (pp. 376, 377). Mr. Waley suggests that the five "distinguished educationalists" gave their opinions (p. 287) "possibly out of politeness," implying that I had previously given them my own version of the passage, thus sacrificing the real meaning to a paltry literary score. *Credat Judaeus Apella!*

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THE THOUSAND BUDDHAS OF THE TUN-HUANG CAVES.

BY

HARRISON K. WRIGHT, M.A.

In the spring of 1906, Sir Aurel Stein set forth on the second of his explorations of Central Asia. A little over a year later he arrived at Tun-huang, a hsien city not far from the border of north-west Kansu Province, purposing to visit the famous caves of the Thousand Buddhas, which are located a few miles to the south-east of the town. Before doing so, he learned of the existence of a store of Buddhist manuscripts which had been recently discovered in a walled-up section of one of the caves. Naturally he was eager for a sight of them, and took care, on visiting the site, to cultivate the Taoist bonze who was in charge of the treasure trove. Managing thus to gain entrance to the cave, he found a stupendous task—for there were thousands of manuscripts to be looked over. Only a cursory examination was possible, but presently something better than Buddhist classics in Chinese and Central Asian languages came to light, in the form of a series of Buddhist paintings, chiefly on silk, of the T'ang period, and evidently of the highest importance for the study of the history of Buddhist art. The bonze in charge fortunately prized the paintings less than the manuscripts, and by a judicious mixture of wheedling and of argument (in both of which Sir Aurel's Chinese assistant took a chief part), and of remuneration, almost the entire collection of paintings was acquired, together with a selection of manuscripts. Toilsomely the whole was transported through the deserts back to India, and later arrived safely in England, where it required seven years of labour in the British Museum to clean and remount the paintings alone ; for they had been badly crushed in the long years of hiding, and only the extreme dryness of the climate had permitted the colours to remain at all. The

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Elgin marbles were appropriated. The Peking astronomical instruments were looted, and as loot the guilty nation was compelled to return them; but the Tun-huang paintings and manuscripts were rescued from almost certain destruction and preserved with care; and now a selection of the artistically important paintings is reproduced, half of them in colour, for the use of students everywhere. Not having seen the originals, we cannot speak of the success of the reproduction by photography and three-colour process, but the attraction of the reproductions themselves is so great that we must believe they are as nearly successful as it was possible to be, and we can hardly be too thankful that at last, fifteen years after their discovery, they are available for all who are interested in Buddhist and East Asian art.

In his "Ruins of Desert Cathay," Sir Aurel gave a popular and personal account of his expedition, and in his "Serindia" appears his detailed report, in the production of which he is assisted by several experts. The present work was projected because of limitations, chiefly of size, in the detailed report, and is largely devoted to the exposition of the pictures from the artistic side; but so closely is this bound up with the archæological and iconographic sides which are treated more at length in the detailed report, that it is almost necessary to have a copy of "Serindia" for reference, if one is to get the full benefit of the work. But not only that; Sir Aurel presupposes in the reader an acquaintance with the principal work already done by students in this field, and without such an acquaintance it will hardly be possible to follow the explanations in many cases. In particular, one needs to have absorbed much of the results of the brilliant and interesting labour of M. Foucher, in his "Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde" and his "Beginnings of Buddhist Art." For the student thus prepared the pictures take on added meaning at every turn. And it will be found, moreover, that a mastery of them, with Sir Aurel's text, will be of great assistance to the appreciation of the reproduction of the frescoes on the walls of the caves of the Thousand Buddhas; a work that is appearing now, as the result of the labours of the French expedition led by Professor Paul Pelliot, which was able to acquire many of the manuscripts and all of the paintings left by Sir Aurel, and to photograph the frescoes in the caves. The remainder of the manuscripts have been sent to Peking by official order, many being "lost" on the way. We can guess what might have happened to the paintings, if Peking had sent for them.

The introductory essay by Laurence Binyon discusses in illuminating fashion the art of the T'ang dynasty, and the artistic

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meaning of the Tun-huang paintings, and furnishes just the link needed between the work of M. Foucher, and the descriptive text of Sir Aurel. The former has prepared us to realize that strange marvel, that Greek models should be transmitted through the Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara, in north-west India, to China, so that Chinese artists should actually be influenced by Greek achievements, and wed their art to the art whose home is Athens. Surely it is not wholly due to religious considerations that they did so; surely they recognized beauty and took it to themselves for the very love of beauty. No religion is able to flourish long unless it cultivates the beautiful as well as the true and the good; and no more striking evidence of the right of Buddhism to the title of a world religion can be adduced than the fact that her devoted artists recognized the superb beauty of Greek models, and adopted them, while yet maintaining their own individuality, which marks even the most "Indian" of the Tun-huang paintings, and proves that Chinese artists were worthy of the goodly company of Greece and Gandhara. For even a tyro in art criticism can, with a little guidance, recognize the Greek touch, and distinguish the Chinese from the Gandharan style.

As one studies the pictures the sense grows within one of entering into the inner sanctuary of the religious consciousness of men whose feelings were sincere, delicate and broadly human. Indeed, it was a vivid, rich world in which the Buddhist of these paintings lived. If any one will first read the translation by Madame Chavannes in the present number of the *Review*, which deals with the Tun-huang region, and then study the paintings carefully, under Sir Aurel's guidance, he will get some idea of how the artists people the bleak desert with the kindly creatures of their imagination, as well as the terrible ones;—that desert which was still alive with the ghosts of those who gave their lives to the building of the Great Wall. These benevolent and beautiful and powerful and sometimes fantastic and frightful creatures and scenes from the Buddhist Scriptures were immortalized on silk, mocking the cruel winds and the savage forays, and giving colour and value to life. What a host is here of Buddhas, of Bodhisattvas great and small, and of their disciples, of Guardian Kings, and Garudas and demons, of dancers and musicians and souls new born into Paradise, of flowers and jewels and gorgeous apparel! Vigorous action and ineffable rest are alike represented, and the worshipper is bid to be of good cheer, for in the world to come is fullness of joy. Truly, the undevout student of Buddhist art must be mad.

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Christian art has not yet made much impression in China. It is true that art itself as compared with what it was in the T'ang period is now either decadent or non-existent. But with the Chinese renaissance there is sure to be a new artistic period. The Christian church is taking account of the renaissance in other spheres, and she will do well not to neglect the possible influence of Christian art on the new China. It is an interesting fact to note, in this connection, that just as the earlier Chinese artists portrayed Gautama as though he were pure Chinese (in the scenes representing Jataka legends) so have native Christian artists treated the figure of Christ.

Coming now to the individual pictures and the description of them by Sir Aurel, we note that the identification of the figures was entrusted to a colleague, M. Raphael Petrucci, who in addition to an acquaintance with Buddhist art, was well grounded in sinology. Unhappily, M. Petrucci was not spared to complete his labours, and we have to mourn his loss, together with that of another collaborator, M. Chavannes. The description of the pictures suffers in consequence, and we hope that the *lacunae* can be made good in a future edition. A detailed examination of so rich a store is impossible in a review, but a few general remarks, together with a few details, may be in order. Of the subjects selected for representation, we note that Avalokitesvara appears most frequently, and there is as yet no suggestion that he is other than male. Indeed, in one of the paintings (Plate xvii) there appears the Indian goddess Hariti (in a position subordinate to Avalokitesvara), whom M. Foucher calls the Buddhist Madonna. One cannot but wonder what part she may have played in turning the Indian male god into the Chinese goddess of mercy, the truly Chinese Buddhist Madonna whom we know. It is a problem that still puzzles us ; but just as the Tun-huang paintings have helped to clear up the question of the origins of the Buddhist art of Japan, so there may lie buried somewhere in this great land, waiting for the explorer's spade, the evidence that shall clear up the connection between Avalokitesvara and Kwan-yin. But the Bodhisattva who incarnates mercy is not alone ; we find as well Ksitigarbha and the Buddhas Amitabha, Maitreya, and Bhaisajyaraja (otherwise Bhaisajyaguru), the King or the Sage of Medicine. The latter, of whom Eitel's *Handbook* appears to be quite innocent, and who is barely mentioned by Sir Charles Eliot, in his great work, is the chief subject of two of the finest paintings of all, represented in the first three plates. We recommend the careful study of these to any who desire a sympathetic understanding of the soul of Chinese Buddhism at its best

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Mr. Binyon speaks warm words of appreciation, and he does not overstate the case.

Aside from Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the vigorous figures of the Lokapalas, or Guardians of the Four Quarters, are favourites for treatment. They provide the proper foil to the dreamily restful spirits. It shows the essentially healthy character of the artists that they could perceive that men do not always wish to be "carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease." Of course this healthiness has its roots in the whole Mahāyana revolt against the narrow ideals of the Hinayana teachings, but it draws fresh life from the vigour of the soul of the Chinese artist.

In the hope of sending the reader to drink at the fountain itself, we venture a brief description of one of the reproductions, the Paradise of Bhaisajyaguru, presented in Plates i and ii. The painting is in the Indian manner, somewhat crowded and lacking the fine spacing which the Chinese style employs. The Buddha sits in the center, flanked by the Bodhisattvas Manjusri and Samantabhadra (representing Wisdom and Power). These in turn are flanked by numerous minor Bodhisattvas, all distinguished by haloes, and by Guardian Kings and demons. On a platform below is a woman dancer, accompanied by eight musicians and two child dancers. Twelve Dharmapalas, Guardians of the Law, are disposed in the bottom corners. A Garuda (half bird, half woman) is just below the dancer's platform, and in the lotus lake are flowers supporting souls newborn. The colours are glowing and varied, but it is the variety of expression in the faces that deserves the most careful study. As Mr. Binyon says, "We are taken into an atmosphere of strange peace, which yet seems filled with buoyant motion, and floating strains of music."

We think that one of the pictures that will most repay study is Plate xvii, though artistically, it may not stand in the highest rank. The decorative effect is especially rich. Avalokitesvara appears in his eleven-headed, thousand-armed form, but the effect is not repulsive as it is so apt to be in a Chinese modern temple. The presence of the Indian deities Indra and Brahman is noteworthy. Below them appear two Sivaitic deities, but Sir Aurel has them in the wrong order in his description. The Chinese in the cartouches says quite plainly that it is Mahesvara 摩醯守羅 on the right (on Siva's bull) and Mahakala 摩訶迦羅 on the left. The Chinese of the first title is somewhat unusual, for it does not appear in this form in the 佛學大辭典; the 磨 being there changed to 摩.

In this connection it may be as well to call attention to two other small errors in the descriptive text, both of them doubtless

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due, as was the first, to absence of needed help from the sinological side. The first is in Plate xii which represents "Scenes from Gautama Buddl 's Life." Of the first scene the text says, "We see the prince riding out of the green-tiled gateway of the battlemented courtyard of his father's palace," and of the second scene, "We see the prince riding with bent head from the same palace gateway." But the Chinese inscription in the cartouches reads, of the first scene, "The prince goes out of the east gate of the city" 太子出城東門; and of the second, "The prince goes out of the south gate of the city." 太子出城南門. In both cases a Chinese city wall is quite visible.

Again at the end of the description of Plate xx, we read, "The Chinese inscription in the left top corner describes the painting as the gift of a son in memory of his father." As a matter of fact, it is a daughter, and not a son, who makes the gift. One of the characters is a little blurred, but the whole is clear enough, and reads, "(From) the ninth daughter, in token of eternal service," 女弟子九娘永爲供養. These, however, are very tiny spots on the sun.

Among the uncoloured illustrations, one of the more interesting is Plate xvi. The combination and contrast of Indian and Chinese treatment is very marked, and a special opportunity for study rises from the fact that the figures of Avalokitesvara in the upper half are mainly Indian, while those of Samantabhadra and Manjusri in the lower half are nainly Chinese (witness also the legs of the elephant !). The pictures of the donors at the bottom bear a date, reminding us of the happy custom of the Chinese to be exact in these matters, as the Indian artists were not. In many of the pictures where no date is affixed, it is possible to guess it approximately from the style of dress worn by the donors. The two Bodhisattvas give respectively the "gesture" (derived from India, and more commonly preserved in Lama temples than in those purely Chinese) of argumentation, and of adoration. According to M. Foucher, there are nine "gestures"; they are like the leit-motifs in Wagner, perceptible signs for the conveyance of general ideas. One or another of these gestures appears in most of the pictures.

Plate xi contains the feature of souls as babes in lotus buds, floating on the lake of the Western Paradise and waiting for the buds to open, so that they may be born into the Paradise. Plates vi and vii represent the Paradise of the historical Buddha, Sakyamuni, and are full of the most attractive and absorbing detail. Plate xiv has special iconographic interest. It represents historic statues of Sakyamuni, known to have existed in various parts

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of India; in particular one which the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang saw at Bodh-gaya, the spot assigned by tradition as the scene of the historic Buddha's attainment of enlightenment.

Among the smaller plates, the most noteworthy is No. xxxiv, which reproduces on a scale of one-tenth only and so cannot do justice to the original; it is a reduction of a large embroidery picture representing Sakyamuni on the Vulture Peak, and is one of the most important of the Tun-huang finds. It is wonderful to think of these colours, which glow as if in a Botticelli painting, surviving the chances of centuries, crushed in a dark cave under a heavy burden of paper, and now brought to the light and stitched by a skilful needlewoman on a new canvas backing, so that they may be preserved indefinitely. The principal subjects of the other small plates are Bhaisajyaguru, the Buddha legend, Ksitigarbha, Avalokitesvara, and the Lokapalas.

Our brief tale is told. We turn from a visit to this strange and beautiful world constructed from the materials of the faith once delivered to Buddhist saints, with feelings akin to those of Aeneas or Dante returning to the earth. We have been in fairyland, and while we may not accept its details as authentic, its spirit lifts our spirits to a place where we breathe freely in a pure and bracing atmosphere. All this we owe to the intelligence, courage, patience and devotion of Sir Aurel Stein, and his colleagues great and small. *Finis coronat opus*; the labour of the recovery of these treasures was worthy of the labour that produced them. Long may the gallant explorer live to receive the congratulations and thanks he so richly deserves, and to gain fresh laurels in his chosen field.

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SINOLOGICAL NOTES

BY

L. C. ARLINGTON.

(*The numbers refer to Giles' Chinese-English Dictionary.*)

There is considerable entertainment and not a little knowledge to be gained by looking up the origin of Chinese characters. They may often be compared to a "variable" star whose brightness it is difficult to keep track of. Sometimes they shine of the 1st or 2nd magnitude, go back to the 8th or 10th, or disappear altogether. One such character we now have to deal with, is *shih* 濕 No. 9938; the *su* form of 溼 No. 9937. Although 濕 is the common form of 溼, the former is correctly read *t'a*, the ancient name of a river in Shantung, identical with 濕 10,540, the original form of which was 濕; but probably altered owing to its similarity to 濕, the original form of which was 濕. *T'a* 濕, again, was originally written 濕. The more we study the character, the more the confusion connected with it. For example: Playfair in his "Cities and Towns of China" states that 濕陽 was formerly a town N. W. of *Ch'ing Ch'êng* in Shantung. The *T'zŭ Yüan* says nothing about a town, but that 濕 is the name of a river S. W. of 茌平縣 in Shantung.

K'anghsi, however, says that *T'a* (濕) is (1) the name of a river that takes its rise at Wu Yang Hsien (武陽縣) in Shantung; and (2) the name of a district, viz., *T'a yin* (Shantung), originally the feudal state of *T'ayin Hou* (濕陰侯). The 集韻 states that 濕 is read *lei* (濕 or 濕), and is the name of a river which takes its rise at 雁門 in Shensi. As 累 (omitting the water radical) is read *lei*, it is difficult to account for the variant *t'a*, simply because the symbol for water is omitted, and cannot possibly affect the sound.

So much for the elucidation of the character 濕, which was originally written 濕, subsequently altered to 濕, then to 濕, not read *shih* at all, but *t'a* and *lei* with meanings of rivers and towns, and had no connection whatsoever with "damp," "moist," etc. 濕 has also the meaning "to flap or wag," as a cow's ears; but it is then read *chih* or *chêh*. *Vide* the *Shih Ching* sentence 其耳濕濕

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(the cow) "wagged her ears." And not, as one might imagine from the modern meaning, that the ears were wet!

* * *

Under 9849 𠂤 Dr. Giles says "The common, but incorrect way of writing 𠂤 649." Strange to say, Dr. Giles says just the reverse of what *is* correct. K'anghsi for example, gives all the meanings under 𠂤, and under 𠂤 says "the same as 𠂤."

From many years' experience and observation, I know that writers in *Yamêns*—as is borne out in official documents, which any one can verify for himself—always write 𠂤, never 𠂤. That is, they use 𠂤 for both the sounds *ch'ên* and *shên*. The *T'zŭ Yüan* gives only 𠂤, i.e., *Shên* as a surname and *ch'ên* "to sink." 𠂤 is not mentioned at all. 𠂤 is therefore the *su* form. Under 𠂤 Giles says "See No. 12,635"; but what connection 𠂤 has with 𠂤 is not clear, unless (as is most likely) the number referred to is a misprint? With the modernizing of the Chinese ideograph, many of the original meanings and even the sounds are fated to disappear altogether. In most modern dictionaries edited and compiled by native scholars, 𠂤 is written down as *chen* and *ch'eng*. *Shên* is not given at all, even as a surname.

Giles' dictionary, despite the mistakes, which are surprisingly few indeed for such a voluminous work, will be the standard for years to come.

* * *

Under 1302 Dr. Giles translates 校人 as a "fish-pond keeper." But there are records to disprove this definition. The correct meaning of the term is "Keeper of the Stud," as can be seen from the following: 鄭子產數校人畜生魚於池管之 "Cheng Tzŭ-ch'an (Biog. Dict. No. 1029; Kung Sung Ch'iao) ordered the *Keeper of his stud* to attend to the rearing of the fish in the pond." 校人 is equivalent to 校正 (Keeper of the Stud). The 夏官之屬 records the following: 數人亦曰校正佚周書校正屬御是也. That is, "*Hsiao jên* is also called *Hsiao chêng*"; and the I Chou Shu states "that the charioteer was exceedingly cruel." The above excerpt makes it quite clear that *hsiao jên* or *hsiao chêng* was the official title of the Keeper of the Stud, and not "a fish-pond keeper." The commentators apparently all took 校人 to mean "a small officer over the ponds;" but Dr. Legge himself was in doubt if it had that meaning, for in a note he says "but I do not know if this meaning of the phrase is found elsewhere." *V. Mencius*, V.4.1.2.4. It is reasonable to suppose that a fish-pond keeper having the stewardship of fish would have all the fish he required to eat, without filching any sent as a present to his master.

* * *

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Under 10,105 the character 率 in the phrase 以此爲率 should be read *Lü*, not "shuai."

* * *

In Chinese official terminology there is quite a difference in the use of 毋 12,765, and 勿 12,774. 毋 is emphatic, and can only be used by a superior to a subordinate; while 勿 is just the reverse, that is, it can only be used by a subordinate when addressing a superior official. No Chinese subordinate would ever dare to use 毋 in any communication with a superior official. In the *Lun Yü* bk. vi. 雍也 ch. vi. (3 and 4), when *Yüan ssŭ* declined the 900 measures of grain, Confucius said "毋 Nay!" Dr. Legge translates "Do not decline," but the Master's 毋 "nay" was an emphatic command to one of his disciples which he had perforce to obey.

* * *

Although Nos. 578 and 579 are interchanged, 徹 cannot be used for 撤 in the phrase 撤查 as Dr. Giles says. This in official terminology means to "first *remove* from office and then investigate"; whereas, 澈查 (or 察 used for 578) means "to thoroughly investigate."

* * *

Under 8796 狽 Dr. Giles translates the phrase 狼狽爲奸 as "banded together as traitors." There is nothing radically wrong with this translation, except to note that it applies to only *two* men (or women) such as a superior and his subordinate, or a lady and her maid. That is, the principal is compared to the *lang* 狼 which is said to have long forelegs and short hind ones; while the secondary is compared to the *pei* 狽, which is said to have short forelegs and long hind ones: the idea being that the animal with the longest forelegs takes precedence over the one with the short forelegs, just as a master does over his servant.

* * *

It is rather difficult to understand how Dr. Giles came to translate *ch'in hsin* 琴心 (2019) as the "belly of a lute." We have here simply an echo of how the Chinese make love through music. This is what Ssŭ-Ma Hsiang-Ju used to captivate the charming *Wên Chün* (See Biog. Dict. No. 1753). That is, he excited her thoughts of love by playing on the lute: 以琴心挑之. In other words he 以琴達意也, made known his amorous intentions through the medium of the lute, so she fled with him that very night.

* * *

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No. 11,227 (腆) should be referred to 11,216 and not to *t'ien* 天. 腆 and 諂 are both read *t'ym* in Cantonese, and not *t'yn*.

* * *

A Cantonese phrase worth noting is 籐蟮溫猪肉. This is a "hotch-potch" of eel and pork, and a favourite dish in Canton. It has, however, in a metaphorical sense, other uses, e.g., to flog a child. *Cf.* our "rod in pickle," etc. The 籐蟮 is an eel long and slender resembling a rattan, which is 溫 "soaked" into the child's flesh 猪肉.

* * *

It is not clear why Dr. Giles separates the meaning of 裨 No. 8767 into two parts with the first meaning of "aid," "benefit," etc., and the second as "p'i," "small." All the examples given should have been entered under one heading and read "p'i" throughout, since there is no difference in the meanings whatever. Giles, moreover, does not state that 裨 and 稗 No. 8563, are interchanged, yet he has 裨官野史 and 稗官野史. Most Chinese use 稗 instead of 裨 in this particular phrase. And 陴 No. 9081, is interchanged with 稗 and 裨 in the sense of "small," "petty," "aid," "support," etc., because a rampart or parapet is called a "woman's wall" (女兒牆) or "auxiliary."

* * *

Dr. Giles misses a few points in illustrating the uses of the character 齣 No. 2625. It is derived from 齝 (or 齁) No. 2017, "to chew the cud," a satirical epithet applied to actors, alluding to their rhythmical movements on the stage—recalling what the ruminating animals do with their food,—and hence, the "act" of the play itself.

Giles does not give the common expression 搗嚼 "to chew the cud," nor the *wênli* form, viz., 反芻.

* * *

Under No. 13,409 Dr. Giles says that the 油葫蘆 "is a kind of cricket which sings during winter in stoves." These remarks should refer to the 竈馬 No. 11,625, commonly called "tsao wang ma-êrh" (竈王馬兒). In Canton they are known as *tso ha*, "stove shrimps." They are much smaller than the *Yu-hu-lu*, very light-green in colour, and having white legs with yellow stripes. They are popularly believed to be ridden by the Kitchen god; hence the name, "*tsao wang ma-êrh*."

The *Yu-hu-lu* (油葫蘆) is altogether a different insect. It is much larger than the *Tsao wang ma-êrh* or the common cricket. Its entire body is glossy black. It is the fashion at Peking for the idle class to keep them in highly decorated pottery jars

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during the spring. The most expensive jars are said to have been made by a man named Chao Tzŭ-yü (趙子玉), who lived during the reign of the Emperor Tao Kuang. During the winter months they are transferred to beautifully decorated and carved gourds fitted with a cotton case to keep them warm. These are kept in the bosom of the owner who carries them about with him wherever he goes ; and it is nothing unusual to hear the shrill grinding of the insect from its warm and safe refuge as a Chinese " swell " passes you on the street. During their confinement in autumn and winter, the insects are fed on masticated chestnuts and yellow beans. It is quite a common sight to see the idlers congregated in the tea-houses with dozens of these beetles laid out on the tables; their masters washing out the gourds with hot tea ; chewing beans and chestnuts and feeding them ; listening to the *yu-hu-lu* (the sound from which their name is taken) *yu-hu-lu*, of the insects, and boasting of their grinding powers. The *yu-hu-lu*, like the cricket, makes a buzzing sound produced by the friction of the bases of its wing-cases against each other.

They are exposed for sale at the bazaars for from 5 to 10 cents each ; the decorated gourds cost from 20 cents to $1.50 for the best. The pottery jars (except those made by Chao Tzŭ-yü mentioned above and which cost about $1.20 each), may be bought for 2 copper cents. They are, however, generally sold in sets of 12 ; this, because many of the Chinese rear hundreds of *yu-hu-lu* in their dwelling houses ; some of the rooms being filled with them ; the noise made by these insects being such that only a Chinese could stand it, without going crazy. The rich even employ experts to look after them.

The *kuo kuo* (蝈蝈) No. 6614, are treated and carried about in a similar manner to *the yu-hu-lu*. Giles says they are " a large kind of cicada." As a matter of fact, there is considerable difference between the two insects. The cicada can fly, but not the *kuo kuo*.

There are two species of *kuo kuo :* one about the size of a cricket, of a dark-greenish colour, and the other about the size of a cicada, which is of a greenish-blue colour. They make a noise by grinding their wings in a way similar to the *yu-hu-lu*, but make a sound resembling *kuo-kuo-kuo*, from which is derived the name *kuo kuo*.

The cicada 蟬 No. 349, has several local Peking names worth recording. The 秋凉兒 " autumn cooler " is also called 伏蝶兒. It is a small green insect common in the 7th moon. A small black one which appears during the 5th moon is called 熱兒. There

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is also a large black cicada called 吉了兒 in the city, and 大麻吉了兒 in the country districts.

* * *

Whatever 逢迎 No. 3569 may have meant in ancient times, it certainly does not mean "to meet guests," etc., nowadays; but to "curry favour, flatter," etc. 諂媚之意.

* * *

The changes that may be rung on most Chinese characters are interesting if not fascinating. Take as an example the character 磑 No. 12,616: *wei*,[4] grinding implements. It is also read *jui*;[4] and *wei*,[1] "to accumulate." When read *i*[2] or *chi*,[1] it means the upper and lower millstones. When read *kai*,[1] it means solid, substantial. Read *ai*,[1] it is "sharp"—as a knife said to have been used by Chou Wu Wang, and called *ai ai*. It is also read *mo*,[4] a millstone, the upper part of which is called *Yang* (the male principle of nature) and the lower *Yin* (the female principle), metaphorically used for crushing one between Heaven and Earth; a phrase used by Yang Hsiung (Biog. Dict. No. 2379) in his 太玄經. The Chinese frequently wrongly use 碓 for 磑 and call it *tui*. It is also the name of a special tea called 紅絲磑 produced in Anhui (also known as 紫筍茶). And 石磑 also means "snow-flakes" (not stone implements) and is taken from a line in a poem by 陸游.

* * *

苻 No. 3675 is commonly called 鬼目草 "devil's eye grass," and the seeds 鬼豆兒. 苻 is used with 荸 No. 3649. But what makes the character 苻 interesting is that it is the surname of Fu Hung (Biog. Dict. No. 587), whose surname was originally Yu Hu 有扈, subsequently changed to P'u (蒲). P'u Hung one day hearing the children on the street singing out that "grass and give is king"—艸付爲王—regarded it as a good omen and adopted 苻 as his surname; thus creating a family of kings and usurping Emperors. See also Biog. Dict. Nos. 478 and 579 for the history of his descendants.

Fu Hung is said to have been assassinated by one of his subordinate generals named Ma-ch'iu (麻秋), because having taken the title of Prince of the three *Ch'in*, he had his eye on the vacant throne after Shih Chi-lung's assassination (Biog. Dict. No. 1705).

* * *

A curious fact or legend connected with the *T'ung* 桐 or *Pawlonia* mentioned in the classics, of which the wood was used for making lutes, is recorded in the 埤雅 by 陸佃 (Biog. Dict. No. 1433), who is also the author of the 禮象, 春秋後傳, 鶡冠註 and the 陶山集. The 埤雅 professes to be a supplement to

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the *Êrh Ya*, classified under eight heads, comprising plants; trees; horses; insects; birds; fishes; fauna and astronomy. Under the heading 木 it is stated that the *T'ung* had one branch bearing ordinarily twelve leaves, but bore thirteen leaves whenever a moon was to be intercalated. Whether this story is on a par with the sacred tree that sprang from a hair in Eastern Thibet, I do not profess to know. I have seen quite a number of the *T'ung* trees, but must confess that I have never noticed this peculiarity, but I have company in my ignorance, since it is not known to the natives generally, if at all. More profound intellects than mine may, perhaps, be able to supply a satisfactory explanation. Note that the 埤雅 was originaliy known as the 物性門類.

* * *

The 鶐鴒 (No. 3934) "bird that is said to sing for the dawn to come," is also called the 城旦 (鴒 is frequently written 旦). This phrase originated from a form of punishment in vogue during the *Ch'in* and *Han* dynasties when the prisoners were compelled to repair the Great Wall at nights. The bird is said to cry out for the dawn owing to the severe cold; and so did the poor prisoners during the cold nights beyond the frontier, while working on the Great Wall, "long for the dawn."[1] The common name for the bird is 寒號虫 "bewailing cold insect." It is about the size of a lark, is of a dark ashy-grey colour, and has a very short tail and but few feathers, which makes it susceptible to the cold; v. 史記注 and 禮月令.

The large bats are also called *Han Hao Ch'ung*, *Ho tan* and *Ch'êng tan*. The droppings of both the bird and the bats are used as a medicine called *wu ling chih* (五靈脂). The Chinese believe that if this medicine is mixed with ginseng it is liable to cause death. The droppings of the common or small bat *Pien fu*, in Peking commonly called *Yen pien hu* (檐蝙蝠) when *fu* is pronounced *hu* 虎, are used as a medicine for sore eyes.

* * *

How an Emperor was cured of his partiality for oysters and the *raison d' être* for the latter's image in a temple.

A rather amusing incident connected with the Sui Emperor Yang Ti is given in the 酉陽雜俎. The story goes that the Emperor was exceedingly fond of oysters, hardly a day passing

1. "Long for the dawn,"—they probably "longed for Death!" Those who have read "Ruins of Desert Cathay" by Sir Aurel Stein will appreciate to the full the trials and utter misery the unfortunate levies must have undergone on the icy wind-swept desert wastes beyond the frontier.

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without the delectable and succulent bivalve gracing the Imperial table. Hitherto,—probably out of special consideration for the Emperor's palate,—the oysters practically opened of themselves, and were incidentally much appreciated by the Imperial cooks, who were thus not obliged to unduly strain themselves. One fine day, however, much to the surprise of the *Chefs*, a rather large-sized oyster resisted all the efforts of the whole *batterie de cuisine* to open it! This was something new; really disgraceful! Could this particular oyster have any inherent reasons for acting in such an arbitrary manner? Surely it must know that it will, eventually, have to submit to the will of the Lord of the Universe! So in fear and trepidation the *chef de cuisine* reported the bivalve's want of respect to the Emperor. But when the Emperor, who was a devout Buddhist, heard the story, probably fearing reprisals in the next world, he gave orders that the recalcitrant bivalve was to be left in peace.

It was therefore thrown on a table, and at midnight, to the astonishment of those present, the oyster slightly opened itself and emitted a faint gleam of light, which naturally led the onlookers to believe that it came from a precious pearl. But what was their further astonishment when at daylight the oyster fully opened itself and exposed to view a Buddha and two Bodhisattvas each surrounded by a beautiful halo!

The Emperor, much to his regret (since apart from his fondness for oysters, did they not also cleanse his system of evil humours?),[1] then and there made a solemn vow that he would never eat another oyster, and had a temple built which he named the 大興善寺, in which he placed an image of the spiritual oyster.

* * *

How a case of poisoning with the blood of a crane's head was discovered through the ignorance of a corpse examiner and the indiscreet utterances of a woman.

The Chinese are firm believers that the blood of a crane's head (仙鶴頭上血) is a virulent poison. Although this belief has existed for centuries, none of them have ever been able to prove by actual diagnosis that death was caused through the use of

1. In the North of China, tadpoles are eaten alive by the natives during the late spring and summer to cleanse the system of the poisonous gases of charcoal, etc., inhaled during the winter. At Canton, and other places, tadpoles are also swallowed alive to relieve congestion of the blood consequent upon bruises, etc.

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blood of a crane's head.[1] The discovery—if we may call it such—was left to a woman.

The following story is taken from the 折獄奇聞, "Extraordinary Criminal Cases : Decisions in." The dead body of a man having been found lying in a field, the corpse examiner or coroner who was deputed by the magistrate to investigato, reported that, although it looked like a case of poisoning, he was unable to diagnose the case correctly. The magistrate, under the belief that the corpse examiner was concealing the truth for the sake of a bribe, ordered that he be given 100 blows with the inevitable bamboo, and told him that he must clear the case up without further delay. Now, the poor coroner, who was perfectly innocent as far as bribes were concerned, and quite ignorant as to the true facts of the case, returned to his home that night feeling chagrined and dejected on the events of the day, and naturally rehearsed the day's comedy to his wife, more for the sake of consolation than anything else ; little dreaming what the outcome of it would be. His wife when she had heard the tale of woe said "It is indeed a mysterious case." "But," said she, "did you examine the skin beneath the eyebrows ? " " No," replied her spouse, " what have the eyebrows to do with a case of poisoning ?" " Oh, a great deal," she replied, " if any one is poisoned with the blood of a crane's head, seven tiny red specks appear on the surface of the skin beneath the eyebrows ; it is a sure test." The corpse examiner, although sceptical, the following morning proceeded to the spot and re-examined the dead body, and to his surprise, found that there were actually seven tiny red spots under each eyebrow. Highly elated at his new discovery, he reported the matter to the magistrate, naturally thinking that not only would his good name be retrieved, but he would have the added pleasure of receiving the latter's praise for his discovery. To his surprise, however, it was now the magis-

1. In the seventeenth and preceding centuries extremely exaggerated notions prevailed in Europe with regard to the potency of poisons that were then believed to be in use. Beckmarr in his *History of Inventions* traces the idea of secret poisons back to two centuries before our era, when such agents were believed to be in use in Rome.

While chemistry in China was cultivated in its infancy, it was not for the taking of human life, but to prolong it.

The annals of China afford no counterpart to those dark pages of European history which record the deeds of Tofana and Brinvilliers.

In Chinese popular novels, the plots very often turn on the crime of poisoning, but when the poison employed is named, it is always arsenic. In cases of poisoning in China where a woman is unfortunate enough to be implicated, suspicion would be almost certain to rest on her, on the Confucian apophthegm that, while men's hearts are benevolent, women's hearts are poisonous.

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trate's turn to be sceptical. "How is it that you did not mention this yesterday," roared the Father and Mother of the people, "but, instead, preferred to take a bastinado?" "Please, Your Honour," cried the poor coroner, "as cases of poisoning with the blood of a crane's head are few and far between, I had forgotten all about the true test to be made in this case." "That sort of story won't do," shouted the magistrate, "if you do not tell me the whole truth, I'll have you flogged within an inch of your miserable life." The coroner, seeing that further subterfuge was useless, made a clean breast of it, which, of course, involved his unfortunate wife. The magistrate, who had by this time already formed his own suspicions, instructed the coroner to bring his wife to the *yamên* for investigation. Upon her arrival, she was closely questioned regarding her professed knowledge of poisoning with the blood of a crane's head. During the course of the cross-examination, she confessed that this was her second marriage, and that she had poisoned her first husband, who was a cruel monster (note that nearly all Chinese women bring this charge), by mixing a few drops of blood which she took out of a crane's head, with wine, and gave him to drink. "But," said the magistrate, "how do you happen to know that poisoning with the blood of a crane's head would produce red spots under the eyebrows?" "Well, it was like this, Your Honour," said the woman, "my late husband had very *thin* eyebrows with hardly any hair on them at all, and on closely examining him to see if he was really dead, on peering into his face, I noticed that little red specks, seven under each eyebrow, had formed, and to my alarm, remained fixed there, even on the day of his burial, which took place seven days afterwards; so I concluded that they must have been the result of the blood of the crane's head I gave him; and when my present husband told me of the suspected case of poisoning which he could not diagnose correctly, I simply mentioned the fact to him, thinking that if there were any red spots under the eyebrows, it must be poisoning with the blood of a crane's head, as in the case of my first husband." A further examination of the dead body by the magistrate himself, confirmed the truth of the woman's confession, the red spots under each eyebrow being clearly visible. Needless to state, she did not receive any diploma for her researches in the toxicological field, but on the contrary, was punished with the full penalty of the law, i.e., by the slicing process.

* * *

(To be continued.)

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NOTES AND QUERIES

The Astronomy of P'u Sung-ling. [See *ante*, p. 153.]

Mr. H. A. Thompson contributes an interesting item, based upon "that insistent assurance" which he says is "characteristic" of me, couched in a polite terminology to which I have hardly been accustomed in the past, when "blanked cocksureness" would have taken the place of the two delicately chosen words above.

If Mr. Thompson is able to refer to the first edition of "Strange Stories," he will not find the words "which is impossible," now at issue. They were suggested by Mr. C. Brewitt-Taylor, who was with me in 1882 at Pagoda Anchorage, where he taught mathematics and astronomy to Chinese naval aspirants. His distinguished career in China is well known; I will merely say that he studied Chinese to such purpose that he could read "Strange Stories" in the original text,—an important point, as will be seen, in the present contention.

On receipt of Mr. Thompson's protest, I referred the matter to Professor H. F. Newall of this (Cambridge) university, with the following result:—

"If the moon was *new*, the mathematician (C.B.-T.) was right.

"If the moon was *old*, the mathematician was wrong.

"He of your Chinese text was looking westwards. If the moon was *new*, the sun would have set before the moon reached the horizon and a mountain there could not be embraced within the horns of a single thread of light.

"If the moon was *old*, the sun would still be *above* the horizon, when the moon might reach the horizon and with a single thread of light might embrace the peak of a mountain within its horns. But 'he' would have been a good observer and must have had a clear sky. So if he was, and if he had, the mathematician was wrong."

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Now it is clear from P'u Sung-ling's text that the hour was late and the sun invisible; and, therefore, as Mr. Brewitt-Taylor advised, the phenomenon recorded was impossible.

H. A. GILES.

The article on Sün-Tsz (Hsün Tzŭ) by Professor Parker (Feb. *Review*) is a welcome contribution to the study of this philosopher. It is high time someone took the task in hand of editing the whole of Hsün Tzŭ's writings, for their relation to, and bearing on, the rest of the Confucian Canon are most intimate and important. Foreign scholars have "extracted" him here and there, especially in reference to his controversy with Mencius' arguments on the nature of man. All students will recall Dr. Legge's translation of Hsün Tzŭ's important chapter on this subject in his Prolegomena to Mencius. Professor Giles has some remarks on the same subject in his Hibbert Lectures, with some additional notes on Hsün Tzŭ's conception of God. He was a thoroughgoing Confucianist; indeed, according to Dr. Legge, he is regarded by many Chinese scholars as the ablest of all the followers of the great sage. He discusses the same great topics, and his opinions generally are in line with the Master, but with a "liberal" tendency. The "orthodox" school, headed by Chu Hsi, however, exalted the exposition of Confucianism by Mencius at the expense of Hsün Tzŭ, and the latter sank into comparative neglect. It is not to be denied that Mencius has the advantage of a more vigorous style, and more argumentative skill. Hsün Tzŭ is heavy, and lacks the vivid and picturesque presentation of Mencius. At the same time, the younger philosopher makes some solid contribution to the subjects in hand, and his criticism of the early Confucian scholars reveals an independent mind.

By far the best summary of Hsün Tzŭ's work known to the writer of this note is that contained in Professor Hu Shih's "History of Chinese Philosophy," Vol. 1, Section 11 (胡適, 中國哲學史大綱). Although written in Chinese, it is in the new 白話 style, and easily understood by the average student. Professor Hu Shih has made good use of the commentary on Hsün Tzŭ by the Hunan scholar, Wang Hsien-ch'ien (王生謙, 荀子集解), who is recognized as the leading authority. In an able note he discusses the difficult question of the chronology of the philosopher's life, which the older commentators had got into an almost hopeless muddle owing to the misunderstanding of an obscure passage in Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's biographical notice in the Historical Record, (史記孟子荀卿列傳). Two chapters are devoted to a careful

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discussion of the leading ideas of Hsün Tzŭ's philosophy, God and Man (天與性), and his psychological and logical conceptions (心理學與名學). These are outside the scope of this note. It is interesting, however, to find that in reference to the vexed question of the real meaning of Hsün Tzŭ regarding the nature of man, Professor Parker, in his article, comes to the same conclusion as the modern Chinese scholar, that what Hsün Tzŭ advanced was not that "men's disposition is naturally inclined to evil, contrary to Mencius' view that it is naturally inclined to good: what he really meant was to bewail the tendency of man to evil, while Mencius was all for persuading men to be good." Hsün Tzŭ, if I have caught his meaning, teaches that man is essentially free, with the power of choosing which direction he will take—towards good or towards evil.

J. WEBSTER.

NOTE BY DR. JOHN DARROCH

In the review of my "Chinese Grammar Self-taught" published in the August issue of your journal, for which I thank you, you admit that in discussions on Chinese, there is no finality; perhaps on that account you will permit me to wrangle with your reviewer in a friendly fashion on some of his criticisms. My critic asks, "Who said that 自己 was to be used in the singular number only?" Well, I did not. What I said was "There is no plural of 自己." That is evident enough. You cannot say 自已們. I did say that 自已 was used with plural pronouns, but that it was inelegant. It is not a question of what is right but of taste. In this there is abundant room to differ. If your reviewer thinks that 先生們自已的書 and 學生們自已的衣服 are good sentences, then I can only disagree.

I fear I cannot shelter under your charitable suggestion that I was nodding when I wrote the diagram on page 79 which places an object after the verb *to be*. The lesson there does not illustrate the formation of the verb but the mode in which the particle 的 connects an adjective sentence with its noun. The "object" is the object noun which is qualified by the preceding adjective sentence. This, I admit, is not clearly stated, but I hoped no one would misunderstand the construction. On the question whether 皆 is an adjective or an adverb, your reviewer is in good company when he classes it as an adjective. Hirth in his *Documentary Style*, page 18, gives a list of "adjectives" which follow their nouns. 皆 is amongst them, but I believe these are all adverbs.

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I have not followed some writers in insisting strongly on "position" as the test of the function of a word in a Chinese sentence. But "position" does mean more in Chinese than in English. Giles has pointed out somewhere that in the hands of a skilful Chinese writer any part of speech may be used as any other part: "A noun may be flung from his pen as a verb, etc." But if words, in Chinese, are plastic, idiom is adamant. Even the intractable English language is forced into Chinese idiom on the lips of all but very well educated Chinese. And idiom is largely "position." My critic gives me an English sentence, "all boys love play" and "boys all love play." In either case the "all" is an adjective. Its position does not affect its meaning. But that is the English language. Turn it into Chinese: 童子皆愛嬰. Now take the 皆 from before the verb and place it in front of the noun: 皆童子愛嬰. It won't do. Moreover, you find 皆 used as a verb: 四海之內皆兄弟也. The 皆 performs the function of the verb. Well, is it an adverb used as a verb, or is it a verb? It might be construed either way, but it could not be called an adjective.

[In justice to our reviewer, we point out that the question as to 自 已 was elicited by Dr. Darroch's footnote to p. 51, in which it is said "Such a sentence is inelegant as dzī-gi, *self*, is a pronoun in the singular number." We agree that 自已們 is not permissible; neither is *sheeps* in English and, we take it, for the same reason.

Again, in speaking of 皆 *kiai*, all that was combated was that it is an adverb *in a certain given sentence*; the dangerous statement was not made that it is always an adjective.—*Ed.*]

* * *

It is pointed out by Rev. A. C. Moule that the 太平寰宇記 could not have been written by Chêng Hsüan, as Mr. Arlington states on p. 136. This writer died 780 years before the book in question was written . . . According to Wylie its author was Lo Shih 樂史, and it was published in the period T'ai-p'ing hsing-kuo (976-983).

* * *

We regret that by someone's carelessness half a character appears for the whole on p. 64, where 夲 has been printed for 獻.

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RECENT LITERATURE.

The Thousand Buddhas: Ancient Buddhist Paintings from the Cave-temples of Tun-huang on the Western Frontier of China. Recovered and described by Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. With an Introductory Essay by Laurence Binyon. Published under the orders of H. M. Secretary of State for India and with the co-operation of the Trustees of the British Museum. Bernard Quaritch, Ltd., 1921. £7 10s. net. Plates XLVIII (mostly 24 by 20 inches). Text, pp. viii—65.

(For an appreciation of this important publication, see p. 401.)

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (*North China Branch*), Vol. LIII—1922.

The respective editors of the above *Journal* and of the *New China Review* must surely have many reasons for mutual sympathy. They work largely in the same field; their labours are strictly honorary, and are performed in the midst of pressing duties; they have similar problems to face. In the matter of material, for example, they have only the woman's choice in marriage, the right to say "No" as graciously as possible; they are strictly conditioned by the offers they receive. In fact their only liberty is the liberty to edit as efficiently as possible, what they accept of what is sent them, and to write all such reviews of new books as they cannot cajole others into writing. So it must be with a fellow-feeling that the N.C.R. always greets a new issue of the J.N.C.B.R.A.S.

There are seventeen articles in this 1922 Journal, exclusive of obituaries, reviews of books, etc. Of these seventeen, ten are devoted to science, and occupy 138 of the 246 pages; and this is a sign of the times. We are far from suggesting that scientific articles are not in order in such a Journal, for the matters they treat of may fairly be considered part of sinology, broadly interpreted; and those who heard Mr. Sowerby's lecture on "The Natural History of China," and Captain von Heidenstam's on "The Growth of the Yangtze Delta" are only too glad to have

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them in permanent form, while any intelligent person can understand and enjoy that on Argali Sheep.

The point we wish to make is that all this science can be, and is, eagerly studied, with very little knowledge of the language or the people ; in fact, a very large proportion indeed of the new Journal's scientific contents seems to have come from those who do not speak, or at any rate, do not read Chinese, and what used to be regarded as sinology—the serious research into the Chinese language, literature, history, religions, manners and customs and so forth—is flooded out by scientific investigation ; a study of the resources, natural features, flora and fauna, etc., of the *land* of China, is taking the place of the study of the ancient civilization of her wonderful *people*. It may be gain ; it may be loss ; it may be inevitable ; but so it is.

No less than 90 of the 138 pages devoted to science are strings of names. Now what may be called by courtesy the Higher Sinology has often been complained of (we fear with excellent reason) as dry and unintelligible even to the ordinary educated person. But could anything be much drier or drearier than these long scientific lists ? Their *value* from the experts' point of view is doubtless great, but the interest is about equal for all others to that of one of the chapters of the Old Testament recording Jewish genealogies. We imagine most of those who know Chinese will turn from them with relief to the vigorous sparring of Professor Giles and Mr. Werner (pages 238-246)—about an alleged figure of Christ, of all things !—for that, at any rate, has a vivid human interest.

However, scientific knowledge has grown so enormously in extent during the fifty-three years which have passed since the Journal of the N.C.B.R.A.S. was started, that it would indeed seem to be high time for the scientific side of it to set up for itself. From this point of view we welcome the announcement recently made of the advent of the " China Journal of Science and Arts," to be started in 1923 by the Mr. Sowerby whom we have mentioned. We are by no means sure, alas ! that the non-scientific side of the R.A.S. Journal will revive as the result of this, for the number seems to decrease yearly of those who have leisure and/or inclination and/or talent seriously to study sinology as formerly understood.

Of the 108 pages given to it in the 1922 Journal, quite a good proportion is devoted to Chinese Poetry, Dr. J. C. Ferguson writing a very sympathetic article on " Fir-flower Tablets," and two translations of Chinese poems being given by Mrs. Elfrida Hudson and Rev. T. Gaunt respectively. Truly, as Professor Pelliot recently

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said in the T'oung Pao, " La poésie chinoise est à la mode ;" and from various indications here and elsewhere it would seem that Chinese *belles-lettres* are attracting more attention than the heavier branches of sinology, Mr. Hutson's article on " The Shuh Country " and Mr. Edgar's on " The Names of Non-Chinese Tribes in Western Szechuan" are, however, valuable contributions to our knowledge of West China, which is fortunate to possess two such observant and indefatigable workers in sociology and ethnology.

We hope that the overworked Editor can honestly lay some of the blame as to the very numerous mistakes on the authors and printers ; for to tell the truth, the proof-reading appears deplorable. We tremble to think how many errors there may be in the long lists of scientific names, or in such a highly technical article as " Oribatoidea Sinensis I ;" for in perfectly straightforward matter they are far too many.

For example, in Mr. Edgar's article where the Ch'iang tribes are treated of, the romanization of 羌 is indifferently aspirated or unaspirated. We notice, too, that " Szechuan " is spelt " Szechcwan " all the time with one exception. This may be a vagary of Mr. Edgar's ; but as it looks weird, and seems unpronounceable, we hazard the guess that a specially energetic *spiritus asper* was written, and has got into the body of the word. And is Mr. Hutson responsible for Chu Koh Liang instead of Chu-koh Liang ? These are defects in romanization ; but even the plain English is so peppered with slips that one fears a harassed Editor has had to work too much on his galleys alone.

From fault-finding, we turn with pleasure to say a final word about the " Reviews of Recent Books." This is always one of the best—because most generally helpful—sections of the Journal, and this year it seems to us specially copious and informing. The estimates are independent in tone, and some shrewd albeit good-humoured thrusts only increase our confidence in the appreciations given for our guidance.

Colloquial Sentences with New Terms : Chinese and English Texts. By Evan Morgan, 170 pp. Shanghai. Kelly & Walsh.

All great human movements inevitably produce great changes in language, and it is also inevitable that these innovations in speech and style should offend the taste of the conservative. Was it not Macaulay who wanted to have the candid opinion of Horace and Cicero on such Latin as "Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus . . . hymnum gloriae tuae canimus," which sounds to us so uplifting when we hear it in St. Peter's

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or St. John Lateran? And in like manner we wonder what Han Yü or Ou-yang Hsiu would have thought of the terms and style brought in by the new China.

We have been led to think thus by going through "Colloquial Sentences with new Terms," another of Mr. Morgan's helps to the study of Chinese. For the terms which have come into use through the Chinese Renaissance are, as is natural, mainly used by those who are filled with the new ideas, that is, those whose education on Western lines has not left them time to cultivate Chinese style as understood by the *literati*; while these, who have the fine old style at their pens' ends, often have not got, or do not approve of, the new ideas.

In Chinese, the mandarin is being enriched and improved, just as the modern European colloquials were enriched and improved at the close of the Middle Ages. Then, as now, the learned of the old school poured scorn on the new forms; then, as now, men in grim earnest were satisfied if their meaning was plain and clear; and just as the modern languages got at last a fine style of their own, so we may be sure will it be in China.

In any case, it is most important for all who wish to keep up with the times to be able to read and understand what the most progressive Chinese are writing to-day in newspaper, magazine and book; and Mr. Morgan can be of great service to all such.

The preface confesses, "Many of the sentences that appear under one heading might with equal propriety be placed under another," and indeed the classification is rather bewildering. However, the haphazard manner in which some of the matter is presented is not so great a defect as might be imagined, for this is not a book to learn by heart, or even (we think) to master section by section. It is a book for those to browse in who already know a fair amount of Chinese character, a book for those odd moments when anything more connected hardly seems worth while.

The great bulk of these sentences we are assured, have been culled from actual writings. Some of the new terms are happy and will live; others seem so unhappy that they may well die of grief. A great proportion of them must have come over from Japan, since that country responded first to the Western stimulus. What proportion, we wonder?

We have noted places where we think improvements could be made and mistakes rectified, *e.g.*, under ECONOMICS (7), The two words, *the period* are not represented in the Chinese. (62),—this sentence has greatly puzzled a very intelligent non-Christian who saw it.

Under EDUCATION (3), 國民學校, we understand, ought not to be "the schools of the Republic," but "primary schools," that

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is, schools which every citizen should enter. In (9) *Chih-kiang* should be *Chekiang*.

Under GENERALITY (which seems to mean miscellaneous), we have (9) "the simple brains (of some people) is directly but little different from that of primitive man." The English is unintelligible to us and makes us fear our own brains are being described! Under "LABOUR," from (40) the character 勞 has been dropped out after 中. In the English of (173) a misplaced comma destroys the sense. In (252) the English has two lines which are quite unrepresented in the Chinese.

We think these and kindred points should be rectified in a second edition, which we hope may soon be called for.

Hangchow Itineraries, by Robert F. Fitch, 2nd edition, Shanghai, 1922.

This is an attractively got up and admirably illustrated little book for the use of visitors to Hangchou. It is divided into six well-planned excursions in the city and round about the West Lake, each with a clear map and brief notes on the chief points of interest. While the book seems to be excellently adapted to its purpose and may be cordially recommended, it is not without small errors.

p. 4. It can hardly be the case that there are only two Buddhist monasteries in all China which have the power to confer ordination, as is here implied.

p. 27. "Hexagonal" should be "octagonal." The Liu ho pagoda, like the great majority of pagodas, has eight sides.

p. 33. The famous carvings of the Sixteen Lo-han are not "one of the ancient relics of the original Monastery," but were made in 1764, we believe.

p. 38. "It was destroyed by fire in the seventeenth century and rebuilt A.D. 1281-1320"!!

p. 45. The Bore is not mentioned by Chuang Chou; nor did Ch'ien Liu build "the *first* dyke walls."

p. 50-52. Many small criticisms suggest themselves, but would occupy too much space here. As an example we may take "A.D. 1130-1278." Where does Mr. Fitch read of Parsees, Christians, and Moslems in Hangchow during the Sung dynasty? Or take "A.D. 1278." The city surrendered to Bayan without fighting in the spring of 1276.

p. 53. The account of Christianity at Hangchou before the year 1600 is mistaken in many points. The one certain fact, we believe, is that a Nestorian convent was founded there about A.D. 1280.

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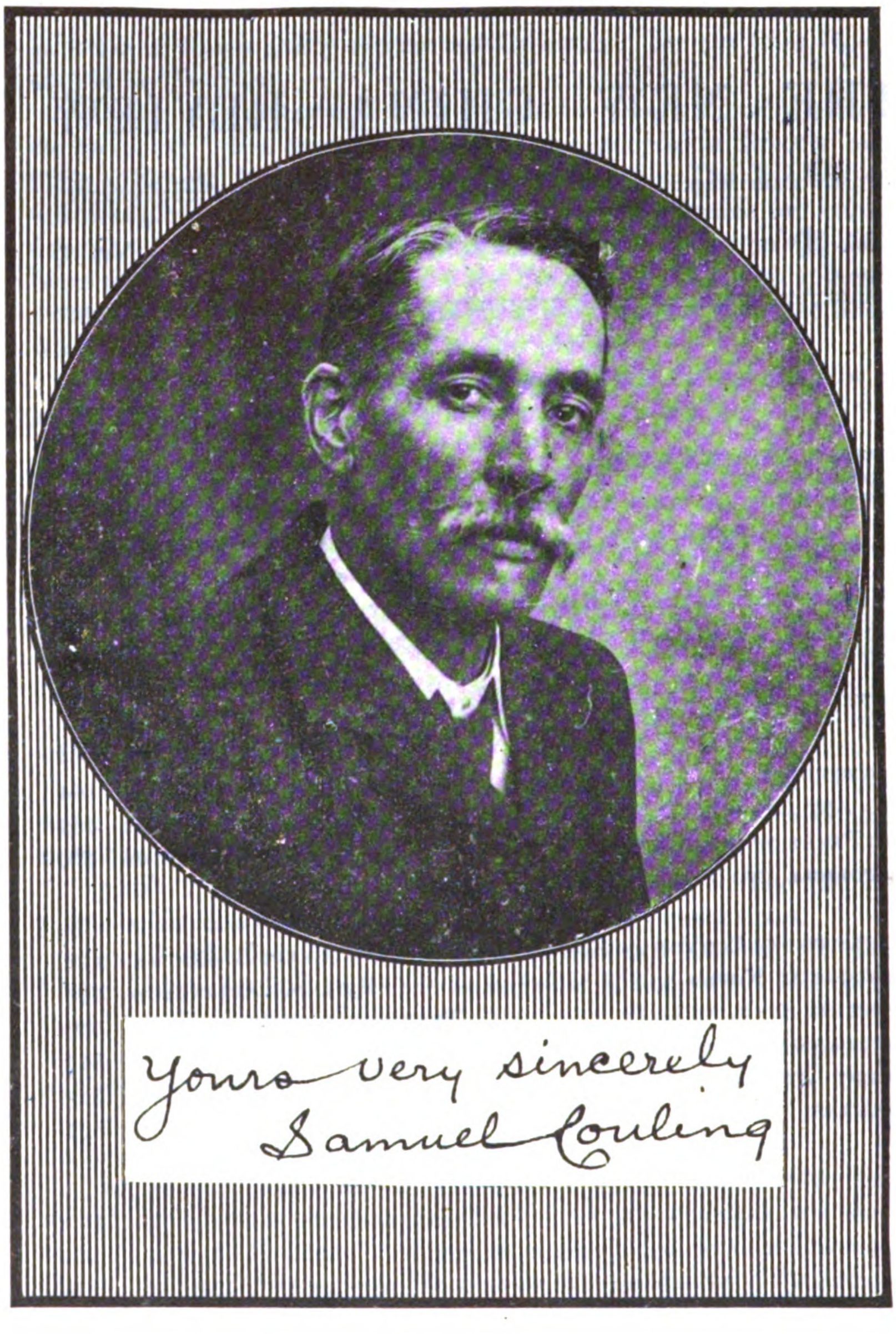

Yours very sincerely
Samuel Coulling

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INTRODUCTION

TO THE "DOCUMENTS CHINOIS DÉCOUVERTS par Aurel STEIN dans les Sables du Turkestan Oriental"

by

Edouard CHAVANNES

Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France.

Translated from the French

by

Madame Edouard CHAVANNES and H. Wilfred HOUSE

(*Continued from page 359*)

V.

The watching of the frontier was not the only task which devolved on the garrison troops. They were also charged with the ensuring of provisions for the Chinese ambassadors who visited from time to time the "Countries of the West." To do this it was necessary for them to have a constant supply of corn, and as the transport of cereals to such distant parts would have been impossible, it was necessary for them to cultivate fields themselves, the harvest of which provided them with the corn required. These garrison troops (戍卒) were therefore at the same time employed

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on agricultural work (田卒 or 屯卒), and they established veritable military colonies.

It is shortly after the year B.C. 101 that we see the military colonies of the West mentioned for the first time : " In the region of *Lun-t'ai* and *Ch'ü-li* " (south-west of Karachar), says the "*Ch'ien Han shu*," " there were several hundreds of military colonists. An imperial commissioner was appointed there to take charge of (them) and to protect (their crops), thus supplying the needs of the ambassadors sent to foreign countries."[1]

Our slips[2] tell us moreover of a Chinese Embassy at Yarkand about B.C. 95, which halted at one of the military stations west of *Tun-huang* and demanded rations for its personnel ; the ambassador's suite consisted of eighty-seven persons, a number which agrees with what we learn elsewhere of the importance of these missions. We know that when Chang Ch'ien 張騫 started in B.C. 138 in quest of the *Yüeh-chih*, he had with him a hundred men.[3]

An imperial order has been preserved which deals with the founding of a military colony,[4] and it contains interesting information. Although this colony was founded in the territory of *Tun-huang*, it was the governor of *Chiu-ch'üan* who was charged with the execution of the decrees. Indeed *Chiu-ch'üan* appears to have been the political centre of Chinese influence in the Western Marches at the time of the early *Han*.[5] For the purpose of founding the colony two thousand soldiers were taken from the garrison already stationed in the "command" of *Tun-huang*, and then apparently a certain number were added from the "command" of *Chiu-ch'üan*.

These troops were ordered to move with a complete staff to the spot chosen for occupation and there to establish a colony. But it was the duty of the governor to examine in person the configuration of the ground in order to decide upon the most favorable site ; he was recommended to profit by natural obstacles, and M. Stein's researches have shown how skilfully the Chinese were trained in the art of using the lie of the land or stretches of water for the strengthening of their strategic positions. Finally a rampart was built round the camp enabling the sentries

1. *Ch'ien Han shu* (chap. XCVI, a, p. 1 v°) : 而輪臺渠犂皆有田卒數百人置使者校尉領護以給使外國者.

2. Cf. Nos. 310 and 311.

3. Cf. "*Sseu-ma-Ch'ien*," chap. CXXIII, p. 1 v°.

4. Cf. No. 60.

5. Cf. p. V, note 5.

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to see from a distance what was happening, and thus to prevent any surprise.

Several slips show the troops of the military colonies occupied in tilling the virgin soil called " the Celestial Fields," 天田, apparently because they were in the state in which nature gave them to mankind.[1] The work of tillage was very slow, and at times perhaps involved the transformation of the sands of the Desert[2] into arable land, but it must most often have been confined to a simple clearing of the brushwood. One man progressed on an average about three paces a day,[3] though it is true that we do not know the width of the front on which he made this advance.

The crops seem to have consisted principally of wheat 麥,[4] millet 粟,[5] and rice 米;[6] hemp was also cultivated,[7] and elm-trees[8] were planted, doubtless to give some shade and coolness near the dwellings.

VI.

In addition to their military duties and agriculture the soldiers in these colonies had other occupations. We often find them making bricks of unfired clay which were probably needed for the construction of defensive works. These bricks were not always of the same dimensions: for instance, whereas in Nos. 99-101 the daily task for each man is from sixty-five to seventy bricks, and in No. 673 eighty bricks, the number made reaches a hundred and fifty in Nos. 279, 281, 284 and 287. It is presumable that the bricks mentioned in the former documents took twice as long a time to make, and therefore were larger than those of the latter. When the bricks had been made, there followed days spent in removing them (No. 280) and piling them in stacks (No. 98).

If the factory was far from a military post, a squad of ten cavalrymen was sent to do the work, and in this case one of them was employed as cook and, if necessary, another as sentry. (Nos. 279-284).

---

1. Cf. p. 88-90, 265, 289, 290, 433, 495.

2. In point of fact, in the posts explored by M. Stein all regular cultivation must have been impossible as there was no water for irrigation.

3. Cf. Nos. 89 and 90.

4. Cf. Nos. 405, 484, 485, 486.

5. Cf. Nos. 292, 303, 310, 311, 328, 405, 415.

6. Cf. Nos. 162, 164, 165, 220, 441.

7. Cf. No. 96.

8. Cf. No. 302.

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The military colonies were also used to repair or construct the buildings in which they lived. Numerous slips (Nos. 102-111) contain the calculation of wall-surfaces covered either with mud-plaster or by another process (*ma-fu* 馬夫) on which we are not well informed (Nos. 92, 104 ; 107, 393) (*a*).

Although use was made of donkeys and camels as beasts of burden, men themselves had at times to carry the raw materials or supplies which they required. The manner of reckoning the distances which they traversed is singular enough (Nos. 92-97). Instead of saying that in a certain squad each man has made so many times a definite journey of so many *li*, the first figure given is the total distance actually traversed,—which is obtained by adding up all the journeys made during so many days by so many men : then the total number of *li* is divided by the number of men, and if the figure will not divide exactly the remainder is given to the last man, each of the others being allotted the theoretical distance derived from the quotient.[1]

Among the duties of the garrisons, we must also remember the postal services. Some of our slips[2] contain lists of letters handed to a courier and the name of the recipient in each case.

Often the soldier who served as messenger carried no letter and gave by word of mouth the orders or instructions, the transmission of which had been entrusted to him. All that he had to do was to present a slip which accredited him in the eyes of the person to whom he was sent, and this is the explanation of the numerous slips which announce a message without saying what it is,[3] or merely bear a date and the name of a man.[4]

VII.

The men received by way of daily rations 6 *shêng* of corn,[5] a *shêng* being the equivalent of the tenth of a bushel.

They were paid according to their length of service, and slip No. 592 is extremely interesting as it shows us how the calculations were made. They began by estimating the number of months

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(*a*) (Since Prof. Chavannes wrote the present introduction, M. Wang Kouo-wei has shown that the embarrassing *ma-fu* 馬夫 we must read *ma-shih* 馬矢 which is known to be an old way of writing 馬屎 *ma-shih*, "horse-dung." P. Pelliot.)

1. See No. 92, where this remarkable process has been explained in detail.
2. Nos. 275, 367, 454, 455.
3. Cf. Nos. 56, 137, 138, 141, 143, 451.
4. Cf. Nos. 45 and 50.
5. Cf. Nos. 310, 311, 326, 328, 336.

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and days which a soldier had served ; this number was then reduced to days on the supposition that each month consisted of 30 days ; but it was then necessary to make a subtraction, taking away as many days as there were months of 29 days in the period under consideration ; finally the number thus obtained was increased by adding half as much again, for it was the rule that in these distant posts two days' service should be the equivalent of three.

It was probably for the purpose of making calculations of this nature that a large number of slips contain a statement of the length of service of such and such a subaltern-officer.[1]

We do not know whether the private soldiers were paid in money or in corn ; but in the case of a junior officer, a *hou-shih* 候史, or of the second in command of a watch-tower, we know that he was paid in money and received 20 "sapèques" a day (No. 62).

These troops were armed with swords and cross-bows. We have no special information about the swords and their actual form must be studied on the *Shan-tung* bas-reliefs. As to cross-bows, the strength of this weapon was estimated by the weight which had to be attached to it in order to bend it. Such weights were reckoned in *shih*, which represented 120 Chinese pounds. Our slips mention cross-bows the strength of which is 3,[2] 4,[3] 5,[4] and 6 *shih*.[5] Sometimes the strength was merely nominal, and the weapon when old was less strong than when new : thus a cross-bow which originally had the strength of 6 *shih* is mentioned as now having that of only 4, *shih*, *i.e.*, 68 pounds.[6] No mention is made of ordinary bows in our slips except in two cases,[7] where the passages refer to barbarians. This seems to prove that the garrison troops in the time of the Han were armed with cross-bows and not with bows. Therefore in all probability the strings of hemp or silk which are mentioned in our slips[8] were intended for cross-bows. The arrows must also have been arrows for cross-bows. They were of two kinds, *mêng* 宣矢 arrows[9] and *kao* 稾矢 arrows ;[10] either type could

1. Cf. Nos. 46, 394, 601, 642.
2. Cf. Nos. 73 and 113.
3. Cf. No. 74.
4. Cf. Nos. 64 and 114.
5. Cf. 676, 682, 703 and 705.
6. Cf. No. 554.
7. Cf. Nos. 172 and 548.
8. Cf. Nos. 38, 65, 116 (where cross-bow should be read instead of bow).
9. Cf. Nos. 38, 71, 134, 253, 498, 682 and 693.
10. Cf. Nos. 125, 126 and 266.

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have been fitted with the bronze tips[1] of which M. Stein himself was able to collect many specimens.[2] The arrows were kept in quivers.[3] When they were being issued to the troops or being handed into store, great care was taken to note exactly their actual condition, and those which were damaged were separated from those which were intact.[4]

As defensive weapons, mention is made of shields[5] and leather breast-plates.[6] The strictest accounts were kept of all these military supplies, and the date on which a weapon was repaired was always written down.[7] Also, the list of arms issued to a post or rendered unfit for further service[8] was constantly checked.

A soldier's equipment included all his clothing[9] and his shoes.[10]

It was not however for rough clothing that the strips of silk, specimens of which have been found by M. Stein, were used.[11] Whether they were used for the uniform of senior officers[12] or formed part of the merchandise carried by the caravans, the fragment of silk which has been preserved[13] is of great importance. It so happens that this piece is the border of a strip (i.e., the border of the outside length of the roll), and on it are written in ink several essential details : the material was 2 feet 2 inches wide, 40 feet long, and weighed about 25 ounces ; it was worth 618 pieces of money, and had been manufactured in the district of *Shan-tung* province where the town of *Chi-ning chou* now stands. We can thus establish the origin, price, weight, and dimensions of the silk which formed the chief article exported from China at the time of the writings of Ptolemy.

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1. Cf. Nos. 125, 126, 266, 267, 498, 587 and 693.
2. "*Ruins of Desert Cathay*," Vol.I, p. 366 ; Vol. II, pp. 65 and 127.
3. Cf. Nos. 71, 187, 393 and 682.
4. Cf. Nos. 71, 682, 693 and 703.
5. Cf. Nos. 39, 40, 75, 77 and 682.
6. Cf. Nos. 187, 393 and 569.
7. Cf. Nos. 39, 40 and 41.
8. Cf. Nos. 184, 257, 274 and 307.
9. Cf. Nos. 42, 43, 72, 79, 351 and 383.
10. Cf. No. 569.
11. "*Ruins of Desert Cathay*," Vol. I, p. 381 ; Vol. II, pp. 125-126.
12. Cf. No. 490.
13. Cf. No. 539.

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VIII.

As may well be imagined, the intellectual life in these little military colonies isolated in the middle of the Desert cannot have been considerable. Books were naturally not very numerous. Those of which we possess some fragments are of three kinds: some are treatises on divination, others collections of medical prescriptions, and the remainder are vocabularies.

The treatises on divination are represented by two slips. One of them[1] shows us how to prognosticate the future of a child by the pose of his head at the time of birth. The second of these documents[2] is more interesting, for it refers obviously to the *I-ching* cycle. Although it is not drawn from the actual text of this classic, it is based like the latter on the examination of hexagonal figures, and it proves that speculations on hexagrams were customary among fortune-tellers.

The medical prescriptions[3] are written on thin bamboo slips which are all of the same dimensions, and must in consequence have formed one collection. It does not, however, appear that these directions for use in cases of men or animals actually constituted a book; they were rather a series of formulae which must have been collected by a doctor—either because he had had to prescribe them for certain cases, or because he wished to record them for his own future use. Slip No. 395 may also be a fragment of a medical treatise, but the text is too short for us to understand what was the subject under discussion.

The vocabularies seem to have been of various kinds. In addition to the three slips[4] which, though they belong to this category, we cannot definitely assign to any known work, we possess quite a large number of fragments[5] of a small book which is very famous in China, the "*Chi Chiu chang*" 急就章. I have tried, when speaking of them,[6] to show the importance of the part played by this book in primary schools in the time of the Eastern *Han*. The popularity of this treatise is confirmed by the very fact that it was distributed even among the most distant outposts of the Empire, and the fragments of this work discovered by M. Stein are the most ancient manuscripts of a Chinese book

1. Cf. No. 448.
2. Cf. Nos. 59, 638.
3. Nos. 524-534.
4. Nos. 397, 603 (?), 671.
5. Nos. 1-7.
6. Cf. pp. 2-3.

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in our possession. They will without doubt be esteemed of very great value by the scholars who have already devoted their time to numerous commentaries on the text of the "*Chi Chiu Chang.*" Slip No. 8 affords an interesting problem, for it would lead us to suppose that the author of the "*Chi chiu chang*" originated a school, and that he had disciples who continued his work, claiming him as their Master.[1a]

It would have been interesting if it had been also possible to discover in the sands of the Desert some lines of the "Biographies of famous Women" (*Lieh nü chuan* 列女傳) which *Liu Hsiang* 劉向 wrote at the end of the first century B.C.[1b] It may well be that this book found its way as far as the wild regions of the extreme west, for its title has survived in one slip (No. 622).[1c]

Lastly, although they cannot exactly be called books, I must mention, among the discoveries of M. Stein, a most curious multiplication table (No. 702) and several fragments of calendars. The latter documents enable us to establish without any doubt the calendar for the years B.C. 63,[2] B.C. 59,[3] B.C. 57,[4] B.C. 39,[5] A.D. 94,[6] A.D. 153,[7] and we have thus complete evidence to confirm the strict accuracy of the calculations made by the Chinese chronologist *Wang Yüeh-chêng* 汪曰楨.[8] In one

1a. (Since Prof. Chavannes' publication, Mr. Lo Chên-yü, in his excellent book "*Liu sha chui chien*" 流沙墜簡, f° 1-2, has shown that Chavannes' slip No. 8, as well as Nos. 397, 603 and 671, belonged to a lost lexicographical work called 倉頡篇 "*Ts'ang hsieh p'ien.*" The "*Ts'ang hieh p'ien*" and its supplements were arranged in sentences of 4 characters, while each sentence of the "*Chi chiu chang*" had 7 characters; both works were rhymed.—P.P.)

1b. (The French text says "first century A.D.," which is only a slip.—P.P.)

1c. (Mr. Lo Chen-yü has recognized, in slips Nos. 425 and 457, fragments of a lost treatise, half-military and half-divinatory, called *Li mo* 力墨 or *Li mu* 力牧; cf. also Sir A. Stein, Serindia, p. 764. More recent than the latter's wooden slips, but older than the oldest documents recovered from the *Ch'ien-fo-tung* of *Tun-huang* is the scrap of paper on which is written a fragment of the "*Chan kuo ts'é*" 戰國策; which was brought back from *Lou-lan* by Mr. Sven Hedin and is now published in A. Conrady's "*Die Chines. Handschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-lan,*" Stockholm, 1920, in—4°, p. 76, 77.—P.P.)

2. Nos. 9-24.

3. Nos. 25-35.

4. No. 36.

5. No. 429.

6. No. 537.

7. No. 680.

8. As is well known, Father *Huang* made use of the works of *Wang Yüeh-chêng* to write his "Concordance des chronologies néoméniques chinoise et européenne."

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case only,[1] viz., the year B.C. 96, our slips oblige us to make a correction in his reckonings. There still remain, however, certain obscurities in the nature of the ancient calendars: for example, we have not yet succeeded in determining what were the "fixed points" distributed at intervals of twelve days or thirteen days throughout the year.[2]

IX.

This sketch of the life of Chinese garrisons in the west about the time of the Christian era would not be complete without an attempt to conjecture what were the thoughts and feelings of the soldiers exiled thus in a distant land. Chinese poetry enables us to form some idea of their outlook. But it is not the literature of the *Han* period which provides us with the material required —it is almost silent on this subject. The sources from which we can draw our information are the writers of more recent times, particularly those who adorned the *T'ang* dynasty.

The famous poet *Li po* 李白 (705-762)[a] has told of the sadness that filled the heart of the soldiers when at night the wind, which had crossed the whole Desert in its wild career, passed moaning through the Gate of Jade, and the moonlight revealed to the sentry mounted on the watch-tower the horror of the surrounding wilderness.

MOONLIGHT ON THE MOUNTAINS OF THE PASS.[3]

Bright is the moon as she rises above the Celestial Mountains :
She shines fitfully amid a sea of clouds.
The wind that has traversed long distances of many thousand *li*
Sweeps through the Pass of the Gate of Jade.
When the *Han* have gone down into the region of *Po-têng*,[4]

1. Nos. 304 and 308.

2. See p. 14, line 4 et seq.

a (Prof. Chavannes took the dates 705-762 from Prof. Giles' *Biogr. Dictionary*, No. 1181 ; but 705 for the year of Li Po's birth is without authority. The true dates are most probably 701-762.—P.P.)

3. See "*T'ang shih san po shou chu shu*" 唐詩三百首注疏 (edition 1835), chap. 1, p. 29 r°—v°, the poem entitled "關山月."

4. *Po-têng* is the name of the place where in B.C. 200 the Emperor *Kao-tsu*, surrounded by the *shan-yü* of the *Hsiung-nu*, found himself in great danger.

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When the *HU* have espied them by the bays of the Blue Lake (Kuku-nor),[1]
From the places where the battles have been fought
Never once has a man been seen to return.
The soldiers exiled to keep watch in that distant land
Gaze afar on the prospect of the marches :
As they think of their own country,
The face of many of them is one of suffering :
On the high watch-tower, on such a night as this
Their sighs know not how to cease.

明月出天山。蒼茫雲海間。長風幾萬里。吹度玉門關。
漢下白登道。胡窺青海灣。由來征戰地。不見有人還。
戍客望邊色。思歸多苦顏。高樓當此夜。嘆息未應閑。

As long as the men are young and strong they endure without much complaint the rough life that is theirs, but gradually they weary of the dangers and discomforts. Look at the veteran who passes on his rawboned mount with one possession in the world, his sword.[2]

Over the boundary rises the dust of the barbarian land.[3]
Throughout a succession of many years he has journeyed beyond *Wu-wei*,[4]
In life and in death his good sword ever bears him company.
At the cost of many troubles he makes his way towards *Kin-we* [5]
A man who has for a long time kept watch under the open sky grows weary and weak[6]
His horse that has made journeys far from home has lost his fair form.
Comes now the news again that the city of *Chiu-ch'uan*[7]
Has been beleaguered by the serried ranks of the enemy.

1. The historical allusion here is less clear. The reference may be to the expedition directed in A.D. 576 against the tribe of the *T'u-yü-hun* who lived on the edge of the *Kuku-nor*, but it is also possible that the poet did not intend to be so precise in this instance.

2. A poem by *Kuo Chên* 郭震 (656-713), quoted in "*Ku shih hsüan*" 古詩選 by *Wang Shih-chêng* 王士禎, section III, chap. I, p. 10 v°.

3. The dust rises because troops are moving, and fighting is taking place.

4. *Lan-chou fu*, in *Kan-su*.

5. *Kin-wei* belongs to nomenclature of the *T'ang* and signifies a locality in Mongolia, in the country of the *Khalkhas*.

6. For this meaning of the word 老, cf. *B.E.F.E.O.*, t. III, p. 417, n.7.

7. *Su-chou fu*, in *Kan-su*.

塞上虜塵飛。頻年出武威。死生隨玉劍。辛苦向金徽。
久戍人將老。長征馬不肥。仍聞酒泉郡。已合數重圍。

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After scouring on horse-back the Mongolian steppes and beyond the Mountains of Pamir, the imperial troops will meet their death on some distant battle field, and vile crows will dispute their entrails, only to leave them hanging on the branches of a dead tree.[1]

Fighting South of the Wall.

Last year we fought by the source of the River *Sang-kan* ;[2]
This year we are fighting among the mountains *Ts'ung-ling*[3]
and by the great River ;
We have dipped our swords in the waves by the shore of the
sea *T'iao-chih*,[4]
We have loosed our steeds in the grass that grows amid the
snow of the *Tien-shan*.[5]
Ten thousand *li* away we have fought in distant expeditions,
And the three armies[6] are utterly exhausted.
The *Hsiung-nu* labour at slaughter in their fields ;
From time immemorial nought can be seen but white bones
on the plains of yellow sand.
The House of *Ch'in* built the great Wall to defend itself
against the Land of the *Hu* ;
The House of *Han* in its turn made use of beacon fires for
signals ;
The signals of beacon fires have not ceased ;
The expeditions and the battles know not an end.
In battle on the plain forlorn men die in conflict hand to hand.
The charger of the vanquished lifts a piteous neighing to the
sky,
The crows and kites dig among the human entrails with their
beaks ;
They fly away with them and hang them on the branches
of dead trees.
The soldiers have dyed the grass and bushes with their blood :
The general won not the victory.
The world will understand that weapons of war are indeed
instruments of death,

1. A poem by *Li Po* 李白 quoted in *Ku-shih hsüan* by *Wang Shih-chêng*, section II, chap. 4, p. 18 v°.

2. North of *Shan-si*.

3. The Pamir Mountains.

4. The Persian Gulf.

5. The Celestial Mountains.

6. The Imperial armies.

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And that the wise man has not recourse to them when he can do otherwise.[1]

去年戰桑乾源。今年戰葱河道。洗兵條支海上波。放馬天山雪中草。萬里長征戰。三軍盡衰老。胡奴以殺戮爲耕作。古來未見白骨黃沙田。秦家築城備胡處。漢家還有烽火燃。烽火燃不息。征戰無已時。野戰格鬬死。敗馬號鳴向天悲。烏鳶啄人腸。銜飛上掛枯樹枝。士卒塗草莽。將軍空爾爲。乃知兵者是凶器。聖人不得已而用之。

How are they to learn in China that those who lie on the bare plain are dead? For a long time the women-folk will continue to see in their dreams the likeness of those whom they love, but they do not know that those who—clad in warm clothing to face the rigours of the Mongolian winter—left but lately full of hope and resolved to bring back victory, are now nothing but dry bones scattered along the banks of some barbarian river:[2]

They have sworn to sweep the *Hsiung-nu* without taking thought of their own lives:
Five thousand men clad in sable coats lie dead in the dust of the *Hu*.
Alas, the bones scattered along the banks of the River *Wu-ting*[3]
Are still men who appear to their lovers in their dreams!

誓掃匈奴不顧身。五千貂錦喪胡塵。
可憐無定河邊骨。猶是春閨夢裏人。

Those who have the good fortune to return to their country have often reached extreme old age, and on their return not a single familiar voice gives them welcome. It is to the tombs that they turn to find partners in the unhappy meal which they have prepared in their ruined homes[4]:—

When fifteen years of age, I left for the wars;
In my eightieth year was I able to return home.
On the road I met folk of my country,

1. The last two lines are a quotation from the "*Lıu t'ao*," and at the same time of §31 of the "*Tao tĕh ching*."—P.P.]

2. A poem by *Ch'ĕn T'ao* 陳陶 (early tenth century). See "*T'ang shih san po shou chu shu*," chap. VI, b, p. 20 v°-21r°.

3. The river *Wu-ting* is a small tributary on the right bank of the *Huang-ho*; it flows sixty *li* east of the sub-prefecture of *Ch'ing-chuen* 清澗 in the north of *Shan-hsi*.

4. An anonymous poem of the *Han* period. See "*Ku shih shang hsi*" 古詩賞析 published by *Chang Yü-ku* 張玉穀 in 1772 (republished in 1887), chap. IV, p.11 v°.

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(And I asked them) who dwelt in my house.
" Look yonder," (they said) ; " that is your house,
Yonder where stand cypresses and tombs in great number."
A hare entered by the hole made for the dogs ;
A pheasant flew away from the roof-top[1] ;
In the court-yard within wheat was growing wild ;
Wild mallows had sprung up beside the well-heads.
I boiled the wheat to make me a platter ;
I gathered the mallows to make me some soup :
Both the soup and the wheat were ready cooked at the same time,
But I knew not to whom I might offer them.
Thereupon I went forth from the house and looked toward the East[2] :
My tears fell fast and watered my raiment.

十五從軍征。八十始得歸。道逢鄉里人。家中有阿誰。
遙望是君家。松柏冢纍纍。兎從狗竇入。雉從梁上飛。
中庭生旅穀。井上生旅葵。烹穀持作飯。采葵持作羹。
羹飯一時熟。不知貽阿誰。出門東向望。淚落沾我衣。

It would have been better, if old-age had not come, to continue fighting against the inaccessible Nomads of the North, but the conditions of the campaign are hard in the country beyond the great Wall. The unfriendly nature of the ground makes common cause with the enemy, and the bitter winter increases the difficulty of the midnight marches :[3]

If the moon is overcast and the wild geese fly high,
It is because the *shan-yü* takes to flight during the night :[4]
The Chinese general is bent on taking swift horsemen to pursue them ;
Heavy snow covers their bows and their swords.

月黑雁高飛。單于夜遁逃。欲將輕騎逐。大雪滿弓刀。

Yet it is not the battle that the soldier dreads the most ; he fears far more the tasks under which men laboured to extend the

1. These two lines signify that the house is entirely derelict.

2. In the direction of the tombs.

3. A poem by *Lu Lun* 盧綸, called *Yün-yen* 允言, who was in his prime of life in the *ta-li* period (776-779). See "*T'ang shih san po shou chu shu*," chap. VI, a, p. 4 r°.

4. The *shan-yü*, i.e., the king of the *Hsiung-nu*, menaced by a Chinese army, strikes camp during the night. His departure is signalled by the dust which rises and obscures the moon, and by the wild geese which fly up in alarm. The Chinese general is determined to hurl himself in pursuit of the fugitives in spite of the darkness and the snow.

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long Wall, built by *Ch'in Shih huang ti*, like a dyke set up to withstand the encroaching waves of robber tribes. A poem of the time of the three kingdoms gives us, in the form of a dialogue, the complaints of those engaged on this accursed work :[1]

The horses are watered in the holes[2] along the great Wall ;
The water is so cold that it chills the horses right to the bone.[3]
(The soldier working at his task) will say to the officer in charge of the building of the great Wall :
" Look to it that ye keep not here the soldiers of *T'ai-yuan*."[4]
The officer answers : " For the works of the government there are fixed rules,[5]
Begone to your building and join the others in their rhythmic song."[6]
" Better were it " (replies the soldier), " for a man to die fighting hand-to-hand.
How shall we endure to be weighed down with sorrow as we build the great Wall ?"
Ah, how the great Wall marches on without end !
It marches on without end upon its journey of three thousand *li*.
In the frontier cities there are many stalwart young men ;
In the dwellings of the heart of China there are many women forlorn.[7]
(The husband) writes a letter to be sent to his home in the heart (of China) ;

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1. A poem by *Ch'ên Lin* 陳琳, called *K'ung-chang*, 孔璋 (early third century A.D.). See " *Ku shih shang hsi*," chap. IX, pp. 16 v°-17 r°.

2. It is difficult to know exactly what the author means by the word 窟, which signifies not a moat, but a hole or cavity : perhaps the holes are those dug to provide the earth required for the construction of the Wall ; they would have served later to collect rain-water. The title, " Watering horses in the holes along the great Wall," is common to several poems, the earliest of which appears to be that of *Ts'ai Yung* 蔡邕 (133-192). See " *Ku shih shang hsi*," chap. VI, p.10 r°-v°.

3. The first two lines show the rigour of the climate and serve as an introduction to the idea that the men employed on the building of the Wall would fain return to their own country.

4. It was in the district of *T'ai-yüan* in *Shan-hsi* that many of the men employed on the building of the Great Wall were recruited. The soldier who speaks is a native of *T'ai-yüan*.

5. The officer replies that it is not in his power to shorten the period of service.

6. The rhythmical song by which the workmen keep in time.

7. In these four lines the poet shows the immensurability of the great wall, and makes his reader see the evils caused by this gigantic undertaking in separating husbands from their wives.

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"Marry another" (he writes) : "bide not waiting for me,[1]
Take good care of your new Master's parents[2]
And think sometimes of me, your first love."

The answer comes back to the frontier post :

"My lord," (says the wife)," what sorry word have you uttered ?
You have spoken thus because you are in misfortune and trouble.
By what right can a man detain thus another's children ?
If a woman brings a son to the light, let her beware of raising him to manhood ;
If she brings to the light a daughter, then let her nourish her with dried meats.[3]
See you not, my lord, at the foot of the great Wall
The heaps of dead men's bones that lie there in mixed confusion ?
Since the day when we plaited our hair together and I became your servant,[4]
I have ever been content in thought and feeling.[5]
I know well the sufferings you endure on the frontier ;
How can your humble servant brook this life for long ?"

飲馬長城窟。水寒傷馬骨。往謂長城吏。愼莫稽留太原卒。官作自有程。舉築謐汝聲。男兒寧當格鬥死。何能拂鬱築長城。長城何連連。連連三千里。邊城多健少。內舍多寡婦。作書與內舍。便嫁莫留住。善侍新姑嬪。時時念我故夫子。報書往邊地。君今出語一何鄙。身在禍難中。何爲稽留他家子。生男愼莫舉。生女哺用脯。君獨不見長城下。死人骸骨相撐拄。結髮行事君。慊慊心意間。明知邊地苦。賤妾何能久自全。

1. He renounces all hope of ever returning to his own country.

2. This expression implies that the husband thinks with emotion of his own parents, who will be deprived of the services of their daughter-in-law when she marries a second husband.

3. If a woman brings a daughter into the world the child must be nourished with the best possible food ; if the child be a boy it is not worth while bringing him up, for sons are destined, if they grow to manhood, to strew their bones at the food of the great Wall.

4. i.e., since we were married.

5. She has always been happy with her husband.

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If the man torn from his home in the central provinces of China is to be pitied, perhaps those who dwell in the frontier-districts deserve even greater pity, for here not only the man but also all his family are the victims of the recruiting-sergeant, whose coming brings ruin to the home. This is the theme which *Tso Yen-nien* elaborated in a most striking manner at the beginning of the third century A.D.[1] :—

He is full of misfortune who dwells on the frontier :
Three times in one year has he been forced to join the army.
Three of his sons have gone to *Tun-huang*,
The two others were sent to *Lung-hsi*.
Whereas his five sons have left thus for the distant wars,
Their five wives will soon be mothers. 苦哉邊地人。一歲三從軍。三子到敦煌。二子詣隴西。五子遠關去。五婦皆懷身。

It has been necessary to call attention to these complaints in order that the documents discovered by M. Stein may be given their full significance. The historian who finds traces of the bold policy of the *Han* in central Asia must not forget that all their greatness was built with human materials. Just as the Chinese poets fancy that they still hear the distressed souls of those who built the great Wall of *Ch'in shih huang ti* wandering along its site, so we can reclaim from the administrative details of the life of a small Chinese garrison, isolated in the middle of the Desert, the sufferings and sorrows of the exiles who lament their lot.

1. Cf. "*Ku shih shang hsi*," chap. X, p. 8 r°.

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LIU HIANG AND TS'IEN TA-HIN

ON

SUN-TSZ

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER.

I

Liu Hiang's*[1] *report to the Emperor upon the 32 chapters (reduced from 322 after elimination of 290 chapters of duplicates) forming the works of Sun K'ing, which can be copied fair upon prepared and dried tablets.

Sun K'ing was a native of Chao, whose personal name was K'wang. During the reigns of the Kings Süan and Wei of T'i State, there assembled, under hospitable and distinguished treatment, at one of the city gates a number of the most respected scholars in the Empire, including Tsou Yen, T'ien P'ien, Shun-yü K'un, etc., known collectively as the Lieh-ta-fu,[2] and admired by the then generation. They were all authors of books criticising the times. It was at this moment that Sun

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1. Liu Hiang 劉向 was the great-great-grand-nephew of the Founder of the Han dynasty, and it was not until A.D. 1877 that his father Liu Teh 劉德 received from a Manchu Emperor a place 從祀 in the Confucian shrine. Mayers makes the surprising statement that Liu Hiang was the *author* of the Han dynasty history published by Pan Ku; but probably he had in mind the 新序 and 西京雜記 of which two works Liu Hiang really was the author, and which also treat of Han history.: he died B.C. 9, having worked under the patronage of three Han Emperors 宣, 元, and 成. Chao may be defined as North modern Shan Si, and Ts'i as North modern Shan Tung.

2. 列大夫 Is it possible that the mysterious "philosopher" 列子 may after all be another way of expressing this assembly of wise men?

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K'ing, a talented youth of fifteen,[1] made his appearance as a studying traveller, and came to the conclusion that the various philosophers were all on the wrong tack as to what were the principles of our former Kings of old. Sun K'ing was strong on the Odes, the Rites, the Changes, and the Spring and Autumn History, and when it came to the time of King Siang of Ts'i, Sun K'ing was the best of his mentors. The Ts'i State considered the *ta-fu* appointment particularly reserved for law revision to be one of importance, and Sun K'ing thrice held the post of libationer[2] therein. But, certain Ts'i personages having slandered Sun K'ing, Sun K'ing departed to the State of Ts'u. The Ts'u Premier Ch'un-shên-kün[3] appointed him to the post of Lan-ling governor. Certain individuals said to Ch'un-shên-kün: "T'ang had 70 *li*, and Wên Wang 100 *li*,[4] whilst Sun K'ing is only a wise man: he now gets 100 *li*, which may be dangerous for Ts'u." Ch'un-shên-kün desisted, and Sun K'ing accordingly left and went to Chao.

Some time after this a visitor observed to Ch'un-shên-kün: "I-yin abandoned Hia and joined Yin. Yin got the imperial rule, whilst Hia perished. Kwan Chung abandoned Lu and joined Ts'i. Did not the States thus abandoned suffer by this?" Ch'un-shên-kün then sent messengers to invite Sun K'ing back.

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1. Liu Hiang has "fifty" instead of "fifteen," which is impossible; but the commentators indicate the error: they also indicate his anomaly of placing King Süan (342-324) in order of sequence before King Wei (378-343); these slips, however, tend to show the scrupulous genuineness of the human document. King Siang (283-265) was grandson of King Süan, and (in Chavannes and Father Chang) there is a discrepancy of 10 years as to whether the intervening King Min began to reign in 324 or 314. It must be remembered that the old vassal or ducal dynasty of Ts'i came to an end in 387; the Emperor was flouted, and King Wei was the first to call himself a 王. The old Tsin (Shan Si) was split up in B.C. 376 into three rival states. Ts'in (Shen Si) was beginning to conquer China under King Chao (306-251), with whom Sün K'ing had conversation; so now we are enabled to place the philosopher definitely between 360 and 280.

2. 祭酒. This term originally meant the senior of any family (at a feast), whose duty it was to pour out the wine all round first: thus Liu Pi 濞, elder brother of the Han Founder, was the family libationer: later it became an official title; but here it simply means "*senior ta-fu* or minister."

3. 春申君, *i.e.*, 黃歇 who died B.C. 237 (Mayers, 218), and from whom Shanghai obtains its name 申. Lan-ling is the modern 常州 on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, where a specimen of Confucius' handwriting still exists. Date of these events B.C. 255.

4. The meaning is the two dynastic founders were 聖人 of the wisest class, whilst the present mere 賢 may peradventure found a new dynasty, as they each did.

Chao, as already stated, was the northern part of Shan Si, including part of modern Chih Li. As to 伊尹, see Mayers No. 233; the allusion is to the earlier dynasties. Kwan Chung's story we have told in this *Review* already.

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Sun K'ing sent a document to Ch'un-shên-kün criticising the State of Ts'u, and then he composed some poems and songs which he sent to Ch'un-shên-kün. Ch'un-shên-kün was offended and once more firmly resisted Sun K'ing's advances. So Sun K'ing left him, and once more became governor of Lan-ling. On Ch'un-shên-kün's death Sun K'ing was removed from the post and then lived on at Lan-ling as a private individual.[1] Li Sz had been a pupil of Sun K'ing, subsequently to which he became premier of Ts'in. There were also Han Fei, otherwise styled Han-tsz, and Fou-k'iu Pêh, both of whom also received his teaching and became distinguished literates. When Sun K'ing at last accepted the invitations of the vassal rulers, he had an interview with King Chao of Ts'in, who just then was taking delight in making aggressive warfare ; Sun K'ing tried to influence him and also his premier the Marquess Ying[2] by setting forth the principles of the Three Kings, but neither of them was prepared to adopt these views. Then he went to the State of Chao, and discussed war with Sun Pin in the presence of the King Ch'êng of Chao. Sun Pin was for the cunning and treacherous use of troops, but Sun K'ing objected to this with the Emperor's troops, and could not respond ; so in the end his services were not accepted. Sun K'ing's *tao* [or principle] lay in the maintenance of *li* and *i* [good form and right], all acts to correspond with the line of proper demarcation, whilst he was content to remain poor and obscure. Mencius was also a great *ju* [usually translated "Confucianist"], but he held that man's disposition was good, whilst Sun K'ing, over 100 years

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1. In the year B.C. 237 the young King of Ts'in dismissed all his chief advisers, but Li Sz (a Ts'u man) having left behind him certain ambitious propositions, the King despatched an express to recall him. 荀卿 was still alive in the Han Empress Kao's time. Han Fei was poisoned by the jealous Li Sz in B.C. 233.

2. The Marquess 應 was the notorious Fan Tsü 范雎, the second part of whose name is usually either miswritten or mispronounced both in English and in Chinese. Sun Pin 臏 was a descendant of the celebrated Sun Wu 武 (whose book Dr. Lionel Giles translated some years ago) : King Ch'êng 成 reigned from 265 to 245, so now we have further evidence of the date of Sün-tsz's conversation (*New China Review*, Page 11 of Vol. IV) with King Chao-siang of Ts'in. Sun Pin must have been a very old man when Sun K'ing met him in Chao, even if it were in the first year (265) of that monarch's reign, for the jealous man who mutilated his knee-cap 臏 (thus giving him his personal name) died in 341, there being thus 94 years between *General* Sun Pin's mutilation and his conversation with Sun K'ing : perhaps 與孫臏論兵 must not be taken too literally, but may mean "entered upon Sun Pin's military theories." The *Shi-ki* describes him as a 後世子孫 of Sun Wu, and in general history both men are often called 孫子. As to Chang I (d. 309) and Su Ts'in (d. 318), see Mr. Charles Piton's informing article, pp. 255-263 of the old *China Review*, Vol. VII. Here again we have a date clue.

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subsequent to Mencius, composed the chapter on the evilness of our disposition in order to contest Mencius. Su Ts'in and Chang I tried to influence the vassal rulers with their heretical *tao* in order to magnify the noble and illustrious, but Sun K'ing in withdrawing, ridiculed them with the *mot* " Those who do not advance by the [right] road [*tao*] will certainly not perish by the right road." And, when the Han dynasty had established itself, the prime minister Tung Chung-shu of the [subordinate] kingdom of Kiang-tu [Yang-chou region], who was also a great *ju*, composed a treatise in praise of Sun K'ing.

When Sun K'ing died, people had no use for him ; he spent his last years at Lan-ling, a hater of the corrupt administrations of the times with their succession of ruined states and vicious sovereigns who would not pursue the *ta-tao*[1] [i.e., great road, grand principles], but devoted their attention to magicians and spiritualists believing in portents and omens, silly literates and petty sticklers such as Chwang[2] Chou and Co., not to speak of specious corrupters of morals ; so he recommended the course of action under the *tao-têh* of the *Ju* and Mêh-tsz, with practical vicissitudes as set forth in due order, composing [essays of] several myriad words ; after which he died, and was buried at Lan-ling.

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1. It must always be borne in mind that such words as *tao*, *li*, *i*, etc., are promiscuously used by Chinese philosophers in the senses of (1) road, way, means, principles, reasonableness, justice ; (2) courtesy, rites, form, reasonableness, justice ; (3) right, justice, reasonableness, good sense, etc., etc., just as, with us, we may say (1) " mutton in preference to beef is a *religion* with him, amongst the numerous shades of religion "; and (2) his manner was not *nice*, amongst the numerous shades of *courtesy* or *form* ; or *the game*, amongst the numerous shades of justice, right, etc.

2 This, of course, is Chwang-tsz (or Yen Chou, or Yen-tsz) the character 莊 being used in place of an Emperor's *tabu* 莊. Sün-tsz's real name was 荀況 and not 孫卿 ; the *first* character of this last couple, not necessarily a *tabu* substitute, is still read *sün* and not *sun* in Canton ; the second of the pair is not his personal name, but his rank as a 中大夫 ; however, the commentators have never been unanimous, and do not agree on either of these two points ; it must be remembered that no dictionaries to perpetuate exact sounds existed in his time. It will be noticed also that the word *ju* gradually travelled from its original meaning of "educated man" (*i.e.*, one learned in the old classics, and imbued with the sacred doctrines traditionally handed down by and from the early wise Emperors) to that of " Confucianism," which at first apparently included not only the views and interpretations of Confucius himself, but also those of Sün-tsz, Mêh-tsz, and others who, whilst recognizing the Confucian interpretations as worthy of their highest respect, ventured to differ upon certain points of detail, ultimately declining to admit that arch-Confucianist Mencius to anything higher than the rank of " secondary sage " 亞聖, a term apparently dating from the Tsin dynasty (say A.D. 300).

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At Chao there was also one Kung-sun Lung,[1] who published a treatise upon the "Similarity and Dissimilarity of the Hard and the White;" also the teaching of one Ch'u-tsz. At Wei there was Li K'wei who exhausted the question of agricultural productivity. In Ts'u there were Shī-tsz, Ch'ang-lu-tsz, Yü-tsz, all of whom wrote books. But their principles were none of them those of the ancient Kings, nor did any of them follow the method of Confucius: only Mencius and Sun K'ing were able to abide by Chung-ni. Lan-ling had numerous excellent scholars in consequence of Sun K'ing's presence there, and the elderly men still [say B.C. 10] speak well of him: the Lan-ling men are in fact fond of taking the word *k'ing* as a secondary personal appellation for themselves by way of evincing their regard for Sun K'ing.

Mencius, Sun K'ing, and "Mr. Tung" all belittled the Five Protectors and held that the "five feet high boys" who attended Chung-ni's classes were all ashamed of the Five Protectors, and if any of the contemporary rulers had been able to make use of Sun K'ing he might have arrived at Empire; but none of the contemporaries was ever able to make use of him, and the princes of the six kingdoms were accordingly annihilated, whilst the [unifying] Ts'in government met with revolution, and itself fell to pieces in the end. If we look into Sun K'ing's book we find that he sets forth the *tao* of empire[2] as being very easy of accomplishment, and he is indignant that the people of his time were unable to make use of what he said; his grief and disappointment are exceedingly painful. Alas! It resulted in this man's finding his end in an

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1. 公孫龍 (Mayers, 288); 鬳 子 (elsewhere 劇 子, not in Mayers): no further remark necessary as being immaterial to the subject. 李悝, however, is "full of history" and was a great lawyer besides other tendencies. (Mayers, 345, where, however, the name is given as Li Hwei). Shī-tsz's (尸 子, a Ts'u man) personal name was 佼; on the death of his Ts'in patron Wei Yang in 338 B.C., he fled to the modern Szch'uan 蜀, where he wrote his book. Nothing is known of 長盧, except that he was a Ts'u man, and wrote nine chapters on something or other. As to 羊 子, or 阿之呼子 as Sz-ma Ts'ien calls him, he was a native of 東阿 (still so called) in Ts'i, or modern Shan Tung; his personal name was 嬰, and he wrote 18 chapters; but he was subsequent in date to the 70 men 七十子 mentioned by Mencius as having been attached to Chung-ni or Confucius 服孔子. Ts'u, though partly "barbarous," seems to have been a highly literary state. "Mr. Tung" 董先生 was one of China's greatest literary men during the 2nd century B.C. He is the author of the "five feet boy" simile which appears in the Han history under his "life." The Five Protector 五伯 or 五霸 period may be roughly styled the period of Confucius' history 春秋 of imperial decline.

2. 王道. I take it that 王' here changes its tone and means the governing principle of the ancients, or of virtue, in contradistinction to 霸道 or government by force; but possibly it may mean the *tao* of the Three 王, founders of the Hia, Yin, and Chou dynasties.

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obscure village lane, whilst his great services were never able to make any effective show in the world. Sad indeed! One may well shed a tear over it. His book may compare with standard histories so far as authoritative teaching capacity goes, and it is with respect that I pass on this copy.[1] Your humble servant Hiang at the risk of death ventures to address Your Majesty.

II

A sort of colophon, or new edition critical preface, composed by Ts'ien[2] Ta-hin, a distinguished literate of K'ien-lung's time, which is dated the 7th intercalary moon of 1786, from Kiating (the Kia-ting hien of Kiang Su).

The book of Sün-k'ing-tsz as descended to us was commentated by Yang Liang,[3] and printed during the Ming dynasty. The reader is much inconvenienced by the misprints and misconstructions. When the Sub-director Mr. Sie Kia-shan of the Court of Ceremonial was acting as Examiner in Kiang Su, he got from the Chancellor Lu Pao-king of Yü-yao a personally revised copy, and, amazed at the care which had been taken, he used to go and see him to talk over certain of the mistakes made in the Yang commentary. It was then handed over to the printer, and so at last we had this excellent copy of the book. After the death of Confucius the classicists[4] held Mencius and Sün-tsz to be the most unadulterated. In Sz-ma Ts'ien's list of philosophers he holds up Mencius and Sün-tsz as chief beacons, and although Han T'ui-chï whilst admitting Sün-tsz's purity does not hesitate to criticise a few blemishes, still the pronouncement that "the language he makes use of is orthodox, and may very well be placed within the domain of holies" shows that [the critic] has no objection

1. 謹 第 錄, probably a formal official expression in use: there seems to have been a distinction between 敬 錄 "copying *from* the revered," and 謹 錄 "copying carefully for" posterity. The expression 昧 死, "ignoring death," has been in occasional use down to our own day.

2. 錢 大 昕. He uses 荀 (instead of 孫 like Liu Hiang) and the fact of his adding 子 to *K'ing* seems to support the view that *k'ing* was not a personal name, but a qualificative, "Sün the minister-philosopher."

3. The reader is referred to page 1 of Vol. IV of this *Review*: it will be noticed that Sün-tsz was practically lost or ignored for 1,000 years, and even after Yang Liang's recovery (A.D. 817) was not on sale in the bookshops as a printed work for another 500 years or so. 謝 喜 善 is the Sieh Yung mentioned on page 1, and, as is now seen, was, still a few centuries later, a co-operator with Ts'ien Ta-hin: 盧 抱 經 is probably the *hao* or second appellation of Mr. Lu: between them these scholars appear to have reissued and again corrected the version printed during the Ming dynasty.

4. 儒 家, that is the purist Confucianists; 韓 退 之, A.D. 768-824, is the celebrated anti-Buddhist Han Yü, who was posthumously made 昌 黎 伯 in 1083.

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whatever to his [Sün-tsz's] being placed on a level with Mencius. The Sung Confucianist school[1] only had fault to find with the one chapter on the evilness of man's natural disposition. In my humble opinion Mencius' "goodness of man's disposition" means that he looked to men's cultivating their nature to the utmost and taking a delight in good, whilst Sün-tsz's "evilness of man's disposition" includes a hope that moral change might be effected by effort to make it good. Thus although the wording differs, still both sides are at one as to teaching man how to be good; and though the Sung Confucianists in defining "disposition" take the side of Mencius, still they find it necessary to divide the question into the two departments[2] of the "principle of right" and the "material activity," thus including both Mencius' and Sün-tsz's view of "right." As regards the teaching[3] men to begin by modifying their material activity, this is in reality a disguised use of Sün-tsz's doctrine of moral change. But then why criticize Sün-tsz's book unfavourably on the ground of so insignificant a flaw? The old books make use of the character 僞 in the sense of 爲, and when Sün-tsz says that man's disposition is evil, and that the good in it is 僞, he takes the character in the sense of 爲 "to make," and not in the sense of 僞 "false." Hence he pursues his subject in this sense by saying "that which you cannot learn, cannot function, and yet is inherent in man is his disposition," whilst "that which you can learn, and which you are able to function into concrete being within man is factitious."[4] Conversely, proof that 爲 may stand for 僞 is found in the *Yao Tien*, where the phrase 平秩南訛 occurs; the *Shï-ki* has 南爲, whilst the *Han Shu* in the chapter devoted to Wang Mang has 南僞. It is after having read the gentleman's preface, that I proceed to develop, for the information of future readers of the book, what he says on this point.

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1. 宋儒. Apparently "my humble opinion" means the opinion of Ts'ien Ta-hin in 1736.

2. 義理 and 氣質. Père Henri Doré, S.J., in *Variétés Sinologiques*, No. 51, pp. 457 *et seq.*, discusses this quasi homo-ousian or homoi-ousian distinction, which had already, 27 years earlier, been examined at length by Père Stanislas Le Gall, S.J., in No. 6 of the same *Variétés*.

3. 變化氣質; apparently the "teaching" means that of the Chu Hi school.

4. The translation of 僞 as "factitious" has been followed throughout my word for word translation of the celebrated Chapter 16 (to appear separately) on the evilness of man's disposition.

5. 公序. I suppose he means Sie Yung's preface. The *Yao Tien* is a chapter of the *Shu King*.

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THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE JESUITS AT THE CAPITAL OF CHINA

BY

A. C. MOULE

It is a very extraordinary fact, if it is (as I believe) a fact, that no complete translation has been published of the famous paragraph in the *Ming shih* which under the heading of 'Italy' gives an account of the arrival of Ricci and the early Jesuits at Peking. Bretschneider printed a translation or paraphrase of a large part of the passage in the *China Review*, Vol. IV, pp. 391-394 (reprinted in *Mediæval Researches*, 1910, Vol. II, pp. 324-330), but it will not perhaps seem superfluous to attempt an actual translation of the whole. It is only an attempt and contains, no doubt, many mistakes, of which corrections will be gratefully received.

"Italy is situated in the Great West Ocean. From ancient times it had no communication with China until in the Wan-li years Li Ma-tou (Matthæus Ricci), a native of that country, reached the capital and made the *Complete Map of all Countries*.[1] He said that in the world there are five large continents; the first called Asia, containing altogether a hundred kingdoms and more, and China ranks as one; the second called Europe, containing altogether seventy kingdoms and more, and Italy ranks as one; the third called Libya, also containing a hundred and more kingdoms; the fourth called America, of greater area and divided into two continents, south and north, which are joined together by a narrow strip of land; last of all we have Magellanica as the fifth.

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1. For detailed accounts of this map see *The Geographical Journal*, October 1917, December, 1918, January, February, 1919.

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And in these territories the whole earth is comprised. His words were vague and confused and unreliable, but since a native has penetrated to China there can be no doubt that the country really exists. Generally speaking all the kingdoms of Europe follow the teaching of the Lord of Heaven, Jesus. And Jesus was born in Judea, which kingdom is in the continent of Asia. He spread his teaching westward in Europe. He was originally born in *kêng shên*, the second Yüan-shou year of the Han emperor Ai (B.C. 1). It was only after 1581 years, in the ninth Wan-li year (A.D. 1581), that Li Ma-tou crossed ninety thousand *li* of ocean and landed at Ao (Macao) in the Hsiang-shan district of Kuang-chou, and proceeded to infect China with his teaching. In the twenty-ninth year (A.D. 1601) he entered the capital. The chamberlain Ma T'ang took his foreign things and presented them. He called himself a man of the Great West Ocean. The Board of Rites said, 'The *Hui tien* only has the kingdom of So-li in the West Ocean (? Chola in Maabar),' no Great West Ocean, and it is impossible to know the truth. And again the fact that he lodged in China for twenty years before he presented his tribute is not consistent with the words 'I desired righteousness in a distant land and have come specially to offer precious things.' And the tribute which he offered was a picture of the Lord of Heaven and the Mother of the Lord of Heaven, altogether improper things; and amongst what he brought were also bones of supernatural beings and such things. But since they say that supernatural beings can fly upwards of themselves, how can they have bones? Thus they are 'superfluous things of ill omen and disgusting things which ought not to enter the palace' of which Han Yü of the T'ang dynasty spoke. Much more then is it unnecessary to state that if foreign things of this kind were unceremoniously presented without passing our Board for translation and inspection, that was because the chamberlains introduced them in an irregular manner, and it was not the fault of our ignorance. And he received an order to present to our Board, but did not call at the Board for interpretation, and is lodging unofficially at a monastery. We do not know what his intention may be. But it is the rule that all foreigners who present tribute shall receive a return gift, and their envoys be rewarded with a feast. We beg that the Emperor will grant him a cap and girdle and send him back to his country without allowing him to remain in either of the capitals or to have intercourse with the Chinese and cause further trouble.' No notice was taken of this. In the eighth month (September 1601) they said again, 'We advise that Li Ma-tou should be ordered to go back to his country. Is

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it not strange that after waiting your Majesty's orders for five months we have had no reply? Men from distant lands are lonely and homesick and have their minds set on their return. If one examines the real truth there is a sincere reluctance for official position or gifts, and he has no thought but the wish for a house in the mountains and a lodge in the wilderness. Compare him to a bird or a deer which long imprisoned pines the more for the deep forests and luxuriant grass. Men's feelings are really the same. We beg that your majesty will speedily allow him to be sent to the regions of Chiang-hsi where we hear that deep in the hills and secluded valleys men linger long and enjoy old age.' Of this also no notice was taken. And indeed the Emperor, pleased with his having come so far, lent him a house and gave him provision and handsome presents. And from the nobility and gentry downwards all honoured him and joined in giving gifts to Ma-tou, and set his mind at rest. And thereafter he settled down and did not leave. In the fourth month of the thirty-eighth year he died[1] at the capital, and was granted burial outside the west wall.

"That year there was an eclipse of the sun on the first day of the eleventh month (15th December, 1610), and the astronomers had made a great error in the calculation. The court recommended the revision of the Kalendar. The next year Chou Tzŭ-yü, a President of the Five Officers,[2] reported: 'The missionaries from the Great West Ocean, P'ang Ti-o (Didacus de Pantoja) and Hsiung San-pa (Sabbatinus de Ursis) thoroughly understand the science of the kalendar, and the books on the subject which they have brought with them contain matter which the Chinese writings have not yet reached. They should be ordered to trans-

1. Matthaeus Ricci, whose Chinese names were Li, Ma-tou, Hsi-t'ai, was born at Macerata 6th October, 1552, entered the Company of Jesus 15th August, 1571, sailed from Lisbon 24th March, 1578, reached Goa 13th September, 1578, Macao early in August 1582, Shao-ch'ing 10th September, 1583, Peking 24th January, 1601, and died on the evening of Tuesday, 11th May, 1610. Cf. *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci*, Vol. I, pp. 619-622, 114, 123, 365 and 616. The Chinese history is inaccurate in every date. Ricci reached Macao in the tenth (not *ninth*) year of Wan-li and Peking in the twenty-eighth (not *twenty-ninth*) year; and he died on the 19th of the intercalary third (not *fourth*) month of 1610.

2. The Wu Kuan or Five officers, one for each season of the year, Spring, Summer, *Middle*, Autumn, Winter, were officials attached to the observatory sep at Peking. Cf. *Ming Shih* c. 74, fol. 7. The report of Chou Tzŭ-yü is mentioned at greater length in the *Ming shih* c. 31, fol. 7 r°, 8 r°, where Ricci, Pantoja, de Ursis, Longobardi, Terrenz, Schall, Emmanuel Diaz junior, and Rho, as well as the native mathematicians, the Prince Tsai-yu, Hsü Kuang-ch'i, and Li Chih-tsao, are all named.

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late and present these so that we may derive the benefit.' Wêng Chêng-ch'un and the other Vice-presidents of the Board of Rites then petitioned that just as at the beginning of Hung-wu (A.D. 1384) the rules of the Moslem kalendar had been adopted, so now Ti-o and his companions should be ordered to join in examining and correcting it. This was approved.

"From the time that Ma-tou entered China the missionaries came in increasing numbers. There was Wang Fêng-su (Alphonsus Vagnoni) who lived at Nan-ching and devoted himself to misleading the people with the teaching of the Lord of Heaven. Gentry and officials as well as the poor people of the lanes and alleys were among those who were deceived. Hsü Ju-k'o, Secretary of the Board of Rites, hated him. These missionaries also boasted that their customs, land and eminent men were far superior to those of China. So Ju-k'o summoned two men and ordered them to write a note to show that what was recorded in all the [missionaries'] books was entirely false, misleading and inconsistent. And then he lost no time in advising that they should be banished. In the forty-fourth year (1616) he joined with the Vice-president[1] Shên Ch'üeh and the Censor Yen Wên-hui to destroy their false teaching and deceiving of the people, and raised the suspicion that they were the agents of the Franks and urged their prompt expulsion. The censor for the department of Rites, Yü Mou-tzŭ, also made a report that 'since Li Ma-tou came to the east and the teaching of the Lord of Heaven was introduced into China, Wang Fêng-su and Yang Ma-no (Em. Diaz junior) have stayed in the capital (Nan-ching) and seduced large numbers of the people to the number of not less than ten thousand[2] to worship at new and full moon, using a thousand devices to entice. There are prohibitions both of intercourse with foreigners and of heretical religions, but now without concealment they meet at night and disperse in the morning exactly like the White Lotus or the Inaction societies. And they go to and fro and are plotting secretly with the foreigners at Ao, while the local officials take no steps to expel them. And what is become of the government's order of prohibition?' The emperor accepted this memorial, and in the twelfth month (January, 1617) ordered Fêng-su, Ti-o, and the others all to be sent to Kuang-tung to await the order to

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1. *Chi shih chung.* A chairman of one of the sub-committees of the censorate which were attached to the Six Boards respectively. P. Hoang, *Mélanges sur l'Administration*, p. 172; *Ming shih* c. 74, fol. 5r°.

2. "Nous avons constaté la présence de cinq mille convertis pour toute la Chine, vers 1613." H. Havret, *Var. Sinologiques* No. 12, p. 97.

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go back to their own land. Though the order had long ago gone down, no move was made, nor did the local officials make any enquiry. In the forty-sixth year and the fourth month (May or June 1618) Ti-o and the others petitioned saying, 'Your servants, more than ten men, with your late servant Li Ma-tou, have crossed ninety thousand *li* of ocean to see the light and at your capital have humbly enjoyed important posts for seventeen years. But lately south and north have impeached us and have advised that we should be expelled. How can there be any disloyal plotting or how can we dare to do any evil in our religious practices and study of the Way and worship of the Lord of Heaven? Only let the emperor's wisdom have pity and we will seize the first fair wind to return to the capital. If we live in an island we shall give rise to suspicion all the more. We beg that your most humble servants in the region of the south capital may equally be pardoned together with us.' This was not granted but they went away disappointed. Fêng-su proceeded to change his names and returned to Nan-ching and taught as before.[6] The officials at court were unable to detect him.

"The country (Italy) has still in making cannon larger than those of the West Ocean (? Coromandel). When they have been imported into the interior the Chinese have often made copies of them, which they have not been able to use. In the T'ien-ch'i (1621-1628) and Ch'ung-chêng (1628-1644) reigns, when there was fighting in the north-east, they often sent to fetch men from Ao to the capital to drill the troops in the use of these cannon. And the men displayed the utmost energy. In the Ch'ung-chêng reign the kalendar had become even more confused, and Hsü Kuang-ch'i, President of the Board of Rites, petitioned that the missionaries Lo Ya-ku (Jacobus Rho), T'ang Jo-wang (Adam Schall) and the others should be directed to compare it with the new system of their country, and that an office should be opened for the compilation [of a new kalendar]. This was granted. After a long time the book was finished. Since it took the first Ch'ung-chêng year, *mou ch'ên* (1628), as the first year of the kalendar, it was named *The Ch'ung-chêng Kalendar*. Though it is not yet published and

6. Vagnoni changed his names to *Kao* and *I-chih* ('one purpose') and is said to have returned to Nan-ching in 1624. Havret, *Var. Sinologiques*, No. 12, p. 25. Some inconsistencies must be noted. Pantoja, who here makes a petition in May or June 1618, is said to have died in January that year. Havret, id. p. 16; *Catalogus pp. et ff.*, etc., p. 3. And Vagnoni himself, who reached China in 1605, is said elsewhere in the *Ming shih* to have been at Nan-ching *with Ricci*.

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in use, the method is superior to that of the *Ta-t'ung Kalendar*, and some of the learned have made use of it.

"Those who have come to the east from this land are, generally speaking, all clever men, scholars specially sent for the purpose of propagating their teaching without seeking rewards or wealth. The majority of the books which they have written are what the Chinese have not yet treated of. And so all those who are fond of curiosities continually honour them, and scholars and officials like Hsü Kuang-ch'i, Li Chih-tsao, and P'ei Shou, approved of their words and added polish to the style of their writing, so that their teaching prospered rapidly.

"Others who made a name at that time in China were Lung Hua-min, Pi Fang-chi, Ai Ju-lüeh, Têng Yü-han. Hua-min, Fang-chi, Ju-lüeh and Hsiung San-pa were all of Italy; Yü Han was from Germany; P'ang Ti-o from Spain; and Yang Ma-no from Portugal. These are all countries in the continent of Europe. What they say of their customs and products is for the most part exaggerated, and there are books which record the foreign things brought as tribute, so they are not written down here." (*Ming shih* c. 326, fol. 7 v°-9 r°.)

To this is added a short extract from the Records of Hang-chou.

"Li Ma-tou, surnamed Hsi-t'ai, was a man of the Great West Ocean, with a curly beard, blue eyes and a voice like a great bell. In the ninth (*sic*) Wan-li year in the Ming dynasty, admitted to an audience in the capital, he presented books, images and foreign things which he had brought. He was intelligent, witty and of manifold ability, understanding Chinese books and documents, and able to repeat what he had once glanced at. Famous nobles and great officers of that day all held him in high regard. His special department of learning was the method for determining the kalendar and constructing (mathematical) instruments. The Emperor granted him a house and gave him an official stipend.

"Afterwards Fu Fan-chi (Franciscus Furtado), Chin Ni-ko (Nicholas Trigault), Yang Ma-no, Ai Ju-lüeh, came in succession. They were on friendly terms with the Hang-chou men Yang T'ing-yün (Michael Yang) and Li Chih-tsao (Leo Li), and built a temporary dwelling by the Lake. Later they moved to within the Ch'ien-t'ang gate. Early in Shun-chih (c. A.D. 1650), having been enclosed within the Manchu wall, they moved again to a spot west of the T'ien-shui bridge.[1]

1. The Roman Mission (now Lazarist) still occupies this site, and the fine gateway is thought to date from the seventeenth century.

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"Shih Tsu composed a Preface for the tablet of the Church of the Lord of Heaven to be piously presented in the Church at Wu-lin (Hang-chou) as a mark of distinction.

"The graves are at Fang-ching."[1]

1. *Jên-ho hsien chih* c.22, fol. 21, 22. This passage was first published by Bishop G. E. Moule in *The Chinese Recorder*, 1889, p. 82; cf. *Notes on Hangchow past and present*, 1907, pp. 16, 43-47 (*Cemetery of the Jesuit Mission at Fang-ching*). Further references to the missionaries will be found in the *Ming shih* c.21, fol. 2r° (Wan-li 38th year: "Li Ma-tou of the Great West Ocean presented foreign things"); c. 25 (Astronomy), fol. 1 ("Li Ma-tou of the West Ocean . . . "), c.31 (Kalendar), fol. 1. 6-8; c.218 (Biography of Shên Ch'üeh), fol. 9r° ("Li Ma-tou of the West Ocean brought tribute and settled at Nan-ching with his followers Wang Fêng-su and others . . . "); c. 251 (Biography of Hsü Kuang-ch'i), fol. 6 ("He learnt . . . from Li Ma-tou"), 7 ("The Emperor ordered the men from the West Ocean, Lung Hua-min, Têng Yü-han, Lo Ya-ku, to revise the calculation of the kalendar . . . "); and probably elsewhere. A list of the missionaries named above besides Ricci is added :—

Chinese Names	*Native Names*	*Birth*	*Arrival in China*	*Death*	*Country*
Ai Ju-lueh Ssü-chi	Julius Aleni ..	1582	1613	3 Aug. 1649	Italy
Chin Ni-ko Ssü-piao	Nicholas Trigault	3 Mar. 1577	1610	14 Nov. 1628	France
Fu Fan-chi T'i-chai	FranciscusFurtado	1587	1621	21 Nov. 1653	Portugal
Hsiung San-pa Yu-wang	SabbatinusdeUrsis	1575	1606	3 May 1620	Naples
Lo Ya-ku Wei-shao	Jacobus Rho ..	1590	1624	26 Apr. 163?	Italy
Lung Hua-min Ching-hua ..	Nicolas Longobardi	1559	1597	11 Dec. 1654	Sicily
P'ang Ti-o Shung-yang	Didacus de Pantoja	1571	1599	1618	Spain
Pi Fang-chi Chin-liang	Franciscus Sambiaso	1582	1613	Jan. 1649	Naples
T'ang Jo-wang Tao-wei.. ..	Joh. Adam Schall von Bell ..	1591	1622	15 Aug. 1666	Germany
Têng Yu-han Han-p'u	Johannes Terrenz	1576	1621	13 May 1630	Switzerland
Wang Fêng-su } Tsê- Kao I-chih } shêng	Alphonsus Vagnoni	1566	{1605 1624}	19 Apr. 1640	Italy
Yang Ma-no Yen-hsi	Emmanuel Diaz ..	1574	1610	1 Mar. 1659	Portugal

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ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE YIN-YANG THEORY

BY

LÉOPOLD DE SAUSSURE

In the *New China Review* of last year (p. 400) analysing a recent work on the Chinese astronomical system, Dr. H. Chatley notes that its author freely adopts the theory of the antiquity of the Yin-Yang idea ; and he adds :

" Is this antiquity quite certain ? The two characters certainly occur on the Stone Drums, but not in their philosophical connection and it is perhaps questionable whether the Pa Kua were analysed in the Yin and Yang as such, before the time of Wên Wang. The bone relics will eventually allow this point to be settled."

The first step in such a discussion should be to define what is meant by Yin and Yang. It is well known that these terms do not appear before the Chow dynasty and are not even to be found in the main text of the Yi, where the opposition of the lineal figures is denominated by Kang 剛 and Jou 柔. In the ancestral worship an analogous opposition between the alternative generations is called Chao 昭 and Muh 穆. But these are simply different aspects of a similar idea, and this idea symbolised by the trigrams is of an astronomical and cosmological order.

For defining the modifications which may have occurred in the doctrine right through the course of ages, it would be most helpful to have contemporary evidence. But it is not necessary to wait till the deciphering of the bone relics informs us on the matter, to prove the essential idea expressed in the trigrams and in the dualistic opposition. If this idea has been little understood up to now, it is simply because the unity and the value of the astronomico-cosmological system of Chinese antiquity have not

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been sufficiently recognized. The proper understanding of this system allows us to assert now what was the dualistic theory originally.

In all the primitive centres of civilization, it is the contemplation of the sky which supplied the earliest notions on the order of nature ; for it is much easier to discover the laws of the apparent mechanism of the asters than those which regulate terrestrial life. On the other hand, the physical and physiological phenomena throughout the seasons succeed one another in correlation with sidereal solar revolution. This manifest tie between cause and effect was the fundamental data of dawning philosophy ; and quite naturally, the effect of the astral course on the meteorological and physiological phenomena, not being exactly determined, was extended to all terrestrial events.

Four centuries ago Copernicus himself asserted that the occult influence of the moon making itself felt at a distance through the tide and women's menses, it was not irrational to suppose that asters also have an influence on men's dispositions and on terrestrial events. Words such as : lunatic, jovial, martial, have remained in our occidental languages as a testimony to astrological belief still unanimously acknowledged at a recent epoch.

But in primitive China ideas of that kind were systematized in a much more complete manner than anywhere else. Wanting in logic, the Chinese mind is inclined to symmetry ; and it is symmetry, inspired by the cardinal phasis of the annual revolution, which has served as a basis for its philosophical conception of the Universe. Since the remotest antiquity, at the time when the symmetry of the *siu* 宿 divided into four sidereal seasons was settled, the celestial and the terrestrial universes were each divided in a similar fashion into five regions : of which one is central and four peripheral.[1]

In the sky, the centre of the central region 中宮 was marked by the Polar star, where the Heavenly Emperor, the Shang Ti, was residing. On the earth the centre of the central region 中國 was marked by the capital of the Son of Heaven. In the sky the four peripheral regions were marked by the solstices and equinoxes ; on the earth by the four cardinal points. This equivalence was such that in the celestial universe and in the terrestrial one the divisions were the same ; the four regions of the firmament corresponding to the four seasons were called oriental, meridional, occidental and boreal quarters.

1. See the *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XX : *The Origin of Chinese Astronomy ;* and in the *New China Review* of December 1921 : *The Lunar Zodiac.*

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The *Ts'u hoi* trigrams which indicate the centre and limits of the four quarters, and the 十二支 which symbolize the twelve months of the year, apply indifferently to the periphery of the celestial world (i.e., the equator) or to the periphery of the terrestrial world (i.e., the horizon). They apply also indifferently to the annual or to the diurnal revolution, to the month in the year or to the hours in the day.[1]

It stands to reason that, in this unitarian and synthetic system, the celestial Emperor being placed in the centre of the heavens and the terrestrial Emperor in the centre of the earth, it is from the centre that must emanate authority, power, creation. The four quarters which bring forth the seasons being at an equal distance from the centre, it is therefore from the centre that must emanate the two antithetic principles whose effect manifests itself at the periphery : 太極是生兩儀.

The *Yi King* treating precisely of astrology and of the changes which take place in the course of the cosmological revolution, it is clear one cannot grasp its sense if one ignores the existence of this cosmological system. Therefore the most eminent sinologists, for want of knowing that system, have hardly understood the general signification, both physical and metaphysical, of the trigrams.

The distinction made by Dr. H. Chatley between " the Pa Kua " and " the Yin-Yang as such " seems to be inspired by the views expressed by Legge in the Introduction of his *Yi King* translation (S. B. E., Vol. XVI) in which he writes :

" It is in the third Appendix that we first meet with the names Yin and Yang ;[2] up to this point, instead of them, the

1. The measure of the hours is only found in the *Chou Li* and was scarcely used in civil life ; but the assimilation of the diurnal revolution with the annual revolution, generalized by the dualistic theory, goes back to the creation of the system. It is shown forth in the text of the *Yao tien*, where spring and summer (*yang* seasons) corresponded with day, autumn and winter (*yin* seasons) with night.

2. On this occasion Legge recalls what he has asserted of the significance of the names *Yin* and *Yang* as meaning bright and dark, derived from the property of sun and moon. It is true that the sun represents day and Yang, and that the moon represents night and Yin. But just as the theory of the five elements does not derive from the five planets, so likewise the dualistic theory does not derive from either the sun or moon. The fundamental basis of the Chinese conception lies in the revolution of the seasons, in the alternation of heat and cold, of darkness and light. The two antithetic principles (whatever their original name might be) were later symbolized by the moon and the sun, just as the five elements (though one of them, earth, corresponds to the centre) were afterwards symbolized by the five planets.

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names for the two elementary forms of the lines have been Kang and *Jou*[1] which I have translated by *strong* and *weak*."

"We may use for these adjectives a variety of others, such as active and inactive, masculine and feminine, hot and cold, more or less analogous to them; but there arises the important question —do we find *yang* and *yin* not merely used to indicate the quality of what they are applied to, but at the same time with substantial force, denoting what has the quality which the name denotes? Had the doctrine of a primary matter of an ethereal nature, now expanding and showing itself full of activity and power as *yang* now contracting and becoming weak and inactive as *yin*,—had this doctrine become a matter of speculation when this Appendix was written? The Chinese critics and commentators for the most part assume that it had; and foreign Chinese scholars repeat this statement without question. I have sought in vain for proof of what is asserted. It took more than a thousand years from the closing of the *Yi* to fashion in the Confucian school the doctrine of a primary matter. We do not find it fully developed till the era of the Sung dynasty. To find it in the *Yi* is the logical, or rather illogical, error of putting the last first. Neither creation nor cosmogony was before the mind of the author whose work I am analysing." (p.44)

How far is this digression on a primary matter (not at all in question) from the evident and real meaning of the trigrams, that is to say, the dualistic conception of the revolution which appears in nature by the succession of night and day, of winter and summer! Though not understanding this general view of the primitive astronomical cosmology, Legge has noted that the trigrams are in connection with the revolution of the year, saying:—

"I now call attention to paragraphs 8, 10(of the 5th Appendix), where the author speaks of the work of God in nature in all the year as a progress through the trigrams, and as being effected by His Spirit." (p. 50.)

But Legge has made no general use of this fragmentary text, which did not lead him to a better comprehension of the whole question. This is clearly shown in the following passage where he gives a mere formal explanation of the terms:—

"Two elementary Forms 儀," "Four emblematic Symbols 象," and "Great Extreme 太極," which manifestly represent the two antithetic principles, the four heavenly quarters corresponding to the seasons, and the pole.

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1. Legge wrote "Kang" and "Zau," but as the romanization of the S.B.E. is special to this collection, his orthography may be here changed.

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On page 12 he says:—

"The 70th and 71st paragraphs of Section I give this account of the origin of the trigrams :—

'In (the system of) the Yi there is the Great Extreme, which produced the two I (Elementary Forms). These two Forms produced the four Hsiang (Emblematic Symbols); which again produced the eight Kwa (or Trigrams). The eight Kwa served to determine the good and evil (issue of events), and from this determination there ensued the (prosecution of the) great business of life.

"The two elementary Forms, the four emblematic Symbols, and the eight Trigrams can all be exhibited with what may be deemed certainty. A whole line (——) and a divided line (— —) were the two I. These two lines placed over themselves, and each of them over the other, formed the four Hsiang ☰ ☱ ☲ ☳. The same two lines placed successively over these Hsiang, formed the eight Kwa, exhibited above.

"Who will undertake to say what is meant by 'the Great Extreme' which produced the two elementary Forms ? Nowhere else does the name occur in the old Confucian literature.[1] I have no doubt myself that it found its way into this Appendix in the fifth (? or fourth) century B.C. from a Taoist source."

According to this explanation, which only keeps to the letter and not to the spirit, the entities here in question consist simply in lines ; this is in accordance with the general definition given by Legge (p. 10) : "The Yi consists of essays based on lineal figures," no allusion being added to the significance of these lineal figures.

This incomprehensibility is not a mere occidental one. Modern native scholars show the same ignorance.[2] Whilst searching

1. Contrariwise, the old Confucian literature and the doctrine of Confucius himself are based on the physico-moral determinism deriving from the heavenly laws of the cosmological revolution around the polar centre called 太極, 皇極, 太乙, 天乙, 天極, 皇帝, etc.; these expressions being equivalent and applied to the Heavenly Emperor, to the Earthly Emperor and to the Polar Star. According to Legge's own translation of the *Lun-yü* the Master said : "He who exercises government by means of his virtue, may be compared to the Polar star, which keeps its place, and all the stars turn towards it" (C. C., I, p. 9). It is to be noted that, just as, in the 史記 *Shih Ki* description of Heaven, the first sentence is consecrated to the Polar star (Chavannes, Mém. Hist. III, p. 339) so likewise in the Treatise on Government 論語爲政, the first sentence, above quoted, is consecrated to the Ruler compared to the Polar star.

2. This ignorance of native and western Chinese scholars is also shown by their blindness as to the origin of the *Twelve Animals cycle* derived from the application of the *Yin Yang* theory to zoology, as proved in the fifth Appendix of the *Yi*. But Legge, instead of carefully studying the interesting information given there on the question, only despises and rejects it : "I confess my sympathy with P. Régis when he condenses the fifth Appendix into small space, holding that the 8th and following paragraphs are not worthy to be translated. They contain, he says, nothing but the mere enumeration of things, some of which may be called *yang*, and others *yin*, without any other cause of thus thinking being given." (See : *Le Cycle des douze Animaux et le Symbolisme cosmologique des Chinois*, *Journal Asiatique*, Janvier, 1920.)

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in vain for the sense of "Great Extreme," Legge has put forth a modern Chinese hypothesis:

"Choo Hsi, in his 'Lessons on the Yi for the Young' gives for it the figure of a circle, observing that he does so from the philosopher Chow (1017-1073) and cautioning his readers against thinking that such a representation came from Fu-hsi himself." (p. 12).

This interpretation does not agree with Legge's and he concluded that "the attempt to fashion the Great Extreme as a circle must be pronounced a failure." But in fact, the supposition of Choo Hsi is of the same kind as Legge's idea, according to which the terms of the Yi are mere geometrical figures.

"Who will undertake to say what is meant by the Great Extreme?" he exclaims. It is not difficult to solve this mystery; but the elementary principles above set forth are so entirely unknown to the most eminent sinologists that they see no analogy between the Great Extreme 太極 of the *Yi* and the 天極 of the *Shih Ki*, or the 皇極 of the *Hong fan*.[1]

Neither Legge nor Chavannes in their translations of the *Hong fan*, has remarked that the chapter concerning the Sovereign is the fifth, because 5 is the centre of the 8 chapters (corresponding to the eight trigrams, *i.e.*, to the limits and the middle of the four seasons). Legge even adds these astounding annotations (C.C., III, p. 328):

"Choo's criticism is correct in rejecting the definition of 極 by 中 . . .

"I have already observed that no place is found for this in the numerical scheme of the 'Great Plan,' arranged according to the principles of the *Yih King*. There are only 8 diagrams, not 9. This might have shown the critics that this book was not to be treated on those principles."

Thus, in his complete ignorance of the fundamental principle of the Chinese cosmology—the Centre surrounded by the four regions (or the eight half-regions)—Legge shuts his eyes to the fact that in the nine chapters of the *Hong fan*, one (the median) is consecrated to the Centre, *i.e.*, to the August Extreme; and, some years later, when he finds the term Great Extreme in the *Yi King* he sees no analogy between these two denominations. He does

1. Gaubil, however, had long ago written: "Dans le *Chouking*, chapitre *Hong fan*, l'empereur est désigné par le caractère du pôle. Cette idée de l'empereur sous le titre du pôle est clairement marquée par Confucius" (See *T'oung Pao*, 1910, p. 273; 1920, p. 89).

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not understand that the Pole, at an equal distance from the peripheral quarters, is considered as the Supreme Power giving birth to the two principles and to the four seasons.

A complete discussion on the antiquity of the Yin-Yang theory would require a more detailed account of the Chinese cosmological system ; therefore a further article will deal with " the Centre and the Four Quarters."

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SPONTANEITY

by

Dr. Zoltán de Takács.

The contemplation of nature by Chinese artists, inasmuch as they remained untouched by the materialistic feeling of the West, always bore the distinct character of an animism of the remotest antiquity. The children of the Far East, though they be artists, show a religious veneration for nature. They estimate the natural forms untouched by man's hand higher than any artistic products, taking them for a purer, more immediate expression of the great Soul of the World.

For them strange phenomena in nature showing suggestive contrasts, are equivalent to works of art, and works of art are of the more importance, the more they seem to have arisen involuntarily.

But how can this be brought into harmony with one of the principal qualities of Chinese art, its decorative character? The answer is simply this:

There is no soil for the principle ot symmetry in the art of the Far East. This principle asserts itself in that art only when it is practically conditioned, as in architecture and ceramic art, or in twisting and weaving. In all other cases, the Chinese artist is simply led by the fundamental thought of his natural philosophy. His works are intended to be, if possible, the direct expressions of the Yang and Yin, the forces of the Positive and Negative, influencing and filling all the world. This accounts for the significant contrasts of the composition of Chinese works of art, in which he who is not acquainted with their mysteries sees nothing but picturesque improvisations.

At the same time the ornamental character of the single motives is calligraphically conditioned. On the other hand, Chinese calligraphy had to go through several phases of evolution,

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and its transformations had always a decisive influence on the form-giving of the representative arts. The first Chinese written characters were primitive, rough representations of natural forms, which gradually were improved into lapidary linear intimations of things and thoughtful designs of ideas. Reducing the forms to their fundamental principles, they gained a symbolical strength, a force of expression which is inherent in the free flight of thought. Therefore they became formulas, rendering perceptible the inner-most impulsive force, the soul, the sense of nature, and not its outside appearance. . Thus the principal aim of Chinese painting is to communicate the "Life movement of the Spirit through the Rhythm of Things"; [1] it is explicable as an effort to invent suggestive formulas, and even miraculous illusions.

The Chinese manner of expression is abrupt in writing as well as in representative, and even in decorative art. Abbreviated expressions and shortenings of form are used in Eastern Asiatic art in the place of the whole, with corresponding emphasis. The interruptions are left to the imagination and artistic feeling of the contemplator.

Nevertheless precise formulizing belongs to the most evident qualities of Eastern Asiatic art. Casual indication or sketchy delineation is quite foreign to its spirit. What to the incomparably less differentiating perception of the West seems to be a sketchy representation, is in truth a calligraphical, that is a decorative virtuosoship. The calligraphic or ornamental formulas, however, do not appear as common professional tricks, but rather as spontaneous artistic expressions of temperament.

Consequently the decorative feeling of the Chinese arises not from the mere desire for optical delight, but from a deep disposition to cosmic philosophy. In the incessantly quoted first canon of Hsieh-Ho, we have not to lay stress upon the rhythm of the things, but upon the life-movement of the spirit. Therefore the decorative effort of the East Asiatic spirit, decisive in all creations of art, has its basis in a spontaneous expression of the form-giving forces of nature, and not in principles invented by human intellect, as for instance, proportionality, created by symmetry.

As we mentioned already, the forms of art of Eastern Asia are gradually deduced. The expression of a Chinese artist is the more perfect, the more intensively he deduces the style of his forms. The ideal inspiring an Asiatic artist is not the representation of the form, but, as far as possible, the pregnant statement of its sense; therefore the classical forms of art of the Far East

1. Okakura Kakuzo, *The Ideals of the East*, p. 52.

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are forms of nature simplified to symbols. They are the more appreciated, the better they symbolize the ideas realized in the corresponding forms of nature.

The circumstance that the art of the Far East simplifies the forms of nature to symbols, representing only the pure essence of things, shows us the extraordinarily deep feeling of the Chinese for the beauty of Nature. Ideas, growing ripe so far as to gain symbolic signification, take much deeper roots in our consciousness, than those whose signification is inseparable from their material shape. Forms which lead back to ideal purity, signify more and show a subtler power of comprehending the things portrayed, than a merely objective representation of nature.

The artists of the Far East are not copying nature. The Chinese and Japanese painters renounce even the painting of shadows. Consequently they are not copying the material part of the things. That is also a proof that they do not represent the surface of things. They do not illustrate the things, but they communicate in an æsthetic form the natural thoughts realized by their natural shapes.

And we must repeatedly emphasize, that the æsthetics of the Far East do not at all depend on any invention of the intellect, or on any result of human thought, but only on personal congeniality with the creative thought of Nature, the "Tao." The more immediately and unconsciously the Tao of the Chinese artist finds its expression, the mightier is his work.

The Eastern Asiatic connoisseur seeks the greatest merit of a painting or a plastic work in the quality of the touch or the modelling rather than in the working with the brush or chisel. Touches are only appreciated for their precision, boldness and readiness. The searching, groping hand has no claim on artistic esteem. What the West regards as slapdash, mannerism and convention, is highly esteemed in the Far East as a sacred tradition, if the movement of the artist's hand is mentally influenced, and an interesting temperament, the Tao of the artist, is finding its expression by a spontaneous decorative leading of the artistic tool.

Thus is it to be explained, that in the painting of the Far East, a touch—in principle—is equivalent to a whole composition. This explains also the equivalence of painting and calligraphy, which has so often been emphasized,—calligraphy being also a communication of conventionally reproduced natural forms, viz., natural thoughts.

The whole art-criticism of the West agrees in the standpoint, that nature is the teacher of art, and that the most valuable ele-

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ment of an artistic work is the personal animation of nature, the personal artistic experience, depending on a close investigation of visible nature.

According to the standpoint of the West, forms of art are the more valuable, the more immediately they express the contemplative work of the spirit. All efforts at reform in the history of Western art refer to this postulate.

The art-criticism of the Far East is from a standpoint essentially different from the above. According to this standpoint, study and free creative practice of art are two processes of a thoroughly different character. The observation of nature is confined only to the preparation of a work of art. The latter arises spontaneously, from images of the memory intensively appropriated by long consideration and repeated contemplations.

Thus is it that the artist of Eastern Asia cannot be expected to give a naturalistic representation, i.e., an imitation of nature without mental reservation, notwithstanding that he observes nature more sharply, comprehends it more inwardly, and following his cosmical and not anthropocentric view of life, brings it into harmony with his own self more perfectly, than his rival of the West. He perceives the smallest details with a microscopic eye, but he does not enter into a representation of accidentals, into a natural or into an illusive reproduction of forms, or rendering of appearances. The assertion that Eastern Asiatic art is impressionistic, is a statement worthy of the superficiality of modern criticism of art. Impressionism signifies the complete dependency on the impression of a single moment. And where can this kind of directness be found in Eastern Asiatic art, which endeavours to realize its highest aspirations in plastic art as well as in painting by means of abstractions ?

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TWO ART OBJECTS

FROM THE

COLLECTION OF R. D. ABRAHAM, ESQ.

SUNG. Plate of Ting Yao Ware. Bronze band on rim. Diameter 10-*in.*

This plate is of Ting ware, and description of its glaze and material is not necessary, for its fame is well known.

It is often thought that this ware is the loftiest of all Chinese ware in the æsthetic sense, and was recognized as such during the Ming period, when it was prized above all others. The soft creamy glaze covers designs of birds, and flowers either incised or in relief, with an eye to rhythm, that is akin to music. This ware makes an appeal to the quiet and imaginative mind; the attraction lies in its passive purity, and is more powerful than that of pottery or porcelain with glazes of variegated hues.

Here the art collector finds his ideal of excellence. The Sung patrons of art and poetry revelled in this ware.

T'ANG. Bronze Mirror. Diameter 6¼-*in.*

A metal mirror of the T'ang period is here shown; it is of black bronze, which is so highly prized in China.

Four vivacious Pegasuses in relief half fly, half gallop over the surface of the Mirror's back. Their flying tails, extended feet, and drawn-out necks all show the speed at which they are travelling round and round.

The design is unusual, and it would be interesting to know whether the flying horses on the back of the mirror convey any meaning. The appearance of great speed is here represented by the horses having their four feet off the ground; it is held that, while effective and giving the idea of full gallop, it is actually in-

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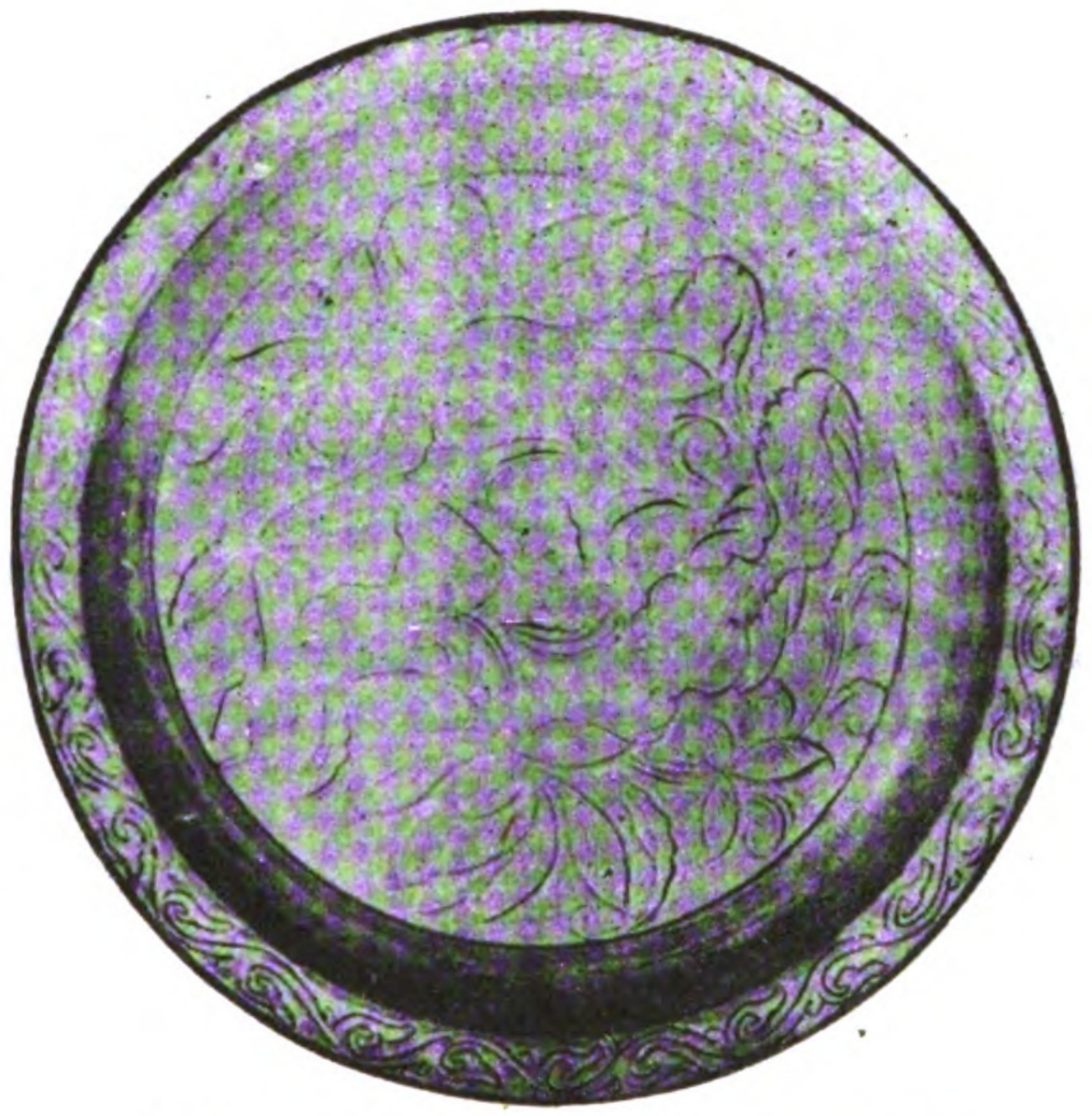

SUNG. PLATE OF TING YAO WARE.
Bronze band on rim. Diameter 10 inches.

T'ANG BRONZE MIRROR. Diameter 6¼ inches.

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correct, for it never occurs that all the four feet are off the ground at the same time.

(See Revue Archéologique, Mars/Avril, 1900, par Salomon Reinach).

We see the virility of Tang act in these flying horses, and are struck also by the material used and the " finish " given to the complete work.

Perhaps it was mirrors such as these that the women of Israel offered for the making of metal utensils for Divine use in the desert.

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THE FEAST OF COLD FOOD

BY

LEWIS HODOUS.

This feast is called Han Shih (寒食), meaning eating cold food. It dates from the time when the Chinese extinguished the fire in the kitchen for a few days and then re-lighted it. During this time they ate cold food. Hence the name. It is also called Chin yen (禁炎), 'forbidding fire.'

The time of extinguishing the fires according to Huai Nan Tzŭ (died B.C. 122) was "fifteen days after the equinox of spring, when the handle of the great dipper points to the east, and the clear pure wind comes." The Ching Ch'u Sui Shih Chi (荆楚歲時記), written during the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502-555), says: "One hundred and five days after the winter solstice there is a violent wind and heavy rain. This is called Han Shih. Fires are forbidden for three days. The people make sugar and barley gruel." This work describes the customs of the region now known as Hunan and Hupeh. This feast comes before our Easter and two days before the Ch'ing Ming festival.

The custom of extinguishing fires at this time of the year was observed in ancient China. According to the Chow Li, "The officers in charge of fire, in the second month of spring, made their rounds sounding a wooden rattle in order to enforce the extinguishing of fires." The wooden rattle survives to this day. It is sold on the streets for a few cash. The vendor goes along the street sounding it in order to attract the children of the neighborhood. We find similar rattles sold just about Easter time in different parts of Europe. These playthings, found in localities separated by such long distances, refer to customs similar in purpose.

This custom of putting out fires in the spring is found among worshippers of the sun. The time of the vernal equinox, according to the view of primitive man, is a critical time for the sun. The powers of darkness and death are especially active, and the spring sun struggles against them valiantly. There are not wanting

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at this time, however, signs of his victory. The willows are sending forth their buds and the grass is sending forth its green blades. The knolls and hillsides turned toward the sun are green with the fresh verdure of spring. The powers of darkness and death make a last attempt to extinguish the sun by the equinoctial storm, but after the storm the sun smiles more brightly than before and the pure clear wind comes.

Primitive man feels that he too has a share in this struggle between the sun and the powers of darkness. Not only is his happiness dependent upon the victory of the sun over the powers of death, but he believes that by his actions and his ceremonies he is able to help the sun in this great struggle. From this arise a large number of customs observed in different parts of the world, but possessing in common one and the same functional purpose, namely, assisting the spring sun in his struggle against darkness and death.

The best way of assisting the struggle was to extinguish the fire in the stove and eat cold food for several days. This was done from very ancient times. According to the Chow Li the custom was enforced by the government. By the time of the Wei dynasty (A.D. 471-532) the tenacious observance of the custom caused such mortality among the young and the aged that it was forbidden by imperial edict in A.D. 474. The law could not be enforced, however. The custom was forbidden in the district of Chieh, Shansi, and permitted elsewhere. Soon after the custom was forbidden there was a violent hail storm in this region. Many people were killed and the crops were damaged. This calamity was attributed by the superstitious populace to the imperial decree which forbade them to extinguish their fires. The custom was was accordingly reinstated in A.D. 196.

During the T'ang dynasty, A.D. 618-905, and during the Sung dynasty, A.D. 960-1278, the emperors distributed at the time of this feast burning sticks of elm and willow to the officials near the throne. This was done to harmonize the *yang* vapours. It is also reported that the children of servants in the imperial kitchen vied with one another in producing fire by friction. The one who obtained fire first ran to the emperor and was presented with three rolls of silk and a metal bowl.

The popular tradition attaches the custom of extinguishing the fire to Chieh Chih T'ui (介之推). According to the Tso Chuen, Wen Kung, the prince of Tsin (B.C. 696-628), the present Shansi, had a faithful follower called Chieh Chih T'ui, who shared the prince's exile in B.C. 654. When the prince returned to power in B.C. 635, Chih T'ui declined all reward and in order to escape the

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prince's urgency he disappeared in the forests of Mien Shan (綿山.) The prince searched for him, but could not find him and so changed the name of the mountain to Chieh Shan (介山). Thus far the Tso Chuen.[1]

According to later legend, the prince set the forest on fire in order to drive him from his hiding place; Chih T'ui clasped hands with his mother about a tree, and perished in the flames. During the third month, when this happened, fires were forbidden and food was eaten cold. This is the story related to-day in explanation of the feast. We have seen, however, that the explanation is quite different.

Numerous other customs practised at this season in different dynasties and in various places will serve to illustrate the origin and the significance of this festival. Among these is the custom of colouring eggs. Kuan Tzŭ, who died B.C. 645, writes: "Colour eggs, boil them, and break them. This is whereby we bring out that which has been accumulated and stored up. This is an emblem of dispersing and distributing all living things." Just as the life is stored up in the egg, so it is in the earth and at this time the victorious sun breaks the shell and brings it out from its dark abode.

In Foochow, at present, dumplings are made with peppermint chopped up and mixed with rice or other vegetables inside. These have their origin in the remote past and symbolize the same idea as the eggs.

The kicking of the shuttlecock, which is now a favourite pastime of school boys in China, probably originated here, though the invention is also attributed to the emperor Hwangti (B.C. 2697-2597).

The swing and the merry-go-round found in certain parts of China have their origin here. The motion originally was intended to assist in the struggle of the spring sun. The History of the Province of Shantung describes the festivities of Shou Kuang Hsien (壽光縣). "Two days before the Ch'ing Ming they forbid fires and tread upon the green grass. They make a place for theatricals. Some act their plays in theatres. Others dress up as female magicians with drums. Men and women gather like clouds. The roads are clogged with noisy people. The householder places two timbers into the ground in the garden and hangs up a rope with a board on it, making a swing. This is what people of the T'ang dynasty called the amusement which brings the sensations of being an immortal. Also in the market places they plant a

1. This mountain is in Shansi, on the boundaries of three districts: 汾源. 霍石. 介休.

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large piece of timber several tens of feet high. At the end of this they fasten a wheel. To the spokes they fasten curved boards suspended by ropes. Below a large piece of timber is placed transversely. Men push this around. Women gaudily dressed whirl around through the air. Red and purple fly about shimmering like hundreds and thousands of butterflies. The dust flies. This is done by the lower and the middle classes. These things show a lack of instruction in the family."

From early times the people observed the custom of going to the suburbs of the cities and treading upon the green grass. In Foochow during the Sung dynasty a garden located near the yamên of the prefect was opened and the people enjoyed the flowers. Those who went out brought back herbs and roots which, picked at this time, had special medicinal value. In the country districts to-day they bring back pine branches and stick them beside the door. These represent long life.

A few days before the festival the people stick willow branches under the tiles at the edge of the roof. They are left until they wither and drop down. The willow, which comes out very early, symbolizes the power of the spring sun in revivifying all nature and overcoming the powers of death, and hence its universal use on this occasion in China. In Europe and America, the pussy willows are brought to the Catholic churches on Palm Sunday and blessed by the priest.

From ancient times the elm and the willow were used to kindle the new fire after the day of the cold food. This was called changing the new fire. He who did it received blessing for the whole year. In certain parts of Chihli the saying is: "He who does not wear the willow, though a young man, will become a grizzly head." A passage in the History of Chihli says: "At this season (i.e., Han Shih) the people are sad at the beginning of spring. Every year they await the time when the elm and the willow send out their leaves and they pick them and regard them as grain."

Another custom observed in Peking throws light on our interpretation. On the Ch'ing Ming day they begin to sell ice. They take two small bronze cups and beat the ice. Here we have symbolized the destruction of death.

In these ways the ancient Chinese tried to assist the annual re-birth of nature and so expressed the longing for the mastery of death and of the life beyond, which the yearly progress of nature symbolizes. To-day only the name Han Shih survives to give us the clue to the intimate connection which these men used to feel they had with nature.

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HISTORICAL AND TRADITIONAL DATA ABOUT NANCHANG*

BY

FRANCIS CLAIR GALE

In presenting some of the data concerning the history and traditions of the city of Nanchang, there is no attempt at an extensive or intensive study of the subject. Little can any one realize how great were the difficulties to be confronted in digging out of the Chronicles of the Nanchang and Hsin Chien Hsiens, and out of some Nanchang friends, the material for this paper. Most of the material in the Chronicles is pure rubbish. It has been by digging around in this rubbish, that a few incidents could be marshalled about this city, which will surely be of interest, and possibly stimulate further study. A few facts have been secured from a study of poetry. It is said of Browning, that one day a young man was puzzled about the meaning of one of the great poet's poems, and went to Browning himself. Without telling Browning who wrote the poem, the young man read it aloud. He then asked what the writer of that poem meant. The great man said, " I am blest if I know." One is as greatly puzzled when he attempts to get at the meaning of much that is written about East Lake, Peh Hua Cheo, Teng Wang Ko, and many other famous places in Nanchang.

In the Cheo Dynasty (B.C. 1122), Kiangsi was a part of the Five Kingdoms, and was called Yu Chang. During the Han Dynasty (B.C.. 206—A.D. 220), the Nanchang Fu was called Yu Chang Chu, though once it was called the Kiukiang Chun. In the Sui Dynasty (589), the name Yu Chang Chun was changed to Hung Cheo Tsung Kwan Fu and Nanchang was called the Yu Chang Hsien under the rule of the Hung Cheo. In the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 625), the name was changed to Hung Cheo Tu

*Read before the Nanchang Discussion Club.

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Tu Fu. In the year A.D. 758, the name became Hung Cheo. In the time of the Posterior T'ang (A.D. 923), it was known as Nan Fu Nanchang Fu. The Sung Dynasty (975) restored the old name, Hung Cheo. When the Mings took possession of the country in 1368, they changed the name to Hung Tu Fu; but two years later they changed that name to Nanchang Fu, a name that has stuck to the present time.

The wall of the first city was built by a famous general, Kwan Ying, B.C. 200. The city was ten *li* across and that portion of the wall that was built at that time was pierced by six gates. In A.D. 385 the governor, Fan Ying, added two more gates, one of them being the Yung Ho Men (the gate of eternal harmony) now more familiarly known to us as the Tan Tai Men, the present name being in memory of Tan Tai, a famous disciple of Confucius, who is buried back of the Thunder Temple. There is a difference of opinion as to the grave's being a real one, containing the remains of the famous disciple. Miss Howe, a pioneer missionary in the Yangtze Valley, says that there can hardly be any uncertainty about the location, but that it is a mere monument, not a *bona fide* grave. The monument is a short distance from the entrance to the women's hospital. I am told that Kwan Ying is kept fresh in the memory of the people by having been made the deity in the Cheng Hwang Miao, known to us as the Temple of Hell.

In the Sung Dynasty, about A.D. 960, the city was built thirty-one *li* in circumference and had sixteen gates; but in the Shao Hsing period (1136) of the Southern Sung, a general by the name of Li Kwang came to Nanchang with his retinue of soldiers, and closed up four gates.

In the early Ming (1368), Chu Wen Cheng removed the western section of the city wall that then hugged the river bank and built it at a distance of thirty steps from the river. He changed the south-eastern section and reduced the extent of the city by nearly one-fifth. He also reduced the number of gates to the present number, seven. So, then, for almost 600 years, the present wall has remained as Chu Wen Cheng built it. It is 20,700 feet "and a few steps" long, 29 feet high, and 20 feet wide. The moat is 30,400 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 15 feet deep.

The city of Nanchang must have shared in the benefits of the wonderful civilization of the tenth century when Chinese art reached its zenith. The cities of that century were dream cities. Marco Polo has described the Chinese life at this period with great minuteness. Of the Sung capital, Hangchow, he says: "It is, beyond dispute, the finest and noblest in the world." He speaks of the abbeys, the palaces, the temples of the city with its

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guilds of handicrafts and city merchants. It is quite reasonable to believe that the city of Nanchang in its temples, halls, and lake, expresses, too, the high and lofty inspiration of that wonderful period.

The East Lake, not an artificial body of water as some have declared it to be, has always been the delight of the people. Men with the poetic instinct have made the East Lake the subject by which to express the feelings of the soul. Some of the very best has been recorded in the Chronicles of the city. One writes :

The shallow water in azure flows
Still, without a ripple.
At eventide a picture is silhouetted against the western sky.
While the poetic Muse hovers about the Chi T'ing and Teng Ko
Suddenly the zephyrs of spring bring the lotus flowers.

Another says :

A long ribbon of moon light is on the lake
As you pass over the bridge, avail yourself of the sight of the light dancing on the wavelets
And behold the small streak of mist drift toward the western mountains.

Still another writes :

As the autumn mist drifts and the willow droops her branches
I gaze upon the lake, and behold a poem in the picture.
As I stand in the light of the full moon after the wind is quiet,
The fragrance of the lotus flowers fills my nostrils.

We can picture the boats of a thousand years ago, wandering here and there on the East Lake. One poet of that period writes about his pleasure boat gliding over the mirror-like waters when the Liao flowers are made brilliant by the setting sun.

You will note by a glance at the map, that the outlet of the lake is at a point just south of the Ssu Fu Men. The point at which it enters the city wall is called the Shui Kwan (water gate) Bridge. The portion from the river to the Lake proper was called the Yu Chang Kuo (the Nanchang Ditch).

In the time of the Three Kingdoms, Cheo Yu, a Nanchang man, used this lake for naval manœuvres. Men trained there were to be successful in battle on a larger body of water.

I wish now to point out a few of the well-known places of interest about the lake. I will not take them up in any order of importance.

In the time of the Three Kingdoms, a Kanchau man, by the name of Wang Shuo Ren, joined battle with Pa Wang, a powerful enemy of Kiangsi. Wang was the victor after a most terrible struggle. To-day at the Temple of the Wind God is the Wan

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Wen Chen Kung Ts where he is honored. This temple is near the lake.

As one passes in front of the office of the electric light company, one sees a vault-like building, standing between the electric light building and the Shin Wu Tai. This building dates back to the later Tsin Dynasty (A.D. 936-46), and was called the Lung Tien Ts. In the Sung Dynasty it was called the Tien Lung Ts. It is now called the Bell and Drum Tower or simply the Bell Tower (Chung Ku Lu).

PEH HUA CHEO (The isle of a hundred flowers).

The isle is not an artificial body of land. The early builders of the city found this isle in the waters of the East Lake, and during the years that have followed, have made it one of the delightful spots in the city of Nanchang.

There was an old man named Su. It is not known from whence he came. It was during the time of the Sung Dynasty when the emperor resided at beautiful Hangchow, that Su is said to have come to Nanchang.

At the south end of the East Lake, he built for himself a small house just large enough for one person. He was kind to his neighbours and was loved by rich and poor, young and old. His neighbours called him Su Wung (old grandfather Su).

Su was a man of great stature. He is said to have stood seven feet tall and had a long, beautiful beard. He was a man of silence ; he seldom spoke or laughed. His garments were made of cloth, and his feet were shod with grass sandals. He was never ill, and his physical strength was greater than that of any other man. Naturally he ate more than most of his neighbours, for he spent most of his time in his garden, which he is said to have cultivated with a hoe, the blade of which was as long as his height. Su was a wise gardener, for he planted vegetables that matured according to the seasons. During the extreme heat of the summer or the biting cold of the winter, Su was always to be seen working diligently and with great ability among his plants. He asked a higher price for his garden truck than did any other man, but he never lacked buyers. He had a fixed price for his products (probably the first one-price establishment in Nanchang), and people often purchased before the vegetables were gathered.

In the evening hours, after the day's work in the garden was finished, Su spent his time making grass sandals. He put the very best workmanship into these straw shoes. His customers came from great distances, and he always had advance orders. It was the practice to present these shoes to a friend who was about to start on a long journey. Su Wung's shoes were the

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"Walkover" or "Douglas" of that early period, for the price was a fixed one, and though the name was not stamped on the sole, they were widely known as the Su Kung Li (the Su make).

We are not surprised when we learn that every year, Su had food enough and to spare. His cash balance constantly increased. While Su was frugal, he was not stingy. He gave food to the poor. He placed his extra money at interest, but was no usurer. When he was unhappy, he went into his room, closed and locked his door, and sat in silence.

When the Sung Emperor, Kao Tsung, returned from his defeat by the armies of Outer-Mongolia, he wished to secure the services of the most intelligent man. At that time, Chang Kung Sen had the responsibility of many of the emperor's affairs. Chang sent a parcel enclosing a letter and much gold to the Nanchang "Tsao" (a big official). In the letter, Chang stated that he had a countryman by the name of Su Yun Ch'ing who possessed great ability; but whose whereabouts had for many years been unknown, until lately it had heard that he owned a garden near the East Lake. Chang asked the official not to write Su a letter, but to go personally to seek him.

On receiving the package and letter, the official sent an underling of his yamên to inquire about the lake, and if there were such a man as Su living there. The underling returned to state that he had found one named Su, but that he was a gardener and most difficult to get next to.

In his heart, the official was delighted at the thought of being able to perform a distinguished service for his emperor, and immediately determined a plan of approach to Su. He clad himself in the garments of a servant, and went *incognito* for a stroll. He arrived at the place to find Su working in his garden with his monstrous hoe. The official with much ceremony greeted Su, who inquired whence he came, and then invited him into his little home to sit awhile.

The floor was exceedingly clean. The chairs were made of bamboo. On the table was a very important book, Hsi Han Chi, a history of the Western Han Dynasty. The official knew at once that this was Su Yun Ch'ing. Su prepared tea. While they drank, the official asked, "Grandfather, whence came you?" After some hesitation, Su replied, "I am from Kwang Han (Szechuen)." Then the official asked about one named Chang, also a Kwang Han man. Su, with a little surprise, said that he knew Chang, as well as the affairs of Chang's entire family, but did not know what Chang was engaged in at the present time. The official laughed as he said: "I did not take this stroll in vain.

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I have a letter from Chang himself, who writes in behalf of the emperor, beseeching you to come forth and give yourself to the services of the country." He then placed the letter and the gold on the table. Su was greatly disturbed and growled a little, that Chang would do such a thing as this. The official knew positively that the strange figure before him, then, was Su Yun Ch'ing.

The next day there arrived at Su's door, many sedan-chairs to welcome him. He refused absolutely to budge from his little dwelling. The third day, chairs were sent, but the doors of Su's house were closed. On opening the door, the messengers found the room as on previous days. There were the two bamboo chairs, the table and the one book lying upon it; but Su was not there. No one knew where he had gone.

In the dynasty following the Sung, a monument was erected on the place where Su had lived. The monument in memory of this unique man was called the Kwan Yuan An.

In the reign of Chien Lung, more than one hundred and fifty years ago, Wang, the Nieh T'ai (judge) of Nanchang, repaired the temple. It was again allowed to fall into decay, and Li Lieh Chun, the Governor-general five or six years ago, marred the beauty of the spot by placing a foreign building on the famous site.

The Chronicles of both the Nanchang and Hsin Chien Hsiens, as well as those of the Nanchang Fu, record many poems that have been written about Peh Hua Cheo, truly one of the most romantic spots in the city. I cannot here quote from the mass of poetry that has been written; but will take you to visit another famous place on the lake, Yu Tz T'ing, just east of the High Bridge.

In the Han Dynasty during the reign of Huan Ti (A.D. 147), there lived at this place a Nanchang man by the name of Hsi Szu, also known as Yu Tz. He supported himself as he was one of a very poor family. Men who knew Yu Tz held him in high esteem.

At one time, the government sought his service, but he refused to come forth. When Chen Hwan, the Nanchang Governor, received appointment to this province, he desired to call on Yu Tz upon his arrival, before going to his yamên. A minor official urged upon the governor the impropriety of the act. Chen Hwan replied: "This is my first visit to Nanchang. I, therefore, ought to visit the very best men of the place before I take upon myself the duties of my office." When he called upon Yu Tz, he offered him a very magnificent salary if he would consent to become an official. But he refused the offer, preferring the peace of his humble home. Chen Hwan noted the poverty of Hsi Yu Tz. and on going to his yamên, ordered much rice to be

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taken from the public granaries and sent to the home of Hsi Yu Tz. He did not refuse the rice, but immediately set to work to divide it among his relatives and neighbours.

Chen Hwan, the governor, wrote a dispatch to the emperor recommending five men for official appointment. Among them was the name of Hsi Yu Tz. The emperor was greatly pleased with the report, and congratulated Yu Tz by sending him very costly presents and urging him to accept official position. The offer was again refused.

Chen Hwan was an official who had little intercourse with guests. However, he spent much time in company with Hsi Yu Tz, who oftentimes remained several days as a guest in his yamên. Chen Hwan had prepared for Hsi Yu Tz a special bed, and to prevent any other from sleeping on it when Yu Tz was not in the yamên, he had it hung high up out of reach in Yu Tz's special room.

In the dynasty of the Southern Han (tenth century A.D.) a "T'ing Tz" was erected on the site where Yu Tz lived, and within it was placed an image of him. This image was made of mud. It was then called the Yu Tz T'ai, but is now known as the Yu Tz T'ing. Like many other places, this one has been the subject of many poems.

As to the exact burial place of this famous man, the historians have long debated. The historians of the Yuan and Ming dynasties agrue that his remains rest outside of Fuchau Men. It is stated that in the Sung Dynasty, when a Nanchang official by the name of Chang Ching Tz built his yamên, the workmen excavating for the foundations came upon a tablet on which was engraved a grave with a well near by, called the Chiu Li Ching (the nine mile well). Chang sought for this well and when he found it, he discovered near by, a grave, the grave of Hsi Yu Tz. Here he erected a "T'ing" which he called the Sz Hsien T'ing (Think-of-the-good-man "t'ing").

Hsi Yu Tz did many things that seemed strange and inexplicable to those who did not know the meaning thereof. Hwang Tren, the magistrate of Nanchang, was a very warm friend of his. When Hwang Tren died and his remains were sent to Hupeh for burial, Hsi Yu Tz followed after, carrying on his shoulder a bag of food. At the place of burial, he placed some food and wine on the grave, mourned, and immediately departed for home. At the funeral were many illustrious men who noted this strange act on the part of one not a member of the family. Two students were sent by horse to overtake Hsi. On coming up to him, they endeavoured to engage him in a discussion of politics; but he was

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silent. When they changed their tactics and opened the question of farming, they found him voluble. The students returned, reporting him to be a very strange character. Ko Ling Tsung, who was at the funeral, knew at once that this stranger was no other than Hsi Yu Tz. From that time on, Ko Ling Tsung and Hsi became warm friends.

When Ko's mother died, Hsi Yu Tz went quietly to the home and laid a handful of straw at the entrance, and left. The meaning was understood by Ko as a testimony to his mother's virtue, and Hsi's recognition of the goodness and filial piety of Ko himself.

KAO CHIAO (The High Bridge).

You will, no doubt, be surprised to learn that this bridge did not receive its name, because there was an attempt to build a bridge of lofty height. The old name which is engraved on the arch facing the south, is the Yo Lung Chiao, the bridge of the Dancing Dragon. We call it the High Bridge, when really it is the Kao Ts Chiao, the bridge of the Lofty Scholar.

In the fifteenth year of Wang Li of the Ming (1587), this bridge was first built. In 1789, the gentry of the Hsin Chien Hsien made extensive repairs on the Confucian Temple at the northern end of the bridge. These gentry men beautified the entrance to the temple by placing at the south end of the bridge a stone arch on which are carved the four characters, "Hsio Hai Wen Lang" (a sea of scholars with waves of learning).

You will have noted that along the side of the bridge, there are many stone posts. It was a former custom as it is to-day, only less pronounced, that on the fifteenth of the first month, wives who had never been blest with children would steal away to this bridge in the dead of night and cling to these posts while beseeching heaven to grant them a child.

KUNG YUAN (The provincial examination halls).

Though no longer in use, I am sure that you will be interested in this well-known site.

The word "kung" means to offer. When presents were offered the emperor, it was known as "k'ai kung." The Kung Yuan means the provincial examination halls, as the successful candidates were presented to the emperor for appointment in government service, or for further examination at the capital, hence the name Kung Yuan.

The Kung Yuan has not always been located on the present site. While it was for almost seven hundred years, (960-1638), situated on the East Lake, because of the depredations by soldiers and fire,—history seems to have repeated itself,—it was

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removed to a site near the Roman Catholic church. You will note on the map, the street called the Lao Kung Yuan. In the reign of Kang Hsi (1681), we find it at its present site.

Within the enclosure were 17,591 stalls and twelve wells. One can easily imagine the condition of the water in these wells when they were used only a few days every three years. Men who have taken the examinations at the Kung Yuan have told of the many inconveniences that the students suffered during the three days they were locked in their stalls. Oftentimes students died while taking the examinations. Their bodies were not removed by the front gate, and there was no rear gate. The body was lifted over the wall at a certain place, by the method that is sometimes used in drawing water from a well. A pole was inserted in the ground and formed the fulcrum by which the body was lifted and swung out over the wall. Persons were thus prevented from passing any crib notes to friends and relatives who were being examined. Sometimes watercarriers and other servants were used by students in getting the required information. When discovered, they were severely punished. There is a place in the Kung Yuan where guilty parties have been executed.

In 1748, the Provincial Treasurer, P'eng Chia Ping, planted within the Kung Yuan, many trees of two varieties called the Huai and the Kwei. Why did he plant these two varieties? The Huai tree, on reaching maturity, is used for building purposes. While in the Kung Yuan, it would offer shade during those hot days of the eighth month; it would also remind the candidate that the son in the family, who is diligent in his study and develops to the honour of the family, is of use in building up the family and the State. The Kwei flower is very fragrant. It blossoms at the time of the eighth month festival, when the examinations were conducted at the Kung Yuan. At that time, too, the moon was full. In the full moon we see the "Gibson girl" or a man, according to whether the one who gazes is a man or a woman. The Chinese see an old man cutting down a Kwei tree. The moon and the fragrance of the flowers floating into the stalls where the candidates were struggling with their essays, caused them to think of the man in the moon, directing their thoughts toward heaven from whence comes virtue and inspiration.

Back yonder in the Han Dynasty when Li, the "Si Ma Kwan" (wash horse official), took Kwan Ying's horse to the pool and washed it, he little realized by that act he was to give the name to the most important thoroughfare in the city, and in all this great province. There is more than one account of the origin of the name, "Si-ma-chi." It was formerly called the Yiu Hsien

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Chi, and it is said that Kwan Ying, the builder of the first city, had his horse led to this pool to drink. It was said that Li washed the horse of the general at this pool, hence its name. Another account is, that Li Si-ma did not wash the horse at this pool, but had his residence near by. You may take the explanation that you wish. Last week, I got a real thrill when I was told by one of the business men on Si-ma-chi that the original pool is in the "White Horse Temple," the entrance to which leads off from the Si-ma-chi. I did not waste much time, but went there to find out if that story was true. The temple caretaker said that he knew nothing about such a pool being located on the premises of the temple. I looked all about the temple but could find no trace of one.

THE PAGODA.

The present pagoda is of comparatively recent date, but replaces one that was very ancient. It stands in front of the Temple of the Thousand Buddhas, and is called the "Precious Pagoda of the Golden Cord" (Chin Hsien Pao T'a). The original pagoda was erected in the Tang Dynasty (A.D. 904). It is said that in digging the foundations for this pagoda, there were discovered three swords and a golden jar containing three hundred images of the great Buddha. In the Yuan Dynasty, a famous painter of horses, Chao Meng Fu, wrote a record of the pagoda and that record was engraved on stone tablets. While the reputation of the author remains to-day, his record has long since been lost.

The pagoda fell into decay during the reign of Kang Hsi, and collapsed in 1708. Within four years it was rebuilt by Tung Kwa Hsiang, the appointed governor of Kiangsi. The governor left a record of his rebuilding of the pagoda. He says that on his arrival at Chang Kiang Men, he learned that the great business section outside of Kwan-ren-men had been burned down. On inquiry, he learned from the old residents of the place that the calamity of fire came upon the city because the pagoda was in ruins. They stated further that because the pagoda was destroyed, there were no longer any men of literary ability coming forth to add glory to the city. In the four years, no one had come forth with ability or influence sufficient to restore the precious pagoda. The governor said he felt it was his sacred duty to bear the responsibility of rebuilding the pagoda, since he could not ask the people to bear the expense. The work, from the time it was begun until its completion, consumed a year and two months. The total amount of money used was more than 10,000 taels. Great care was exercised in selecting brick and other building materials.

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The pagoda has seven stories, and is 176 feet high. It is octagonal in shape to conform to the eight diagrams, and is 101 feet in circumference. This pagoda is much larger than the one it replaced. From the city gate to the base of the pagoda, for a distance of more than 5,370 feet on to the south, the road was paved. With the pagoda standing as it does, overlooking the city, with its bells (?) filling the air with their music, and with Buddha's strength abiding as a holy guest, with spiritual blessing permeating the whole structure from base to golden cap, with complete harmony existing between the elements fire and water, the inhabitants go to their beds at night and take up their tasks on the following day, content in the thought that the city is well guarded. Bear in mind these words of one who believes that Buddha's words float up to the very clouds, when on your next visit to the pagoda: "How is it with you, brave soul, as you approach the pagoda? When ascending, may sorrow pass from your heart!"

THE WAN SHOU KUNG.

Situated inside of the Kwan-ren-men gate, is *the* famous temple of the city, which is known as the Wan Shou Kung. Within temple is worshipped Shu Ching Yang, sometimes spoken of as Shu Ching Chih, who on his death received the posthumous title of Shu Cheng Yun. He was formerly the governor of the province. He is the Fu Chu (Lord of happiness). His birth is surrounded by much mystery, and strange and numerous are the legends that have come down to the people. Here is one which is typical:

In the reign of Ch'ih Wu, of the Wu Dynasty (A.D. 238) the mother of Shu had a dream. In her dream she beheld a golden phoenix in the bill of which was a beautiful pearl. She swallowed this pearl, and later gave birth to her now famous son. Forty-three years later, on the first day of the eighth moon, in the early morning many clouds were seen to come down out of the heavens. Out of the clouds appeared two fairies riding in chariots. On arriving at the earth, they proclaimed the words of the Pearly Emperor of Heaven, saying: "The man, Shu Ching Chih, will soon become a genie. Before a great calamity that is to come upon the earth, he will become a diligent student of the doctrine. He will learn the will of Heaven in bitterness of close application to study. It is he who will become versed in many schemes, and will be able to avert the calamity. He will sweep the world clear of demons, imps, and fiends. Already being possessed of great merit, his fame is recorded in the annals of Heaven." The garments of the great were then offered Shu

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by the fairies, and bowing reverently, he received them. After receiving the blessing of Heaven while clothed in his new celestial robes, he was escorted to the chariots and taken up into heaven.

On the fifteenth of the same month, while the people were celebrating the festival for that month, they suddenly heard the sound of lovely music coming from above. While they wonderingly gazed upward, a cloud surrounded them. Out of the cloud appeared a chariot, containing many boys and girls. They, too, came proclaiming a mandate from the Pearly Emperor, saying that as Shu had obtained such a worthy position in heaven because of his merit, they had come to receive his family into heaven. The total number of the family that were caught up that day was forty. Even their domestic animals went with them. All they left behind was a bell and a box of stone ; to be used for what purpose, I have not been able to learn.

The temple in which he is worshipped was formerly called the Tieh Chu Kwan (the temple of the iron pillar). The " kwan " character was changed to the present " kung " and the two characters " Wan Sheo " were added.

At the left of the Kung is the well that is said to rise and fall with the rising of the river. Within this well Shu is said to have placed an iron pillar that forever guards the city against inundation by floods. There is confined the demon that would destroy the city by flood, and his release will occur at the time the iron flower blossoms. More than two years ago, this great temple was destroyed by fire. Was it because the god in the Temple of Fire had a grudge against Shu ? This is the kind of explanation that is given.

In the Council of Heaven, the gods met to discuss the affairs of Kiangsi, and more particularly, Nanchang. They decided that Nanchang should be utterly destroyed by fire for its wickedness. Shu, the guardian spirit, stood forth and besought the gods to stay their wrath from the people of this city, and to inflict upon him the punishment that should naturally befall his beloved city and its people. He offered his temple at Kwan-ren-men. The gods accepted the offer, and poured down fire upon it. When men entered to rescue the image of the great one and endeavoured to save the building, it is said that Fu Chu wrinkled his face at their attempting to save the temple ; and when they desisted, a smile of approval met their wondering eyes.

Teng Wang Ko.

Outside of the Chang Kiang Gate is one of the historical groups of buildings of the city. It is known as the Teng Wang Ko, built

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A.D. 656. Yuan Ying was then the military governor of the province, and it was he who built this "ko" (lofty passage ways), or palace. After Yuan had completed the structure, he was made the "Teng Wang" of Kiangsi. Hence, the name of the building.

Yien Pa Yu was afterward made the military governor of the city. He had a daughter-in-law, named Wu Ts-chang, who possessed great literary talent. One day Yien Pa Yu invited several officials and noted literary personages of the city to dine with him in the palace. He wished to avail himself of the opportunity that would then be offered, to display the literary talents of his daughter-in-law.

A certain Wang, a Shensi man, was on his way to pay a visit to his father, who was an acting official in the province of Kwantung. The night that Wang's boat arrived at Metasan, near Pengtse on the Yangtze, he had a dream. In his dream, a spirit came to him and informed him that the following day there was to be a great feast at the Teng Wang Ko, and bade him be sure to go. Wang was then two hundred miles from Nanchang, and he told the spirit that it was simply impossible for him to arrive in time for the feast. The spirit assured him that if he would turn the prow of his boat toward Nanchang, he would guarantee his arrival in time for the feast. Wang awakened from his sleep and ordered his boat to weigh anchor and start for Nanchang. The spirit provided a most favourable wind, and by the time the sun arose, Wang was ready to step ashore at the Teng Wang Ko. At the feast, Yien Pa Yu asked each guest to favour him with an ode on the Teng Wang Ko. Each in turn demurred. Finally, Wang said that he was willing to favour his host. The guests were delighted with what Wang wrote, and when Yien Pa Yu beheld the fine literary style of Wang, he had no face to bring forth the writings of his daughter-in-law.

The Chronicles of the city record the names of many illustrious women. The monument to one is widely known. It is located outside the city, between the Teh Shen Men and Chiang Chang Men, and is known as the Liu Fei Mo (the grave of Liu Fei). Liu Fei's husband was the "Fang Wang" of Kiangsi in the Ming Dynasty. For many months he had been secretly planning a rebellion, expecting to become the ruler of a new and independent state. Liu Fei became frantic when she learned of her husband's disloyalty and besought him to repent and to remain loyal to his Emperor. When the time came for an open rebellion, the Emperor dispatched an army to Kiangsi, and in a short struggle utterly defeated him. When Liu Fei saw that her husband had been overcome in battle, she throw herself into the

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river and was drowned. Her body was recovered, and was buried at the place where she committed suicide.

About two hundred years ago, Chang Tai Sheo, a relative of the provincial treasurer, wrote that official, asking that he take steps toward enlarging and making more beautiful the final resting-place of this noble and faithful woman. A public subscription was taken, and the present grave of stone and granite not only permanently marks the resting-place of Liu Fei, but is a monument as well, to the fine public appreciation of this patriotic woman and devoted wife.

The history of the public charities has, no doubt, been a history of graft and "squeeze." However, visitors to the city are always interested in the forms of charity that are Chinese in every detail.

In the reign of Kang Hsi, Ma Yu Ling, a scholar with a "chü-ren" degree was made the governor of Kiangsi. The winter months found the city filled with destitute men and women. Ma Yu Ling established a public rice kitchen for distribution of food from the public granaries. It is quite probable that for these two hundred and fifty years, there has not been a year when the rice kitchens were not set up during the winter.

The Orphanage.

The Yu Ying T'ang (orphanage) is one of the old institutions of charity in the city. It dates back more than five hundred years. The original orphanage was called the Yu Ying Chu, and was located near Peh Hua Cheo. The "T'ang" was a later establishment, situated outside of the Fu Chau Gate, not far from the C. I. M. residence. Later it was removed to its present location off Chop Sticks Street. It is supported by income from endowment and from a portion of the public taxes. Formerly each shop in the city was taxed annually six cash for the orphanage.

The rules and regulations of the orphanage have been modified and enlarged during the many years it has been in operation; but in the main, the following are some of the interesting items. When a child is placed in the orphanage, a careful record is obtained of the date of birth and the parentage. Two tattoo marks are then made on the ear. A band of cotton cloth is numbered and stamped, then cut in two as a "tui p'ai." One piece is placed around the child's neck and the other is retained in the office of the orphanage.

A mother wishing to serve one of these babies, is required to produce a guarantor. On the guarantee papers, she must write her address and her former place of residence as well. The orphanage sends out an inspector to verify the statement sworn

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to by the woman and her guarantor. Cases have been known of women's taking children from the orphanage, tattooing the ears of their own children, and discarding the real orphan babies. If a woman is discovered, she and her husband or guarantor are haled before the "T'ang" and then committed for trial before the official, who fixes the sentence of imprisonment.

The foster-mother must give evidence of being in good health, and of having herself recently given birth to a child. She must be able to provide sufficient nourishment for the orphan. Each month the child must be brought to the orphanage for inspection, to guard against any irregularities. If all is well, the mother receives her fee for that month. A poor mother may take her own child to the orphanage, where it is registered and tattooed on the ears, and then she may, after furnishing the necessary guarantee, take the child and care for it under the regulations of the orphanage. If it is discovered that well-to-do parents fraudulently place their baby in the orphanage on the pretence of poverty, the act is punishable by a heavy fine or imprisonment.

I am not familiar with the rules for remuneration. Formerly, mothers residing within the city received more than those residing outside. This was, no doubt, due to the extra cost of travel by the inspectors. People who came great distances to receive an orphan received no remuneration whatsoever. This was because those who would come great distances for a baby and were willing to come each month, bringing the child for inspection, did so to obtain a daughter-in-law at a minimum expense.

THE "YANG CHI YUAN."

The "Yang Chi Yuan" (old peoples' home), outside Fu Chau Gate and not far from the Pagoda, is also a very ancient institution.

Little does one realize how much of real interest there is in places that we have passed by for years. The whole region outside the Teh Shen Men has a wonderful story to tell, could we only get at the facts.

The hills and mounds of sand that lie back of the Nanchang Academy and the Baldwin School for Girls have not always been called Chi Ma Tien (fields of flax), but were known in ancient times as the Lung Sa (the dragon sand); those hills and mounds being the contour of the dragons' body. The Lung Sa was already famous by the time of the Tang Dynasty, when it is said that the boats on passing by this stretch of land never failed to hoist their sails, no matter in which direction was the wind. A poet

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writes that on the ninth day of the ninth month, there appear on the Lung Sa a thousand horsemen bearing banners.

In the spring and winter, there were feasts and public addresses, while many other annual festivals were held out there. Shu Ching Yang of the Wan Shou Kung wrote a book in which he refers to Lung Sa, saying: "Where the mounds of sand rise higher than a man's shoulders, at that place appear fairies. Wherever it reaches the height of the city wall, that place will produce a holy man."

The Methodist Mission is endeavouring to secure the property lying between the Baldwin School and the Nanchang Academy. Before the temple there, known as the Lung Kwan Ts, is destroyed and the pond nestled there is filled, it is well to know that there are facts of interest about that property. The temple dates back to the time of the Sung Emperor, if not earlier. We know that in the early Ming Dynasty, a merit board was placed in front of the temple, bearing the four characters "Pieh shi ren chien" (other in the midst of people), meaning that this is a special place and is not the habitation of the common crowd. Formerly, as at present, there was the pond at the side of the temple. A flight of stone steps led down into the water. At the side of the pond was a beautiful "T'ing Tz" of lofty proportions, brilliantly lighted and surrounded by a balustrade where people sat. Within the "T'ing Tz" was a board with two characters which meant: "Listen to the sighing of the winds in the pines." Hanging on the walls were scrolls written by famous men.

Just outside the temple was a guest hall, known as that of the Lung Sa Society. In this hall the most scholarly men of the city gathered for conversation. At one time the civil governor, Wang T'ai Meng, gave a course of lectures on the Confucian teachings in this hall.

Every day some of us look out upon one of the interesting buildings outside of the Teh Shen Men. We see what we commonly call the police station. I wonder if they realize that within that station is one of the relics of the city. It is called the "Peh T'an" and is very ancient. It is a platform twenty feet square and not more than three feet high, though the original "T'an" was much higher. In Peking, there is the circular platform known as the temple of Heaven, where the Emperor as the Son of Heaven worshipped Heaven. There is also a square platform where he blessed the earth. That platform was known as the "Peh T'an" because it was the platform situated at the north.

The "Peh T'an" at Teh Shen Men lay in ruins until the time of Kang Hsi, 1675, when the magistrate repaired it. At the front

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entrance, on each side, were rooms for the civil governor and for the magistrate. Ranged along the sides were buildings for servants and underlings. Here once a year these two officials came to pronounce a blessing on the land.

I wish not to close this paper without a brief account of that greatest event in the recent history of Nanchang—the Taiping Rebellion.

It was in the year 1853, that the Taipings came from Nanking by the way of Poyang Lake. After burning Wuchang, they arrived at Nanchang on the fifteenth day of the fifth month. Anticipating the movement of the Taipings into Kiangsi, the Judge of Hupeh, Kiang Chung Yuan, arrived a few days before with a large force of troops from Hupeh and Hunan. On his arrival at Nanchang, the governor, known as the Hsing Fu and named Chang, turned over the command of all the forces within the city to Judge Kiang. The Fu Chau, Lu Lu, Tan T'ai; Su Fu, and Kwan Ren Gates were closed. The night of the arrival of the Hupeh army, all the buildings outside of the wall were destroyed by fire. When the Taipings arrived at Ta Shiao Chang, the raw recruits stationed there fled in great fear, leaving all their guns and ammunition in the hands of the rebels. The city was then closed tight. The boats of the Taipings were anchored along the river and suffered bombardment from the few cannon placed on the wall.

The Taipings were soon busy in attempting to take the city. They shot firebrands over the wall. Many of these brands fell into the lake, while some succeeded in starting minor conflagrations. By the eighteenth, more than eight hundred boats of the enemy arrived, and were anchored seven *li* north of the city. On the twentieth, many of Kiang's soldiers dropped over the city wall and encountered the rebels, killing many. In the evening they ambushed some of the enemy and reported many more destroyed. The governor posted an official announcement that any who scaled the wall and were successful in combat with the enemy, should receive fifty taels for each victim. The night the edict was posted, there was a terrific storm, and fearing that the soldiers within the city might be tempted to loot, Kiang sent out orders that any found guilty of doing so would be peremptorily executed.

The Taipings by the twenty-third were at work tunnelling the wall. Kiang and Chang ordered that buildings next to the wall should be razed, and with the material should be built an inner wall of defence. Kiang devised an instrument whereby he could detect at what places the wall was being tunnelled. On the twenty-fourth, a portion of the wall at Teh Shen Men was de-

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stroyed, but by a sudden rushing of cannon and men to that point the rebels failed to break through. The governor offered one tael for every large stone that was brought to fill up the broken wall. That evening the governor, Judge Kiang, the gentry and minor officials went to the Cheng Hwang Temple, the Temple of Fire, and the Wan Shou Kung, and took from those temples the great idols and placed them on the city wall where they were worshipped. In all the openings on the top of the wall, lanterns were hung with the character "Shu" written and exposed to the view of the enemy. Shu is the great idol in the Wan Shou Kung temple. The psychological effect was reported by prisoners, who stated that that night they saw Shu sitting on the top of the wall, washing his feet in the city moat.

One day Chang sent forth some men, bearing huge grass sandals which were to be offered to the enemy for sale. When they arrived at the rebel camp, the soldiers were willing to buy grass shoes, but inquired as to why they were so large. The vendors said: "Oh, if you do not wish to buy them, we can find a ready sale for them in the city." "Do you mean to say," asked the astonished soldiers, "that there are men who can wear shoes of that size?" "Certainly," replied the vendors, "if you do not wish them, there are hundreds of people in the city that will be glad to buy those shoes, for that is the size that most of them wear." That day there appeared on the wall, huge paper men, wonderfully made to deceive the enemy. The news spread quickly through the rebel camp, that to overcome a people who wore shoes of that size was a well-nigh impossible task.

The siege lasted ninety-five days; and though the wall was broken in several places, and though the enemy at times almost succeeded in scaling the wall, protected by a screen of smoke, the city was able to meet every attack. To the present day, people cease not, when discussing the rebellion, to praise the untiring efforts of Judge Kiang and Governor Chang. At Peh Hua Cheo, there is a hall erected in honour of those two courageous men, and it is called the Chang Kiang Er Kung Tz. Though no memorial has been erected in her memory, the success of the besieged army and people was in large measure due to the clever wife of the governor.

The historian of centuries to come, if he deals adequately with the facts that make up the chronicles and history of this city, will be forced to take into account those forces that make for a new and a better city. He will record the coming of Father Matteo Ricci, clad in the garments of the literati, when in 1594, he walked through this city and laid the foundations of a religious

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institution that abides to this day. He was as a man travelling through a prairie with its thickets and virgin grass. The foot-prints of that courageous man were scarcely visible for three hundred years. There has followed him a larger number bearing the message of the one true God. Where Father Ricci blazed the trail, to-day there is a broad way, with those institutions that have changed the currents in the life of a people.

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SUPERSTITIONS COMMON IN KIANGSI PROVINCE*

BY

FRED. R. BROWN

There is a well-known Chinese proverb to the effect that: "When the dragon gets into shallow water, shrimps laugh at him. When the tiger falls into the ocean, the dogs yelp with glee." Any person who undertakes a study of Chinese superstitions feels the force of this proverb, for he will find his greatest embarrassment in the very vastness of the subject, particularly should he attempt anything in the nature of an exhaustive and comparative detailed study. The subject under consideration is indeed a veritable ocean, and I do not attempt to present a study which is in any sense complete, or even thoroughly representative. Whole classes of superstitions are untouched, and many of the most common are not mentioned. With this consideration in view, however, I trust that the paper will be found to be enjoyable and profitable, and will prove to be an incentive to the further examination of this important side of Chinese life, which is so interesting, and so weighty in its influence on practically the whole of the Chinese people.

I have not attempted to distinguish carefully between superstition and religion, though I presume the distinction ought to be made in a careful study. So many of the practices considered are scarcely to be classified under one head or the other, since they come so near to the border line, that I have chosen to ignore technical distinctions, and present what seems most interesting of what I have found.

It has been surprising to me to observe the large amount of superstition centering around travelling, especially travelling by boat. This may be due to the notorious uncertainty of the wind, or the still greater uncertainty of being able to avoid acci-

*Read before the Nanchang Discussion Club.

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dents, but the fact remains that boatmen are superstitious to the *n*th degree. Wise men, when travelling by boat, inquire carefully the words which are unlucky and which must be avoided while on the boat. Such words are all those of the sound "ch'êng," because of the meaning of this word, to drown. A curious perversion of this occurs in Kiangsi, because of the propensity of people, particularly in Nanchang and on the Kan River, to confuse "ch'êng" and "ch'ing," "mên" and "min," and similar pairs of sounds. Thus, when one wishes to eat Chinese cabbage on a boat, he should not order "ts'ing ts'ai," but "peh ts'ai." In the same way "chiu" is an unlucky word, because it means slow. If one wants the vegetable called "chiu ts'ai," he must ask for "k'uai ts'ai," since "k'uai," fast, is the opposite of "chiu," slow. Those fond of drinking wine, "chiu," are in hard straits, for they must ask for water or tea, and I suppose that a wink or other sign tells what they really want.

Then, too, on a boat it is forbidden to ask how far it is to the next place. The theory of this is that as soon as the distance is mentioned the boat will immediately be slowed up by the jealous deities guarding the travel.

One must not turn a bowl upside down on a boat, because of the pointed significance of what will happen to the boat. Soup on a boat is not called "t'ang," but "shui," water. because of the similarity in sound to the word for rapids.

There is very commonly to be seen on the streets a soft-shelled turtle, called "chioh ü." Boatmen will not eat this animal, although their tastes in general are far from fastidious. Furthermore they will not mention its name nor use any word that sounds like it. Again, they will not even mention the weight of the animal, and to say "seven catties and a half" on a boat is a vigorous species of cursing. It seems that one day in the dim and distant past a boat was travelling through the Poyang Lake, when it capsized. The boatmen learned that a soft-shelled turtle was responsible, so they promptly built a temple to it. Here a difficulty arose. They could not very well call the temple the "chioh ü miao," so they called it the "lao ie miao," old official's temple. However, even making the animal a god has not removed the distaste boatmen have toward it.

If one is travelling on a boat and commits any of the offenses mentioned above, or any other of a long list, the boatmen will say that they must "ch'i shên fu." The meaning of these words I have not absolutely traced, but I think they mean to eat a charm of the gods. Translated into ordinary language it means to have a meal with meat. In the course of my rambles I have found

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Christian Chinese, who were born and brought up in Christian home, paying for the boatmen eating " shên fu " with no idea of the meaning of it all. In travelling overland the words " shên fu " occur on the ticket issued by the chair or barrow company, but they are either struck out or disregarded when a foreigner is travelling, because I suppose the coolies can get their " shên fu " on the side from *cumshas* without making any big fuss over it.

A peculiar custom, and so far as I can find not particularly superstitious, is that of referring to the ear as "hsuin fung," favouring wind. The idea is that the sail of a boat is shaped something like an ear, and it is always 'listening for the wind,' so by a bold figure the ear is spoken of in this way.

In the same way, at Fuchow and especially at certain seasons of the year, a hat is never called " mao tsz," for that is the same as " mu iu er tsz," no sons, but it is called instead, " iu tsz," which means " iu er tsz," have sons.

We are all familiar with the Kiukiang custom which forbids one saying two hundred and fifty. I have heard various explanations of this, one being that two hundred and fifty cash was once the price of a catty of sweet potatoes, and to say two hundred and fifty to a man is tantamount to calling him a sweet potato. There is another phrase of this nature which cannot be used at Kiukiang, and that is ' three catties and four ounces,' for when a person dies that amount of paper must be burned to provide the passage money for his journey to the nether world.

Many, many superstitions are connected with the great events of birth, sickness and death. In Fuchow when a young person dies, or particularly when a person dies violently or of very severe and sudden sickness, something much out of the ordinary, the neighbours seek to protect themselves by taking a pan of water and placing in it a mirror and on it a knife, and then putting it in their own doorway. In addition they light a pair of fires by the door, so that the fierce demon which brought misfortune to the neighbour's house will not dare to enter theirs.

At Fuchow when a child's ear has the distressing trouble the Chinese call 'rotten ear,' it is thought that the light of the full moon can cure it, as the moon takes a knife and cuts off the afflicted part, giving a new one in exchange. The child chooses a night when the moon is full, and whets a knife in the light of the moon, singing :

" Ueh kwang, kwang ; shuei lang, lang
O pa tao tsz huan ni
Ni pa er to huan o ,"

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meaning 'moon bright bright; water waves roll. I will exchange you a knife, you exchange me an ear.' The idea is that the moon's knife may be dull, so the child whets a sharp one for the moon to use.

In some places the sun is worshipped for eye trouble, as the moon is for ear trouble. The sun is worshipped by adults, and in some places at least the moon by children.

The ordinary thing to do in case of sickness is of course to post up charms on the house door and on the bedpost and other places.

In Fengcheng, when a person is seriously sick, the family calls bearers to bring an idol from the temple. The idol is brought into the house, and the bearers stand near one of the columns of the house. Someone then reads a list of various medicines, and the bearers from time to time strike the poles of the idol's chair against the column. When this happens, the medicine read then is said to be chosen by the god. This continues until a number of medicines are chosen, when the dose thus divinely selected is given to the poor unfortunate.

In Kanchow a fishbone sticking in one's throat calls for the writing of a charm, and the burning of the paper with the charm on it. This is put in water which the patient drinks, and it is considered infallibly able to loosen the bone and take it down to his stomach.

Of course the consulting of fortune-tellers is resorted to universally in cases of sickness, as in all the affairs of life. These worthies and the priests, particularly Taoists, furnish all the information, charms, magic, etc., necessary to satisfy the most incredulous.

At the age of fourteen or fifteen years sickly boys or girls are taken to the Buddhist priest, and the parents beseech that the priest's name be given to the child to protect it from further molestation by the demons.

Around Fuchow sick children are often seen with a net over the head. This net is made of straw, apparently, and is of coarse weave. It is put on to ward off the net of the demons, which is always ready to catch the child and carry it off; for such is their explanation of a child's death.

Two more Fuchow customs apply to sick children. When a child is not well, the mother goes to one hundred rich families and begs a bit of rice from each. This is made up into balls for the child to eat. The rice must be begged, so that the prosperity of the rich families may have its full effect in protecting the child. Another custom is to beg money from one hundred families, and

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with this is bought a silver padlock called the "peh chia so," or one hundred family lock, which is put around the child's neck to lock the soul in, safe from the depredations of the demons.

When children or older persons are seriously sick, a Fuchow custom is called "ta pao lan," or inviting the demons to eat. An open place is selected out of doors, and several tables are set as for a feast. Sometimes four or five tables will be spread with food of fine quality. Priests are invited to read charms before the tables, and after that the tables are deserted. The food is eaten by the beggars and coolies around, as it is no longer wanted either by spirits or the people providing it.

Death calls for many practices of a superstitious nature. The burning of paper money has already been referred to. The scattering of paper money along the road to 'purchase the road' is too well known to require comment, as also the burning of paper effigies of servants, houses, treasure boxes, boats, horses, etc., etc.

In Fuchow a bag of rice is placed on the coffin and carried to the grave. Then it is brought back to the house and placed there. This rice is then a very precious article. The bag full is called "pao tai," precious bag, and eating of this rice ensures great riches to the consumer. For this reason it is never offered to anyone, but each member of the family must get a share, even if it becomes necessary to fight for it. Neighbors too consider it a great feat to obtain a portion from the "pao tai," and it is said that this is a prolific source of quarrels in Fuchow.

A coffin is never carried twice over the same stretch of road, for it is said that the living do not want to walk twice the road of the dead.

A few miscellaneous superstitions dealing principally with the vague idea called good luck, are very interesting.

It is bad luck to a coolie to have anyone step on or over his carrying pole, "pien tang." This applies very particularly to women, and coolies will try hard to prevent a women from stepping over the front cross piece of a carrying chair. The idea seems to be that if any person, especially a woman, steps over a pole, the pole will be broken during the journey.

Women embroider plaques with the names of their children. A number of these are made up into a curtain and hung in a temple to secure the protection of the gods.

What are known as "peh a i" are made of patches begged from many families and are worn by children to protect them from bad luck. They are sometimes little capes and sometimes collars. The reasoning is that the good luck from all the families

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abides in the cape, and here too, it is essential that the patches be begged.

The characters "i shan" are often seen over the doors of dwellings. The words mean, apparently, "one good." On inquiry, however, we find that they form the name of a very fierce devil, in fact the fiercest of the lot, and when the other devils come to enter the house they see his name there and decide that it would be better not to try conclusions with one so much stronger than themselves. The characters are sometimes written on a bamboo tally or on a piece of paper, but nowadays one sees them commonly written on a mirror, so that the sight of his own face coupled with the name of "i shan" will give the visiting demon a double shock and ensure his permanent departure.

A magistrate coming into office breaks up chairs, tables and other furniture belonging to the previous incumbent and supplies entirely new things. This is so that the evil spirits of the previous *régime* will depart and the magistrate have a lucky term of office. It also accounts for the shabby appearance of many a magistrate's quarters.

"Hsiong hwang" is a medicine used in Kiukiang at the Dragon Boat Festival in the fifth moon. It is given to children to keep them from the injuries of serpents and noxious insects. Men and women in both Kiukiang and Nanchang put it in wine and drink it for the same reason.

At Fuchow, as elsewhere, the 15th of the 8th moon is sacred to the moon. On the evening of that day there is a recognized custom of stealing from gardens. Fruit, vegetables, flowers and anything else are taken. During the ninth moon the people are granted the right of stealing "kuei hwa," cassia flowers, and nothing is said.

Curious ordeal customs exist in Kiangsi among private individuals, reminding one of customs existing in Bible times among the ancient Hebrews. At Fuchow, let us suppose, Li and Chang are quarrelling. Li accuses Chang of having done a wrong. Chang protests his innocence. After the quarrel has reached a high point, Chang says, "Very well, let us make a straw man." If Li agrees, Chang proceeds to make a straw man and pours over it boiling water. This signifies that severe catastrophes will overtake the man in the wrong. The quarrel ends with this proceeding, but if later either of the men has any particular misfortune, the other says 'I told you so!'

Another method of accomplishing the same result as the straw man is called "sao shih miao," sweeping ten temples. Chang in this case would take a broom and sweep in each of ten

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temples, thus calling the deities of all the temples to avenge the innocent and bring down catastrophe on the head of the guilty. In Kiukiang the custom is "tsan chi," decapitate a chicken. Chang here would buy a chicken and cut off its head in a temple before the idol. The intimation is too plain to need expanding into many sentences! In all the cases mentioned above both parties must be willing to undergo the ordeal before the implied curses have any effect.

The magpie is potent for good or ill toward human beings, in Chinese superstitions. Thus at Fuchow the children will sing to the magpie, seeking to secure its favor:

"Chao chie ts'ai, mo chie pao,
Shih shih chie, shih shih haó,"

which means "Get wealth in the morning, get riches at night, all the time get, all the time good."

In Kiukiang the children's song to the magpie is much more specific, and runs as follows:

"Hsi ch'ioh chiao teh hao,
Tie tie chuan üan pao,
Ma ma t'ien hsiong ti,
Ko ko ch'i sao sao,"

or, "Sing nicely, magpie, daddy get rich, mother get me a little brother, older brother get a wife."

In Kanchow it is as bad to spill oil on the floor as it is with us to spill the salt, or to break a mirror!

In Fengcheng if a woman has had no sons she concludes that the gods are angry with her. Her proper mode of procedure in such a case is to abstain altogether from eating meat, and unless she secures a son she continues her vegetarian habits until she dies.

The casting of lots, called "ch'ou ch'ien," is extensively practised, but has been somewhat restricted of late in the city of Nanchang. Lots are cast for marriage, riches, sickness, official position, losses, journeyings, which are the six principal lots; also for family peace and for the selection of drugs to be used in sickness, which are minor lots. The procedure used in the selection of drugs gives a typical example. In a wooden cylinder in a temple are bamboo tally slips, each containing a number. The petitioner selects a slip and lays it aside. He then takes two semi-cylindrical blocks of wood, places the flat sides together to form a cylinder, and after bowing to the idol throws them together into the air. If they fall with both round sides or both flat sides uppermost the slip is rejected as unlucky, but if one has the round side and the other the flat side upward, the lot is fortunate. The

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petitioner then goes to a book kept in the temple to learn the drugs for which the number on the tally slip stands, or in other cases the fortune called for by the particular number. The officials have now forbidden the selection of drugs by this method, but other lots are still used freely.

In the matter of lucky and unlucky days China is not a step behind the times, for one can now buy calendars on which are indicated the good and bad things to do on any particular day.

It has been very interesting to learn from a number of independent sources about Chinese spiritualism as practised in this province. Each of my informers seemed to consider this as peculiarly a Chinese failing, and so I secured descriptions in great detail. The trance is called by various names, such as "hueh p'u sa," living idol, or "ko in," passing through the nether world, or other names; but the difference is in minor matters, as one sort will be characterized by twitchings of the arms, another by mutterings, another by movements of the legs, but in each case the essentials are the same. The trance seems to be performed altogether by women, who are professionals, and the merit of whose performance is gauged largely by the recompense received.

In general, the trance is conducted about as follows: The medium is sent for and comes to the house. She sits on a high seat, like the position of the idols in a temple, and the family place incense and offerings in front of her just as they would for an idol. The trance begins with twitchings or mutterings, and as these get more violent the medium's eyes roll up in the sockets, her arms stretch out and she falls over in the chair. Then strange noises come from her throat and one standing by is appointed to ask questions. She answers in a strange voice, and sometimes it is very difficult to understand just what she is saying. At first she seems to be travelling on a long journey through a dark country. She meets many barriers, and at each one she is apt to ask for money. This is brought, paper money such as is used at funerals, and burned, to get her past the barriers. She may need a horse or a chair, which must be brought in paper effigy and burned. Later on she inquires and learns the whereabouts of the wanted relative, but it is still a long way off. Finally after innumerable difficulties she meets the departed one and asks the questions required, getting the answers, which are often vague, but sometimes exceedingly pointed. Generally the shade complains of lack of attention to the grave, or insufficiency of offerings in the ancestral hall, or irregularities in the conduct of members of the family. When these complaints have been met by promises from the family, the medium begins to get anxious about getting

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back. She will say that her time in the land of shades is limited. She must hu .y back or she cannot return at all. This calls for more money to pass barriers, perhaps more horses, or other things, and gradually the medium returns to consciousness and the trance is ended.

In Kanchow there is a variant of this. There the mediums may be either men or women. In cases of serious sickness they are led to the realm of the King of Hades, who, it seems, keeps a close tab on people in this world, and regulates the length of life according to the worthiness or otherwise of the deeds committed in the flesh. The medium is taken to a compound full of trees, and when the tree of the sick person is found, an inspection of it reveals the chances of recovery. The tree can be made well, presumably, by sufficient offerings to the King of Hades.

There are four deities which may be called peculia.. to Kiangsi. These are : Chang Tien Sz, the Taoist Pope, Hsu Chen Chuin, or Hsu Chin-yang, the saviour of the people, Hsiao Kung and Yen Kung. These have been so well described that a very few words will suffice here.

Chang Tien Sz boasts an unbroken lineage from Chang Tao-ling of the Eastern Han dynasty, of the first century of the Christian era. He is the chief of the Taoist sect, and is reputed to be a magician of irresistible power. The present holder of the title lives in the eastern part of the province in the valley of the Kwang Sin River, and people pay great sums to procure his aid in conquering demons.

Hsu Chen Chuin was born in A.D. 239, in the hills about ten miles from Nanchang. The outstanding features of his life are his intense pursuit of his studies, his popularity with the people, who demanded his services as an official, his healing of the waters in Szechuan, and later in Kiangsi, and thus stemming the plagues which were raging among the people then, his possession of a magic sword with which he waged many bitter conflicts (one of which, with the famous dragon of Hunan, took him clear to the north of China and through many baffling transformations), his visit to Sheng Mu and subsequent founding of the temple called Hwang Tang, in Fengcheng, the founding of the Wan Shou Kung in Nanchang, as well as that in the West Hills, and lastly his ascension to heaven with all his house and buildings and family. He is the great patron saint of Kiangsi Province.

Hsiao Kung and Yen Kung were both Linkiang men of the (Liu) Sung Dynasty (A.D. 420-479). Hsiao was a boatman, who ran his boat so very carefully that he never had an accident. For this reason he had many patrons anxious to give him business,

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and ne grew very rich. Later he became an official. He had no son, but adopted a boy named Yuan. When Yuan was twelve years old he died, and Hsiao and Yuan's family quarrelled over the estate of the boy to such an extent that it was taken away from both and turned into a monastery.

Yen Kung was an official who became rich in office, and with his money he travelled to foreign lands. In all his travels he never had any misfortune, so he came to be considered as having great power with the gods, and the people appealed to him for protection from all sorts of dangers.

It seems fair to say that the neighbours of the Taoist Pope have little faith in his ability. They say of him "Neng in yuan, puh neng in chin," "he can influence at a distance, but not near at hand." As the other three deities have been dead for centuries, their reputations seem unsullied by such unmannerly remarks of neighbours.

In some places there is a regular calendar of worship, and I have such a calendar from Kanchow. In each moon they have particular gods to worship, as below :

First	moon,	god of spring, god of money.
Second	,,	rice god.
Third	,,	god of smallpox.
Fourth	,,	Buddha.
Fifth	,,	god of medicine.
Sixth	,,	eighteen Lohan.
Seventh	,,	ancestors.
Eighth	,,	Hsu Chen Chuin and the moon.
Ninth	,,	Ju Hwang.
Tenth	,,	no definite assignment.
Eleventh	,,	,, ,, ,,
Twelfth	,,	god of money.

My informant as to this calendar goes on to say, "beside these, there are still a great many other gods which they worship occasionally."

The first and fifteenth days of each moon are days set apart particularly for worship. In addition there are the great festival days, New Year, Ts'ing Ming, or ancestor worship day, in the spring, the Dragon Boat festival on the fifth of the fifth moon, the All Souls' festival in the seventh moon, which is particularly for ministering to those poor souls who left no male descendants on earth to look after them, and the fifteenth day of the eighth moon, which is sacred to the moon.

Idol processions are seen in great elaboration at Fuchow. These take place particularly during the eighth and ninth moons.

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The city is divided according to temples into districts, and each temple is given a day when its idols are carried through the streets. The priests of the temple collect from door to door money to pay for the procession, and incidentally a bit on the side. The idols are carried both on horseback and in chairs, with their hands raised. I have inquired the meaning of the raised hands, but have not yet been able to learn. Little children, dressed in finery, painted with high colours, generally with spectacles and sometimes with moustaches and derby hats are also carried, some on horseback, and some in floats. The chief idol carried in Fuchow is Cheng Hwang, who is deaf, so that the gongs and drums kept going to attract his attention are enough to make all bystanders as deaf as he is said to be.

At Kienchang there is a great association called the "in shen hwei," society for welcoming the gods. This great organization is supposed to be very general in its membership, and the city is divided up into sections for the collection of funds for carrying out the purposes of the society. As parts of this great society are smaller societies or groups, which are generally hereditary in their membership, their integrity is carefully guarded.

The first group is the "lo ku hwei," gong and drum group. This, like all the others, is a marching club, and the members each have a gong or a drum. They beat in time as they march, and the effect is said to be very fine.

In addition there is the "ing ioh hwei," music club, the "ch'i tsz hwei," flag club, and "hsiang lu hwei," incense pot club. The first two are self-explanatory, but the third needs a word further.

The incense pot club, or censer club, as it might be called, is for the purpose of carrying censers through the streets. The censers are made of pewter, and are one catty and twelve ounces in weight, or two pounds and a third. Each man carries two censers. The arms are held outstretched from the sides, and covered on top with red cloth to keep off the sun. The upper arm is pierced with a needle and the censers are fastened with chains to the needles, one on each arm, so that the whole weight comes on the pierced flesh. The arms are propped up by a sort of crutch extending from the hips to the wrists. Unlike the other clubs, which swing along at a good rate, the censer club marches slowly, and the limit of the march is two miles or thereabouts.

This is done for securing the favour of the "eyes that see not and the ears that hear not." One can scarcely avoid the conclusion that China is steeped in a welter of superstii-

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tion, nor is it possible to escape longing for the day to come when this vast incubus is taken away from this people.

In concluding I must express my obligations to those who have made this paper possible. In every instance my information has come to me direct from the Chinese, excepting some items Mr. F. C. Gale kindly put at my disposal, and he told me that they came to him direct from Chinese. Mr. E. L. Terman graciously asked some of the more advanced students in the Academy to write essays, which furnished much of my material. Particularly I wish to express thanks to the pastors of our various stations, and especially Rev. Li Chin-sheng of Fuchow, who not only gave me a great amount of information, but collected material which has helped me substantially in securing the insight necessary for a part of the paper. If there be any merit in these pages it is due to those mentioned in this note of obligation.

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SINOLOGICAL NOTES

BY

L. C. ARLINGTON.

(The numbers refer to Giles' Chinese-English Dictionary.)

(Continued from page 417)

A casual glance into Giles' Chinese-English Dictionary sometimes brings to light most unexpected allusions—even on such a trifling, although savoury subject as "roast pork."

The reference is to 金 猪 No. 2032, which Giles translates "roast pork," but is better rendered "roast (ceremonial) pig." I do not remember ever having heard the term used in any part of China, except many years ago, at Amoy, or Swatow, I forget which.

The term is not understood in North China and although known at Canton is never used except by the Tankas or boat people, who make use of the phrase when referring to the roasted ceremonial pork sent as marriage, birthday, etc., presents, or sacrificial offerings. The Cantonese call roast pork *siu chü yok* and roast pig *siü chu*; never *kam chü* (全 猪). Roast pork when offered to the gods in sacrifice is called *Hung p'i ts'ui yok* "Red skin crackled pork." All of us who have resided at Canton for any length of time, or at places where Cantonese are numerous, will have seen a roasted pig with the tip of its tail adorned with a red ribbon carried along in the wake of a bridal chair.

Such roasted pigs are called *pao chü* (保 猪) "Guarantee pigs"; it being the custom for the master of a slave-girl to request the bridegroom-elect to allow the bride to return to her master's house on the third day after the wedding accompanied by one or more *pao chü* as proof of her virginity. If she should return without the *pao chü*, or the *pao chü* sent with her should have the skin excoriated, it would be proof of want of chastity; and under such

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circumstances, woe betide the poor bride, since all the old women, joined by the riff-raff, would revile her all along the route. The roast pigs sent as return presents with the daughters of families, although known as *pao chü* and bearing the same import as for slave-girls, are not mentioned for reasons easily understood, as *that* would bring the imputation of want of chastity on the fair name of the daughter of the house. The bridal pig is, therefore, called simply *siu chü* "roast pig" or *ai ya chü* referring to the travails of the honeymoon.

Customs differ throughout China. In North China it is the custom on the first night of the wedding for the bridegroom's family to send presents of food to the bride's home long before daylight; this is called *sung hung hsi* or simply *hui hsi*; upon receipt of which, the bride's mother immediately proceeds to the bridegroom's home and joins in the marriage breakfast; but if no such presents of food are sent, the mother understands that something is seriously wrong, and would under no circumstances whatever visit the home of her son-in-law.

* * *

Another interesting sidelight is connected with *Kuan*[4] *shou* 冠首 No. 6373 "the best," etc. That is, it refers to the *first* character in the *ming* or personal name, as for example, in the personal name Wên Hsün 文勳, Wên being the *Kuan*[4] *shou*. This probably originated from the fact that in ancient times it was the custom, as it also was during the Mongol and Manchu reigns, to suppress the *hsing* or surname; in which case the *first* character of the *ming* practically took the place of the surname.

As a matter of fact, a great number of Chinese are quite ignorant of this ruling, and would refer to the above-named as "Mr. Wên," instead of "Mr. Wên Hsün," thus splitting his personal name in half under the impression that it is his surname.

This peculiarity merits attention, as it was also the practice during the times of the Emperors Yao, Shun and Yü, to suppress the use of the surname. Yao's surname was *Chi* 姬; Shun's was *Yao* 姚; and Yü's, *Ssŭ* 姒. In ancient times also, the majority of surnames had the symbol for 女 (woman) in them; and what is more, many surnames were confined to one kingdom or state. E.g., *Ying* 嬴, the surname of *Ch'in Shih Huang*, the First Emperor, was confined to the *Ch'in* state,[1] *Chi* 姬 to the *Chou*, and *Chiang* 姜 to the *Ch'i* 齊 state, and so on. In more modern times

1. Under No. 1712 in his *Biog. Dict. Dr.* Giles says that "he (Ch'in Shih Huang) is sometimes spoken of as 秦政." It should be 秦嬴政 "Ying Chêng of Ch'in."

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with the evolution of the character, the symbol for woman in surnames has practically died out except in such surnames as Yao 姚; Chi 姬; Chiang 姜; Ssŭ 姒; Lo 嬴; Wei 嬀; Wei 嬀; and An 安. Beginning from the *Ch'in* 秦 dynasty (B.C. 255), surnames were in common use, and continued throughout the successive dynasties down to the *Yüan* or Mongol dynasty (A.D. 1206), when the use of surnames was discarded and personal names reverted to. The use of the surname was revived again during the *Ming* (A.D. 1368), and has continued to the present day among the pure Chinese. Although the Manchus suppress the surname, the first character in the *ming*, is the *Kuan*^{4} *shou*, as it is with the Chinese. During recent years many Manchus have adopted Chinese surnames; the great majority being *Chao* 趙, who are the descendants of the 伊爾根覺羅 clan, probably because it is the first surname given in the *Po Chia Hsing* or Family Surnames, and was the surname of the first Emperor of the *Sung* Dynasty. Many others, such as the *Kuaerhcha* 瓜爾佳 clan, have adopted the surname of *Kuan* 關 or 官 (both are in use), said to be a transliteration of the Manchu sound *Kuaerhcha*. There are, however, a few instances, in which the *Kuan*^{4} *shou* comes *last* instead of *first*, and sometimes even in the *middle* (where there are three characters in a name). The Tsai family of Princes for instance, owing to their great number, use the last instead of the first character for the *Kuan*^{4} *shou*. Thus in Tsai Chên 載振 and Tsai Fu 載濮, 振 and 濮 are the *Kuan*^{4} *shou*, or as in Prince Po Lun's 溥倫 name, when 倫 is the *Kuan*^{4} *shou*. Two instances have come under my own observation, where the *middle* character of the name, as in Nung I-pên 農依本 and P'u Sa-pao 菩薩保, was used as the *Kuan*^{4} *shou*; the first being known as *I lao yeh* and the other as *Sa lao yeh*. In a few cases that I know of, although the character in the name was the same, the Manchus used a different tone from what the Chinese did. A Manchu with the surname *Hua* 華 pronounced it in the *Shang p'ing*; whereas, the Chinese pronounced it in the *Ch'ü shêng*. Another was that of a Manchu surnamed *Shuang* 雙, who pronounced it in the *fourth tone*, whereas Chinese of the same surname give it the *first tone*. Still another was that of a Manchu with the surname of *Na* 那, which he pronounced in the *first tone*, and although this character is used in both the *third* and *fourth* tones, yet in a Chinese surname it is pronounced in the *second tone*.

Apart from the peculiarities mentioned, I have found no difference in the following Chinese surnames adopted by the Manchus: 榮; 全; 宗; 柏; 吉; 穆; 傅; 舒; 凌; 翁; 惠; 松;

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富；烏；巴；伊；景；龍；桂；壽；連；茹；莊；文；曾；紅；豐；金；佟 (this last rather common); also Chao 趙 and Kuan 關 (or 官 Kuan), already mentioned.

Many surnames have ceased to exist. Ying 嬴, that of the First Emperor, *Ch'in Shih Huang*; 俠；莧；怪；怕；銀；狸；壯；九 百 (a double surname); 牽；射；戲; and 死 "Death"! (a native of the 鄭 state; *vide* 樵 氏 族 略). Dr. Giles in his Biog. Dict. No. 418 calls Chou Kung the "Duke of Chi." But both Wu Wang and Wên Wang were surnamed Chi, and so, of course, was Chou Wang. There are still quite a number of the Chi 姬 descendants living at Ch'i shan 岐 山 in Shensi.

Many of the Mongol Bannermen have, like the Manchus, adopted Chinese surnames, and also call the first character of their *ming* the *Kuan*[4] *shou*. Those Mongol Bannermen surnamed Kuan 貫 are the descendants of the *Ah Li Hai Ya* 阿 里 海 牙 clan. Those with the surname Lien 連 are the descendants of *Pu Hai Lu Ya* 布 海 魯 牙, a Mongol of high rank during the *Yüan* dynasty who held the office of *Lien Shih* 連 使; hence, he adopted the surname Lien. Lien Shih-hsien (Biog. Dict. No. 1253) was his son. Those with the surname Liu 劉 are descendants of *Yeh-lü-cho-li-chih* (Biog. Dict. No. 2445), founder of the *Liao* dynasty, who adopted this surname because of his fascination for Liu Pang, first Emperor of the Han dynasty, B.C. 202. Those with the surname Hsiao 蕭 are descendants of *Pa-li-shih* 拔 里 氏, Prime Minister of the *Liao* dynasty, who adopted this surname owing to his fascination for Hsiao Ho, Prime Minister under Liu Pang of the Han dynasty. All those surnamed Ma 馬 are descendants of *Wan Yen* 完 顏, founder and Emperor of the *Chin* 金 dynasty (See Akuta, Biog. Dict. No. 6).

* * *

As already stated elsewhere in these Notes, even a casual glance into Giles' Chinese-English Dictionory sometimes gives surprising results; what a deep study of many of the terms he gives might produce, I leave to the imagination.

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DRINKING SONG

By Li Po.

Translated by L. A. Lyall

---

1. The waves of the river, look how they strain,
As surging and plunging they race to the main!
They come from above: do they turn there again?

復　　調　　來　　水　　黃　　君
回　　海　　奔　　天　　河　　不
　　不　　流　　上　　之　　見

2. On the high hall wall, in the mirror bright,
Look and grieve for thy hair turned white.
In life's glad dawn it was all aglow:
At shut of eve, it's white as snow.

成　　青　　髮　　鏡　　高　　君
雪　　絲　　朝　　悲　　堂　　不
　　暮　　如　　白　　明　　見

3. Short and few our days on earth,
Fill them with wine and mirth!
An empty cup who would uphold
To pledge the moon, though wrought of gold?

對　　金　　歡　　意　　人
月　　樽　　莫　　須　　生
　　空　　使　　盡　　得

4. Wealth you hoard is wealth that's vain,
Squandered gold comes back again!
The sheep is ready, the ox is dressed,
Three hundred cups of wine shall test
The which of us can drink the best.

飲　　樂　　宰　　復　　金　　必　　天
三　　會　　牛　　來　　散　　有　　生
百　　須　　且　　烹　　盡　　用　　我
杯　　一　　爲　　羊　　還　　千　　材

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5. Old man Ts'en and Scholar Tan,
Topers true ; Fill up each man !
Incline an ear to the tune I strum ;
Worthless are lute and bell and drum,
The one thing good is to booze alway,
Not to be sober the livelong day !

願 但 饌 傾 曲 停 生 岑
醒 願 玉 耳 請 與 進 夫
長 不 聽 君 君 酒 子
酔 足 鐘 爲 歌 君 丹
不 貴 鼓 我 一 莫 邱

6. Saints and sages of times gone by
Mouldering in the grave they lie :
Only the names of drinkers strong
Live to-day in the mouth of song !

其 飲 寞 賢 古
名 者 唯 皆 來
留 有 寂 臺

7. When good King Ch'en held festival
And mirth ran wild in the Yenp'ing Hall,
Gallons of wine ten thousand and more
Swiped at one sitting those benchers of yore !

歡 十 樂 時 陳
謔 千 斗 宴 王
恣 酒 平 昔

8. Need the goodman fret when his cash is gone ?
Bumpers all ! Let my goods go pawn !
My dappled horse and my sables fine,
Take them and turn them, lad, to wine !
That here we may pass the cup around
Till the world and its sorrows in wine are drowned !

銷 美 呼 花 取 少 主
萬 酒 兒 馬 對 錢 人
古 與 將 千 君 徑 何
愁 爾 出 金 酌 須 爲
同 換 裘 五 沽 言

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NOTES AND QUERIES

All students of sinology were highly gratified last spring to learn that the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland had awarded their ninth Triennial Gold Medal *for Chinese*, this being the first time Chinese studies had been thus honoured. The recipient, as is well known, was Professor H. A. Giles of Cambridge; and the October number of the Society's Journal, recently to hand, has an interesting account of the meeting on July 4th last, when the medal was presented, and fitting tributes paid to the value of Professor Giles's life-long labours.

The *New China Review*, which owes so much to the Professor's constant help and encouragement, is glad to call attention here to the timely appearance of a new and enlarged edition of his "Gems of Chinese Literature," first published in 1883,—a beautiful reprint of a beautiful work. We review it on p. 513.

We have been asked to insert the following corrections :—In the note on Professor Parker's article on Sün-Tsz, p. 419, line 32, for 王生謙 read 王先謙.

Also, in Vol. III, p. 296, for "one Chün Kung-tsao styled Hua-hsin," read "Hua Hsin, the kung-ts'ao of the chün," and on p. 297 for 塘地理志 read 唐地理志, i.e., the Geographical section of the *T'ang shu*.

Note by L. C. Arlington.

The Term "Ku Ch'i" (骨氣)

On page 330, Vol. IV, No. 4, of the *New China Review*, Dr. Giles suggests that I have a "shot" at the above-mentioned term. I do so with pleasure. In his Chinese-English Dictionary, Dr. Giles defines the term as "bred in the bone." This definition, although correct, does not give the precise meaning. His second

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rendering is "hereditary instinct." But I can find no evidence to support such a definition.

The Chinese use the term in the sense of any remarkable manifestation of life or energy ; ardour, enthusiasm, earnestness, moral courage and the like. As will be seen below, it has the meaning of a bold and vigorous *natural* talent in handwriting.

In the Shu P'ing (書評) by Yuan Ang (袁昂) we have the following :— 蔡邕書骨氣洞遠爽爽有神 "Ts'ai Yung's genius is manifest in every stroke of his pen ; the flame of his soul."

In the 書品優劣 by 章續, we have the following :— 釋玄悟書, 骨氣無雙, 殆出時輩 : "Shih Yün-wu's genius in calligraphy was incomparably bold and vigorous, surpassing that of all the men of his time."

And in a Note by Su Tung-p'o in praise of a monk's handwriting he says : 永禪師書, 骨氣深隱 : " Yung's handwriting shows a strong natural talent which is deeply concealed." What is meant here is, that they had a *natural* genius for penmanship as opposed to 骨力, a *cultivated* talent.

The term has, however, another meaning which approaches Dr. Giles' definition of "bred in the bone," *viz.*, moral courage. When President Li Yuan-hung issued the mandate dissolving Parliament, and Wu T'ing-fang (then Premier), refused to countersign the mandate, the Chinese Press said that he had *ku ch'i*, " moral courage." By extension it also means," of the highest integrity ;" " proud and honourable ;" " equal to emergencies," etc. It is also commonly used in both the *wên li* and vulgar tongue of a person who refuses to accept bribes, or flatter anyone. So that Dr. Giles' " bred in the bone " is substantially correct. I can find no such meaning as " design " attached to *ku ch'i* as Waley says, nor " anatomical strength " as Giles translates. Perhaps some such term as " spiritual strength " would be better ; but not having seen the passage it occurs in, I cannot offer an opinion. As will be noted, *ku ch'i* to all intents and purposes is an abstract noun.

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RECENT LITERATURE.

Gems of Chinese Literature. By Herbert A. Giles, HON. LL.D, Professor of Chinese in the University of Cambridge. Revised and greatly enlarged. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1922. pp. xiv-288. Mex. $10.00.

This beautifully printed and artistically bound volume is, as the title says, a revised and enlarged reprint ; first issued in 1883, a second edition has been long overdue. The enlargement carries the subject matter through the Manchu dynasty, and is so considerable that the present volume is twice the size of the old one. The translator's well-known English style is of so high an order that the book is a delight to read for that reason alone ; while his foremost place among English sinologues is a guarantee of the correctness of the translation. It may well be that some other sinologue will take the occasion of this second edition to make an attack on some points, but the past history of such controversies should warn them to proceed with care, for Professor Giles' motto is *Noli me tangere*, and he usually knows whereof he speaks.

The title page is faced with an excellent autographed portrait of the translator ; or rather, with a portrait which we trust is excellent, for in truth the expression is so mild and benign that it is difficult to believe that it belongs to the man whose motto we have quoted. Is this indeed the man who has recently given such shrewd thrusts to Parker and Waley in the pages of this *Review* ? Who on page 8 of this volume describes some of the translations of Sir Thomas Wade as " beneath contempt " ? Whose sinological history has been one long controversy ? Truly, " there's no art to find the mind's construction in the face."

The work itself is just what its title says, a series of " gems " from Chinese literature, that sparkle and gleam. In some sort it is a kind of source-book of Chinese literature, though these brief and beautiful selections give no hint of the vast Sahara stretches in that literature, drier than dust, and more difficult than sand to plough through. A work like this was needed to remind us that

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there are ineffable beauties embedded, here and there, in this desert, and we are correspondingly grateful to the man whose artistic sense has selected and whose patience has hunted out and translated these gems.

The various selections are given in the chronological order of their authors, but so varied are they in character, and most of them so short, that it becomes a delight to read and browse here and there ; picking up the book for an odd ten minutes, very likely one will find food for an hour's meditation. The variety of subjects, grave and gay, is seemingly inexhaustible. For every sort of Western composition one finds here parallels : letters, essays, history, the novel, state papers, religion, ethics, government, poetry and *belles lettres*. After two prefaces and an introductory note on Chinese literature, the book opens with a piece by the Duke of Chou (who died more than a thousand years before Christ), entitled " Against Drunkenness," very appropriate in these days of the Eighteenth Amendment. Mr. Volstead, however, would not be as favourable to some of the selections from the wine-bibbing poets who appear later. The Duke, moreover, is strictly concerned with excess in drinking, and doubtless would fall in with the " beer and wine only " movement, so that even he would be anathema to reformers to-day.

We venture to refer to a few of the more delicious bits, and incidentally to pick a bone or two with the Professor. Confucius and Lao Tzŭ are aptly represented in their contrasting statements, " For evil return justice," " Recompense injury with kindness." Mr. W. J. Bryan would be glad to learn that in the first century before Christ, the gold unit was to be *equal to sixteen ounces*. But not of silver, however. The various arguments for and against Buddhism are interesting, and the quotations from Han Wên-kung alone would sufficiently confute those who contend that Buddhism has never been persecuted by the government (p.118). On p. 92 there is a beautiful selection, only two lines long, on "God Our Father," that is worth quoting as a whole : " All creatures are to God like children, and the kindness and love of father and mother are the same to all their children." There is nothing more beautiful or true in Christianity than this ; but we have to remember that such sayings are the center and soul, almost the commonplace, of Christianity, while in Confucian literature they are so rare as almost to be startling when happily discovered. Over against it may be placed the skeptical discussion called " Is There a God ?" (p. 138).

That leads us to mention the only serious difference of opinion that we have with Dr. Giles in the book. We were surprised to

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read on page 48, in a note to a short piece by Mencius, entitled, "Charity of Heart," the following statement: "It is plain that on this all-important topic, much slurred over by many, the Chinese have nothing to learn from St. Paul. *See* I Corinthians, Ch. I." Our memory not recalling that in this chapter St. Paul devoted special attention to the topic of Charity, we promptly turned it up, and read it carefully, and confess to becoming the more bewildered the farther we read. Can it be that the printer has treated Dr. Giles badly, and put Ch. I for Ch. XIII? But in that case it is only the character and not the amount of our bewilderment that is altered. Can it be seriously contended that Mencius' somewhat dry and restrained statement is to be mentioned in the same week with St. Paul's magnificent hymn to Charity? Is it thought that his literary art is as lofty, his religious feeling as deep, or his appreciation of final values as broad and sure? Nothing to learn from St. Paul, forsooth!

Less important is a slip which occurs on p. 151, again in a note: "The Board of Censors still plays a very important part in the administration of government in China." We would call the attention of Mr. Rodney Gilbert, and other newspaper correspondents in Peking to this statement. Accounts of the part which the Board of Censors plays in the Chinese government have been strangely absent for some years from their despatches. We trust that this notice will bring home to them the fact that their silence is unmasked, and cause them to mend their ways. By all means, let us have word of what the Board of Censors is doing. Or is Dr. Giles by any chance referring to John Dewey and Bertrand Russell?

A final slip. On p. 258, Chang Kêng is stated to be the author of the *Kuo hua ch'êng lu*. In reality, he is author of the *Kuo ch'ao hua chêng lu*. See Giles, "An Introduction to the History of Chinese Pictorial Art," p. 170. We should add that our praise of the printer would be even warmer, if it were not for a few annoying and somewhat obvious misprints.

One of the delights of the volume is the series of brief biographical notices with which the selections of each author is prefaced. Pithy and pointed, they are worthy of the company of the selections themselves. As one reads, one's admiration for the catholic taste of Professor Giles grows. Selections from a literature through its history of three thousand years, all interesting, and yet immensely varied, could have been possible only if the chooser had a big brain and a big heart. Nothing that Professor Giles writes is dry; we confess to a fondness for reading his Dictionary, and never fail to be enlivened by a half hour spent with it. But

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these " Gems " overtop the rest, and will refresh the tired business man and the weary student alike, for many a long day ; and what is more important, they will bear a worthy part in dispelling the mistaken notion that the Chinese are a mere nation of shop-keepers. not religious, and not artistic.

The Philosophy of Human Nature, by Chu Hsi. Translated from the Chinese, with notes, by J. Percy Bruce, M.A. Probsthain's Oriental Series, Vol. X. Probsthain & Co., 1922. pp. 16-444. 36/-.

The sinological world has long waited for a definitive translation of the works of the great Sung commentator Chu Hsi. In Cordier's Bibliotheca Sinica, columns 1422-25, appears a moderately long list of monographs on the subject, but none of them are very extensive, nor do they undertake much translation as such. What we have wanted is some one do for Chu Hsi what Legge has done for the Classics, and what Chavannes tried (with so large a measure of success) to do for Ssu-ma Ch'ien. If the complete works of Chu Hsi are so voluminous as to preclude the possibility of this, the next best thing is to select the important parts and translate them. This is what Dr. Bruce has done. It is interesting to note the fact which Cordier's list discloses, that the earlier generation of students of Chu Hsi were interested largely in his cosmology and cosmogony, in spite of the fact that these appear to moderns to be fantastic to a degree. But that was what the Westerner of an earlier generation was interested in finding out. What had an author to say about the world as a whole, about creation, about matter, about the course of the history of the universe ? We of the present day are more anxious to know what he has said about the mind of man and about his ethical and religious relations ; and we are correspondingly grateful to Dr. Bruce that he has selected from the great writer the parts of his system that bear upon those topics.

It was unavoidable, though unfortunate, that the companion work by the same author, to be entitled " An Introduction to the Philosophy of Chu Hsi and the Sung School," which is now in the press, could not appear at the same time with the present work. To review either one without the other is difficult. There are numerous cross-references, and one is continually hesitating to point out an omission, thinking it will probably be made good in the other volume. We can, therefore, deal only with the matter of the translation, and with the actual system of Chu Hsi, as it appears in this new dress.

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Another presumably unavoidable omission was the Chinese text which is translated. On the one hand it would have doubled the bulk of the volume; on the other it would have been useful only to those who know the Chinese written language. It is doubtful whether very many will be drawn to peruse these pages who cannot read the original; and the cost of the work is already considerable; so we must content ourselves with acquiring the text separately (not an easy matter, by the way). The present reviewer must confess that he has not as yet done this, so cannot pretend to give a thorough criticism of the translation. But enough of the text appears in the notes to give an excellent idea of the difficulties which the translator had to overcome, and to suggest very strongly that he has been very successful in overcoming them. It is one thing to read a Chinese author whose style is a marvel of simplicity and clearness; it is a very different thing to attempt to make him equally clear in another language; and the translator has attained a high degree of success in his effort. But we hope that when another edition is called for, all of the important terms and phrases will appear in the original in the notes; not merely some of them casually provided.

The style of Chu Hsi, we have intimated, is clear; it is as limpid as a mountain brook and forms a model for the student. But to a Westerner, the thought of Chu Hsi is far from clear. It is but slowly, as one reads and ponders, that the meaning begins to emerge, and the system of the author to take to itself a definite form. There is that puzzling and reiterated reference to the ether as a constituent part of man's nature, and to its influence upon his character. There are all the wearisome repetitions that are heavy burdens for the student, even though they be marks of genius and of immortality. At first, all is blurred and uncertain, and one cannot understand what the writer stands on, nor whither he is tending. This is the case, not because to the philosopher himself or his disciples there was any lack in the clearness of thought, but because he lives in a thought-world that is strange to us, and uses familiarly a terminology and a thought-connection that are strange to us, though they are matter-of-course to the Confucian scholar. But after much laborious study, one begins to see that so far as Chu Hsi can be compared with the philosophers of the West, he is in the main a Stoic,—"Live according to nature." Dr. George William Knox of Japan pointed this out many years ago, in an article on Chu Hsi which appeared in the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XX, part I (which article, by the way, seems to have escaped Cordier's widely-thrown net).

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But on the other hand, there is a distinctly materialistic and Epicurean tendency which has caused some scholars to debate whether Chu Hsi was an atheist or not ; and finally there is more than a touch of the Sophist (*homo mensura.*) It was the materialistic tendency that set him to oppose vigorously the Taoists and the Buddhists. It was the Sophist tendency that made him see *Tao* in the five relations (see p. 274).

The more one reads, the more interesting the author becomes and the more impatient we find ourselves to see Dr. Bruce's second work. It requires great patience (more than we possess !) to set out Chu Hsi in orderly array. We cheerfully resign the task into other hands, comforting ourselves with the thought that if the matter is somewhat turgid, Kant and Dewey and the Critical Realists can also be turgid, without the recommendation of a limpid style. In other words, there is never any doubt as to what Chu Hsi means, but much doubt usually as to why he means it, and the connection of one meaning with another.

A word of praise is due the publishers for the clearness and fine spacing of the type, and the excellence of the paper. The entire format is a comfort to the eye and the hand. Chu Hsi and Dr. Bruce appear in a dress worthy of them. A page of errata has been sent out after the volume, but the purely typographical errors are most conspicuous by their absence. We have rarely seen a volume so free of them. But the last word of all must be one of thanks to the laborious scholar who has delved in this mine and brought the ore into the light of day. When the history of Chinese philosophy comes to be written in a manner worthy of the great traditions of that philosophy, the author will find that for the important Sung period, so much advance work has been done by Dr. Bruce, that it remains only for him to appraise, and mint. We make the prophecy confidently and expect to see it fulfilled before many years.

Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient. Tome XXI, No. 1, 1921. L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient depuis son Origine jusqu'en 1920. Hanoi : Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1922. pp. 11-422.

This notable volume, which is to be completed by a second fascicule that will contain an index to the first twenty volumes of the *Bulletin*, rounds out in worthy fashion the series published during the twenty years through which the well-known School at Hanoi has been giving to the world the results of its studies. We have in the present instance not a new contribution, but some-

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thing more useful than any new contribution could be; namely, an orderly account, by countries and subjects, of the learned accomplishments of the School. By its aid the special student of any of the subjects and countries which the members of the School have studied, will be able to get at the available material rapidly and completely, without the laborious trouble of searching it out bit by bit in twenty heavy volumes.

The first 41 pages are occupied with a brief history of the activities of the school from year to year; a tale that might have been moving were it not so very brief. Indeed much of it reminds us of nothing so much as of the "Spring and Autumn Annals:" "In his second year, in spring, the Duke had a meeting with the chief of the Jung at Tsoen. In winter, in the tenth month, the Duke's eldest daughter went to her home in Ke. In his third year, in spring, in the king's second month, on the day Ke-sze, the sun was eclipsed, etc." But the account is a useful record, even though so sententious.

Then follow two considerable sections on the archeology and the ethnography of Indo-China. There are numerous excellent illustrations, and together with a running account, there are given detailed foot-note references to the previous volumes, so that we are provided not only with a brief account of results but also with an apparatus for further study.

Next the various countries studied are taken up in order: Farther India, the Straits, India, Tibet, China and Japan. Of these, the section devoted to China is the most interesting to this *Review*, and well repays some study. The School has borne a worthy part in the great contribution, the *leading* contribution, of France, to sinological studies. After a prefatory note, in which attention is called to this contribution, the whole subject is treated under various heads; Bibliography, History, History of Religions (a long and important section, subdivided into Buddhism, Taoism, Manicheism, and Mazdeism), Epigraphy, Archeology, Linguistics, Various Studies, Collections, and Library. Each section is a succinct account, and as before fully provided with references.

We venture to offer a few corrections and suggestions. In note 4 on page 364, J. Couling, should be S. Couling. In the account of the treasures recovered by the Mission Pelliot from the Tunhuang caves, pp. 368-70, it is somewhat misleading not to mention the fact that Sir Aurel Stein had previously carried off most of the paintings, and many manuscripts, perhaps the cream of the collection. The present account notes that "la bibliothèque elle-même se composait, d'une part de manuscrits en écritures

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sogdienne, brāhmi, ouïgoure et tibétaine, d'autre part de manuscrits, et d'imprimés chinois," and adds, "M. Pelliot acquit tous les manuscrits de la première catégorie," leaving the reader to suppose that no one else had acquired any; whereas M. Pelliot acquired only those left by Sir Aurel; a considerable number to be sure; but whether they were the most important part of the collection remains to be seen. Finally on p. 374 there is made the rather extravagant claim that the Mission Pelliot "a pour le première fois établi un contact immédiat entre la sinologie européenne et l'érudition chinoise." There have been so many "immediate contacts" between Western sinology and Chinese erudition during the past centuries that it is hardly just to say that the first one has occurred in recent years. It adds nothing to the well-deserved laurels of the School to make such a claim.

With these slight exceptions, we hail the volume as a real treasure, and congratulate the compilers and School on its issuance.

The Shantung Question, by Ge-Zay Wood, B.A. (Yale), M.A. (Harvard). New York; Fleming H. Revell Company. pp. 372. G.$5.

This book is a useful and interesting record of a dispute which it is to be hoped has now almost passed into history. We say "almost" because it must be remembered that Japan is still[1] in possession of the port of Tsingtao, the railway to Tsinan, and the mines at Poshan, and the negotiations thereanent are still proceeding with all the characteristic bargaining processes familiar to the resident in either of the countries concerned.

The author is, of course, an enthusiast for his view of the "question," and his statement *ex parte*, but for all that the sincerity of his purpose to be studiously fair and moderate in his presentation of facts and arguments is manifest.

The array of information concerning conventions, treaties and negotiations, both secret and public, is somewhat formidable, but is what gives the greatest permanent value to the volume. Especially useful is the summary of secret agreements in Chapters VII and IX. The references to the "pincers" argument, and the German proposal to restore Kiaochow at the beginning of the war are also important. Perhaps the strongest part of the author's argument is to be found in Chap. XVI on the peaceful penetration of the province by Japan, the perusal of which reminds the

1. Written in November 1922.—*Ed.*

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reader very forcibly of the striking difference between this and the German occupation. In the one case, the importation of a few Germans provided a livelihood for large numbers of Chinese and in a thousand ways increased the wealth of the inhabitants of the province. In the other case, the Japanese authorities imported crowds of Japanese of the lower classes, thus robbing the Chinese of the positions formerly held by them on the railway and in the mines, and at the same time monopolized the sources of wealth for their own nationals' sole use and benefit.

There are some things to be said on the other side of this question which, if admitted by the author would, we venture to believe, have made his case considerably stronger. In the Introduction, for example, there is a statement of what Germany did, in the short term of her possession, to develop the "rich natural resources for which Shantung is justly reputed," but with no recognition of what this meant to the inhabitants, and even to China as a whole. We read much of the selfish aggression of Germany but nothing of the obvious benefits she conferred. That the occupation of Shantung brought many evils is notoriously true, but that it has brought more and even greater advantages is also obvious to any who have had opportunity of personal observation. Similarly in the story of Germany's seizure of Kiaochow told in Chap. II, the machinations and rapacity shown by the Western power are expatiated upon with a commendable display of moral righteousness, while the incident which led to it—the murder of two German missionaries—is dismissed as an "accident" which furnished the "desired opportunity" for which Germany had been long waiting. We cannot but think that, much as the action of Germany is to be condemned, and will be condemned by history, the author's case would not have been weakened, but strengthened if he had made some reference to the precariousness of the lives of Westerners in the China of those days, through the incorrigible attitude of provincial Governors, the notorious treachery of Li Ping Hêng, the then Governor of Shantung, not to speak of the attitude of the Peking Government—the despair of diplomats of all nations—which culminated in the Boxer Rising.

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OBITUARY*

SAMUEL COULING, M.A. (齡 善 庫)

Samuel Couling was born in London in 1859, the youngest child of a Nonconformist minister who, though of scholarly tastes, could not give his children many early advantages, through straitened circumstances. The lad was put into an Insurance Office at fifteen or sixteen ; but after two or three years, having decided to follow his father's calling, he was entered at Bristol Baptist College. Here he took a five years' Divinity course, with Arts classes at Bristol University College (now Bristol University); here too, he first became interested in Mission work in China.

In January, 1883, he became minister of the Baptist Church at Totnes, Devon. His brief but happy ministry there came to an end in June, 1884, owing to the fact that the Baptist Missionary Society had asked for fourteen volunteers for China. The young minister offered himself and was accepted : his people regretfully acknowledged the prior claims of the Mission field, learned to regard him as their representative *in partibus infidelium*, and lovingly kept his name on the church roll all his life.

He arrived in China in December, 1884, and was designated to Ch'ing Chow foo in Shantung, where—after studying the language—he was put in charge of a newly-established Boarding School. The boys were picked boys and all from Christian families ; all instruction was in Chinese, English not being taught at all . for those were early days.

He soon realized that for his work's sake as well as his own, he ought to have a degree ; and after using any leisure he could

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get from other work and other studies in the field, and utilizing two furloughs in the necessary preparation, he graduated M.A. of Edinburgh in 1902. As far as the University syllabus permitted, he chose the subjects suitable for his work in China ; and he also did a good deal towards his B.Sc. and LL.B. degrees, one or both of which he intended to take on his third furlough. Circumstances, however, prevented this. About 1904, important changes were made in the educational policy of the Mission, which did not commend themselves to him ; and after two or three years' work under the new conditions, he felt it wise to resign. It was about this time that he was twice offered the Principalship of Shansi University, which honour he declined on the ground that he wished if possible to remain with his Mission. He resigned finally from the B.M.S. in 1908 ; and this was one of the greatest sorrows of his life.

He then removed to Shanghai, where he was for some years tutor in a well-known family. In 1914-16 he was Hon. Sec. of the Royal Asiatic Society (North China Branch) and editor of its Journal. During this period he perceived the lack of a general book of reference as to things Chinese in the R.A.S. or any other library, and set to work to collect material for such a book. The result was the *Encyclopaedia Sinica* which was published in 1917, and was awarded the Prix Stanislas Julien in 1919. In the Preface it is said, " It is the framework on which a more complete and worthier encyclopaedia may be elaborated," and the Editor always hoped to bring out a second edition, for which he had considerable material in hand.

In 1919, though in poor health, he accepted the Acting Principalship of Medhurst College, Shanghai (L.M.S.) and rejoiced at being back in Mission work ; but at the close of the year, a severe illness compelled him to resign. In the same year he started the *New China Review*.

In 1920, he accepted the invitation of the Shanghai Municipal Council to complete the History of Shanghai (in 3 vols.) left unfinished by the late Mr. George Lanning. Unfortunately only the second volume was completed at Mr. Couling's death. This took place at Shanghai on June 15, 1922 at the age of 62.

He became a member of the R.A.S. (N.C.B.) in 1894 ; was its representative at the International Zoological Conference at Graz, in 1910 ; was, as we have said, Secretary, and Editor of its Journal for several years ; was made an Honorary Member in 1918, and was one of the Society's Vice-Presidents at the time of his death.

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He was by nature retiring and reserved ; and those traits were accentuated by the nature of the rare and distressing complaint—an oesophageal diverticulum,—which after many years of increasing misery at last caused his death, so that he was not widely known in a social sense ; but one of his greatest joys in later years was the fellowship of the learned and generous men of many lands who helped in the *Encyclopaedia*, and made the *New China Review* possible.

Ever modest about his own abilities and attainments, one of his latest wishes—oft-repeated—was that there might be "no eulogies," and this wish his friends feel bound to respect. It may be said, however, that by his courageous fight with physical weakness, and his determination to work as long as any strength was left, those who knew him were often reminded of Robert Louis Stevenson, whom in features also he strongly resembled.

The portrait we offer as frontispiece, was taken about 1911, and represents him as his friends like best to recall him,—before the physical misery of his later years had left its mark on his frame.

Most people will know him as the versatile compiler of the *Encyclopaedia Sinica:* sinologues will remember the plucky editor of the *New China Review ;* but his best memorial is in the characters and lives of certain Chinese whom he taught and guided unostentatiously but thoroughly during the best time of his life,—the twenty odd years he spent in a sleepy, sweet old city in the interior of Shantung.

He is survived by his wife (who at his desire, writes this brief sketch) and by one son and one daughter.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

Having brought the "New China Review" to the end of the current year, the Acting-Editors have redeemed the promise made to the late Editor when he lay dying in June last ; furthermore, knowing how much he desired the "Review's" continuance, and deeming it worthy to live, they have spared no pains in trying to make suitable arrangements to that end. But a strong combination of adverse circumstances has rendered this impossible ; and with deep regret they have to announce that the "Review" must be discontinued. This is, therefore, the last issue of the present series.

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